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All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief:

Prof. Dr. Johan Leemans
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OE Geschiedenis van Kerk en Theologie
Ch. Deberiotstraat 26 – bus 3101
B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)
johan.leemans@theo.kuleuven.be

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Viktor I. (189 ?-199 ?) von Rom und die Entstehung des „monarchischen“ Episkopats in Rom*

András HANDL

(Uppsala / Leuven)

Anders Ekenberg zur Emeritierung.

1. Einführung

Die Diskussionen der vergangenen Jahrzehnte um die Herausbildung der Ämterstruktur in der frühen Kirche zeigen eine Affinität für die Entwicklung des Bischofsamtes.¹ Nicht zuletzt führt die den ökumenischen Dialog derzeitig bestimmende Leitfrage nach dem kirchlichen Amt auch dazu, dass die historische Perspektive in der gegenwärtigen Diskussion zunehmend an Bedeutung gewinnt.² In diesem Kontext stellt die Genese des Bischofsamtes in Rom, und zwar gleich auf doppelte Weise, eine delikate Angelegen-

* Mein Dank gilt Herrn Prof. Martin Wallraff für die kritische Begleitung dieser Studie.

¹ Zu nennen ist u. a. E. G. JAY, "From Presbyter-Bishops to Bishops and Presbyters: Christian Ministry in the Second Century; a Survey", *The Second Century*, 1 (1981), p. 125-162; viele Beiträge des Sammelbands von E. DASSMANN, *Ämter und Dienste in den frühchristlichen Gemeinden*, Bonn, 1994; A. BRENT, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-bishop*, Leiden/Boston, 1995; K. ZAMFIR, "Once more about the Origins and Background of the New Testament Episkopos", *Sacra Scripta*, 10 (2010), p. 202-222; J. WAGNER, *Die Anfänge des Amtes in der Kirche: Presbyter und Episkopen in der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Tübingen, 2011; A. STEWART-SYKES, *The Original Bishops: The Development of Moniscopate in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids, 2014.

² Einschlägige Titel der jüngeren Vergangenheit verdeutlichen dieses Interesse: G. KRETSCHMAR, *Das bischöfliche Amt: kirchengeschichtliche und ökumenische Studien zur Frage des kirchlichen Amtes*, 1999; R. FRIELING, *Amt: Laie – Pfarrer – Priester – Bischof – Papst*, Göttingen, 2002; C. RAPP, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley, 2005; *Das kirchliche Amt in apostolischer Nachfolge*, Bd. II, *Ursprünge und Wandlungen*, ed. by T. SCHNEIDER, G. WENZ, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2006; *La relazione fra il Vescovo e la Chiesa locale: antiche e nuove questioni in prospettiva eumenica. Simposio Internazionale Roma – 1-3 Dicembre 2005*, ed. by R. GIRALDO, Venezia, 2007; M. BÜNKER, *Amt, Ordination, Episkopé und theologische Ausbildung*, Leipzig, 2013.

heit dar. Zum Ersten ist die Millionenstadt Rom in vielerlei Hinsicht eine Abbildung der Vielfalt des Reiches, mit unikalen politischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Struktur. Das scheint auch dem Rhetor Aelius Aristides bewusst zu sein wenn er in seinem Panegyrikus über Rom schreibt: „Was eine Stadt für ihre eigenen Grenzen und ihr Gebiet bedeutet, das bedeutet diese Stadt für den gesamten Erdkreis“.³ Eine vielbeachtete Studie von P. Lampe⁴ verdeutlicht durchaus plausibel⁵ den Einfluss dieser Faktoren auf die Entwicklung des Christentums, oder besser, die Christentümer Roms im Allgemeinen und auf die Ämterstrukturen im Speziellen. Dabei macht er die sozialen Aspekte auch für die Entwicklung des hiesigen Bischofsamtes fruchtbar und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Übergang vom „Monepiskopat“ zum „monarchischen Episkopat“ in Rom vergleichsweise spät, erst in der Amtszeit Viktors⁶ I. (189?-199?) verwirklicht wird.⁷

³ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* 26,61 = Aelius Aristides, *Die Romrede*, ed. & trans. by R. KLEIN, Darmstadt, 1983, p. 38.

⁴ P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten: Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*, Tübingen, ²1989.

⁵ Gemeint ist hier vor allem – wie P. Lampe es nennt – die „Fraktionierung“ der stadtrömischen Christen. Zu den Schwierigkeiten und Grenzen seiner Untersuchung siehe C. SCHOLTEN, „Gibt es Quellen zur Sozialgeschichte der Valentinianer Roms?“, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 79 (1988), p. 244-261; G. SCHÖLLGEN, „Probleme der frühchristlichen Sozialgeschichte. Einwände gegen Peter Lampes Buch über ‘Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten’“, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 32 (1989), p. 23-40; M. SIMONETTI, „Una nuova proposta su Ippolito“, *Augustinianum*, 36 (1996), p. 13-46, p. 33-36.

⁶ Zu dem Wenigen, das man über Viktor weiß, siehe F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, „Vittore I, santo“, in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 1, Roma, 2000, p. 233-237; M. VINZENT, „Viktor I, Bischof von Rom“, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 35, ed. by H. R. BALZ, G. MÜLLER, Berlin/New York, 2003, p. 93-97; E. CASTELLI, „La Chiesa di Roma prima e dopo Costantino. Da Vittore (189-199) a Liberio (352-366)“, in *Costantino I.: Enciclopedia costantiniana sulla figura e l'immagine dell'imperatore del cosiddetto Editto di Milano, 313-2013*, 1, ed. by A. MELLONI, Roma, 2013, p. 795-813, p. 795-797.

⁷ Vgl. P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 334-349. Diese Thesen haben mittlerweile breite Zustimmung gefunden. Siehe exemplarisch N. BROX, „Probleme einer Frühdatierung des Römischen Primats“, *Kairos*, (1976), p. 81-99; M. SIMONETTI, „Roma cristiana tra II e III secolo“, *Vetera Christianorum*, 26 (1989), p. 115-136, p. 115-122; N. BROX, „Das Papsttum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten“, in *Das Papsttum, Bd. I: Von den Anfängen bis zu den Päpsten in Avignon*, ed. by M. GRESCHAT, Stuttgart, 1993, p. 25-42, p. 33; F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, Vittore (see n. 6), p. 231; M. VINZENT, Viktor (see n. 6), p. 95-96; M.-Y. PERRIN, „Rom und das westliche Abendland bis zur Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts“, in *Die Geschichte des Christentums, Bd. I: Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250)*, ed. by J.-M. MAYEUR, L. PIETRI, N. BROX, Freiburg im Breisgau, 2003, p. 666-716, p. 682-683; M. SIMONETTI, „Roma cristiana tra vescovi e presbiteri“, *Vetera Christianorum*, 43 (2006), p. 5-17, p. 5-7; M. ZIEGLER, *Successio: die Vorsteher der stadtrömischen Christengemeinde in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten*, Bonn, 2007, p. 246-277; M. SIMONETTI, „Per un profilo dell'autore dell'Elenchos“, *Vetera Christianorum*, 46 (2009), p. 157-173, p. 168-169; E. CASTELLI, „L'Elenchos

Diese Hypothese hat, zum Zweiten, eine enorme Auswirkung auf ein sensibles und über die konfessionellen Grenzen hinaus oft kontrovers diskutiertes Thema, nämlich – je nach Auffassung – entweder auf die Entwicklung der Vorläufe des Papsttums oder auf das Papsttum selbst. Deshalb ist es umso überraschender, dass nicht nur P. Lampe, sondern die meisten Abhandlungen, die seitdem die stadtrömischen Verhältnisse zur Entwicklung der Ämterhierarchie zu erhellen versuchen, auf eine Definition des Begriffs „monarchischer Episkopat“ verzichteten. Nicht selten bereitet es erhebliche Mühe zu erschließen, ob der Ausdruck „nur“ den Monepiskopat meint, die Dominanz eines Bischofs im politischen Sinn der *μοναρχία* nach Aristoteles⁸ wiedergibt oder eine wie auch immer verstandene Zwischenphase reflektiert.⁹ Die von G. Schöllgen¹⁰ vorgeschlagene und seitdem mehrheitlich akzeptierte¹¹ Distinktion zwischen „Monepiskopat“ und „monarchischer Episkopat“ trägt erheblich bei der Präzisierung der Termini-

ovvero una ‘biblioteca’ contro le eresie”, in *Confutazione di tutte le eresie*, ed. by A. MAGRIS, Brescia, 2012, p. 21-56, p. 47-48. Der Alternativvorschlag von A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 398-457 und insbesondere 412-425, nachdem das „monarchische“ Institut erst mit Cornelius (251-253) verwirklicht wurde, fand bis jetzt nur begrenzten Zuspruch. In einem jüngeren Beitrag brachte A. Brent die Herausbildung mit dem Episkopat von Calixtus I. (217?-222?) in Verbindung. A. BRENT, „The Elenchos and the Identification of Christian Communities in Second – Early Third Century Rome”, in *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques: actes du colloque international sur la ‘réfutation de toutes les hérésies’*, Genève, 13-14 juin 2008, ed. by G. ARAGIONE, E. NORELLI, Prahins, 2011, p. 275-314.

⁸ Arist. *Rhet.*, 1, 8,4 = Aristoteles, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. by J. H. FREESE, London, 1926 (LCL, 193) p. 86-88.

⁹ Ein Beispiel *par excellence* bietet hierfür die monumentale Hippolytusmonographie von A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1). Obwohl er den Begriff sogar in seinem Buchtitel aufführt, bleibt er im Werk einer Definition von „Monarch-bishop“ schuldig. Erst am Ende der Lektüre drängt sich der Verdacht auf, dass er mit dem Ausdruck eher den Monepiskopat als den „monarchischen Episkopat“ im Sinn der Alleinherrschaft umschreibt. Definitorische Unschärfe weisen auch andere Beiträge auf, wie etwa P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 334-345 sowie M. SIMONETTI, Roma cristiana (see n. 7); ID., Profilo (see n. 7) auf.

¹⁰ G. SCHÖLLGEN, „Monepiskopat und monarchischer Episkopat: Eine Bemerkung zur Terminologie”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 77 (1986), p. 146-151.

¹¹ Zumindest vernimmt man äußerst selten kritische Stimmen zu dieser Distinktion. Siehe etwa F. LAUB, „Sozialgeschichtlicher Hintergrund und ekklesiologische Relevanz der neutestamentlich-frühchristlichen Haus- und Gemeinde-Tafelparänese: ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des Frühchristentums”, *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift*, 37 (1986), p. 249-271, p. 265. Selbst dann ist beachtenswert ein Alternativentwurf aus der jüngsten Zeit, wenn dieser kontrovers diskutiert wird. Nach A. STEWART-SYKES, Bishops (see n. 1) war der Bischof ursprünglich der (einzige) Leiter der „household community“ mit primär liturgischen und finanziellen Kompetenzen. Deshalb gab es nie Gemeinden mit mehr als einem Bischof. Der ehrenamtliche Titel der Presbyter bezieht sich auf verdiente Patronen einer Gemeinschaft. Bischöfe und Presbyter einer Stadt bildeten eine lose Zweckgemeinschaft, die sich mit der Zeit zu einer Institution eines einzigen Bischofs (Monepiskopat) umformte. Gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit dem bisherigen Konsens bestehen trotz wesentlicher Unterschiede. So etwa bildete sich

nologie bei. Ihm folgend, ist mit dem „Monepiskopat“ im Wesentlichen das Institut eines Einzelbischofs an der Spitze der Ortskirche als Vorsteher der Eucharistiefeier und Sprecher des Presbyterkollegiums gemeint. Der „monarchische Episkopat“ beschreibt die „Alleinherrschaft“ eines Bischofs, dem alle Gehorsam schulden und unter dem Diakone sowie Presbyter nur als ausführende Organe an der Leitung der Gemeinde teilnehmen.

Aus guten Gründen kann und muss man davon ausgehen, dass das im Begriff „monarchischer Episkopat“ verdichtete Konzept der uneingeschränkten bischöflichen Leitungsansprüche erstmals und ausschließlich¹² in der *Didascalia Apostolorum* in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten bezeugt ist. In dieser eher programmatischen Streitschrift¹³ als Kirchenordnung aus der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts wird die Herrschaftsform des Bischofs mit ähnlichen Befugnissen beschrieben, wie sie etwa einem *οἰκοδεσπότης* in seinem eigenen Haushalt zukommt.¹⁴ Dies wird allerdings als ein Ideal dargestellt, das es noch zu verwirklichen gilt. Damit zeichnet

das bischöfliche Amt nach A. Stewart-Sykes aus der Pluralität der kollegialen Föderation der Presbyter vor Ort aus.

¹² Ältere Forschung fand bereits bei Ignatius von Antiochien monarchischen Ansprüche vor. In den letzten Dekaden wurde allerdings nicht nur die Authentizität sowie die Datierung seiner Briefe in Zweifel gezogen, sondern es lässt sich auch eine Verschiebung hinsichtlich der Einschätzung der dort vertretenen Ansprüche vom monarchischen hin zum Monepiskopat beobachten. Siehe R. M. HÜBNER, „Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 1 (1997), p. 44-72; A. LINDEMANN, „Antwort auf die ‘Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien’“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 1 (1997), p. 185-194; M. J. EDWARDS, „Ignatius and the Second Century: An Answer to R. Hübner“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 2 (1998), p. 214-226; G. SCHÖLLGEN, „Die Ignatianen als pseudepigraphisches Briefcorpus: Anmerkung zu den Thesen von Reinhard M. Hübner“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 2 (1998), p. 16-25; H. J. VOGT, „Bemerkungen zur Echtheit der Ignatiusbriefe“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 3 (1999), p. 50-63; T. LECHNER, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos?: chronologische und theologiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien*, Leiden, 1999. Für die Einschätzung der älteren Forschung siehe exemplarisch H. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen, 1963, p. 82-134; 163-194; sowie R. P. C. HANSON, „Amt / Ämter / Amtsverständnis: V. Alte Kirche“, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 2, ed. by H. R. BALZ, G. MÜLLER, Berlin/New York, 1978, p. 533-552 und dagegen G. SCHÖLLGEN, Terminologie (see n. 10), p. 147-150 mit einer eingehenden Analyse der maßgeblichen Quellen.

¹³ Das *Didascalia Apostolorum* stellt keine Kirchenordnung im engeren Sinn dar und reflektiert deshalb wohl kaum die realen Verhältnisse einer Gemeinde. Vgl. G. SCHÖLLGEN, „Die literarische Gattung der syrischen Didaskalie“, in *Symposium Syriacum 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature*, ed. by H. J. W. DRIJVERS, Roma, 1987, p. 149-159. *The Didascalia Apostolorum: An English Version*, ed. by A. STEWART-SYKES, Turnhout, 2009 beschreibt es als sukzessiv entstandene „living literature“ mit mehreren Redaktionen.

¹⁴ Vgl. G. SCHÖLLGEN, „Hausgemeinden, ‘oikos’-Ekklesiologie und monarchischer Episkopat. Überlegungen zu einer neuen Forschungsrichtung“, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 31 (1988), p. 74-90, „From Monepiscopate to Monarchical Episcopate: The Emergence

sich am Horizont langsam das (vorläufige) Ende einer langwierigen Entwicklung ab und gibt gleich die Definition des „monarchischen Episkopats“ im engeren Sinn wieder. Konsequenterweise ist die Verwendung des Terminus für die ersten drei Jahrhunderte irreführend, da dieser weder die Idee hinter der theologischen Konzeption noch die tatsächlichen Befugnisse des Bischofs bzw. seines Amtes sachgemäß wiedergibt.¹⁵ Die vorkonstantinische Periode ist dennoch von besonderem Interesse, da sie eine Reihe von Entwicklungen geprägt hat, die langfristig zur Herausbildung des monarchischen Episkopats führen. Als entscheidende Schritte müssen etwa die Ausdifferenzierung einer dreigliedrigen Amtshierarchie, die Formation des Monepiskopats, die Professionalisierung des Klerus, die Etablierung einer οἶκος-Ekklesiologie als theologische Legitimation, die Konzentration der Disziplinargewalt in der Hand des Bischofs durch die Begründung eines öffentlichen Bußwesens sowie die Ausbreitung des Christentums genannt werden, die sowohl die finanziellen Weichen als auch die Notwendigkeit der Professionalisierung stellt.¹⁶

Trotz dieser Vielfalt der unterschiedlichen Prozesse, die in Wechselwirkung zur Entstehung des monarchischen Episkopats führten, ist, wenn die stadtrömischen Verhältnisse reflektiert werden, eine Verengung der Debatte hin zu einem einzigen Aspekt zu beobachten. Das „monarchische“ Element wird im angeblich souveränen Anspruch des Bischofs, in Disziplinarfragen die letzte und entscheidende Instanz zu sein, erkannt. Nach P. Lampe ist Bischof Viktor der erste, der endgültig mit der alten stadtrömischen Tradition der „Toleranz“¹⁷ bricht und sich rege damit beschäftigt, die Grenzen der Orthodoxie für jedermann sichtbar aufzuzeichnen: „Die Konzentration auf Viktor [...] fällt ins Auge. [...] Wiederholt] kündigte Viktor am Ende des Jahrhunderts mehreren christlichen Gruppen in der Stadt die Gemeinschaft“¹⁸. Folglich war „Viktor [...] der erste, der [...] energisch als monarchischer Episkopus auftrat und [...] die verschiedenen Gruppen in der Stadt unter seine Aufsicht zu befördern suchte, [... bzw.] exkom-

of a New Relationship between Bishop and Community in the Third Centur”, *The Jurist. Studies in Church Law and Ministry*, 66 (2006), p. 114-128, p. 124-127.

¹⁵ So das Urteil von G. SCHÖLLGEN, Terminologie (see n. 10) sowie siehe dazu auch S. REBENICH, „Monarchie“, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 24, Stuttgart, 2012, p. 1112-1196, p. 1170-1171.

¹⁶ Dieser Prozess wird eindrucklich in G. SCHÖLLGEN, From Monepiscopate (see n. 14) illustriert.

¹⁷ Vor Viktor „herrschte bis auf zwei bis drei Ausnahmen (Marcion, Cerdo; allenfalls noch die Karpokratianer) eine Periode weitgehender Toleranz“. P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 334.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 333-334.

munikative Trennungsstriche zog“¹⁹. Der Befund gegen Anderslehrende²⁰ im Allgemeinen findet nach dieser Lesart in den universaldisziplinarisch formulierten Ansprüchen im sogenannten Osterfeststreit²¹ eine explizite Bestätigung.

Die Einschränkung der Debatte auf die Disziplinarfragen erscheint angesichts der äußerst lückenhaften und wortkargen Quellenlage nachvollziehbar, wenn auch kaum zufriedenstellend. Zu den bischöflichen Tätigkeiten erfährt man über die expliziten Nachrichten zur Aufzeichnung von den Grenzen der Rechtsgläubigkeit hinaus nur in Ausnahmefällen etwas. Gleichzeitig muss aus doppeltem Grund gefragt werden, inwiefern die Ausübung von Disziplinalgewalt als ein zuverlässiger Indikator für das monarchische Element verwendet werden kann. Erstens ist ungeklärt, ob die Disziplinarentscheidungen vom Bischof im Alleingang beschlossen und artikuliert wurden oder ob von einem kollegialen Prozess ausgegangen werden sollte. Zweitens stellt die Monopolisierung der Disziplinarkompetenz in der Hand des Bischofs lediglich einen Aspekt von vielen anderen dar, die eine „monarchische“ Amtsführung ausmachen. Deshalb ist es selbst dann grundsätzlich fraglich, ob dieser singuläre Hinweis für eine bereits verwirklichte monarchische Amtsführung genügt, wenn die erste Prämisse uneingeschränkt bejaht werden kann. In diesem Zusammenhang legt M. Simonetti seinen Finger auf den wunden Punkt der Diskussion. Zu Recht – auch wenn vielleicht etwas zu pointiert – verweist er bezüglich der Entwicklung der stadtrömischen Hierarchie auf „la carenza di documentazione, che su questo punto è completa. [...] Perciò] qui siamo nel campo del puro ipotetico, per non dire dell’immaginario“²². Die zur Sprache gebrachte Problematik ist nicht leicht von der Hand zu weisen, denn sowohl P. Lampe als auch A. Brent neigen gelegentlich dazu, die wortkargen Quellen zu überinterpretieren.²³ Dennoch erscheint mir die Schlussfolgerung M. Simonettis hierzu etwas voreilig: „sia legittimo parlare di chiese domestiche a Roma nel II secolo, ma che sia prudente riconoscere i limiti delle nostre conoscenze su questo argomento e rinunciare a col-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

²⁰ Vgl. *Ibid.*, p. 323-334; 338-345; M. SIMONETTI, *Roma cristiana* (see n. 7), p. 12-13; *ID.*, *Profilo* (see n. 7), p. 167-169.

²¹ Siehe z. B. M. SIMONETTI, *Nuova proposta* (see n. 5), p. 33-36; „Roma cristiana tra vescovi e presbiteri“, in *Origine delle catacombe romane*, ed. by V. FIOCCHI NICOLAI, J. GUYON, Città del Vaticano, 2006, p. 29-40, p. 32; M. SIMONETTI, *Profilo* (see n. 7); B. STUDER, „Callistus I, pope“, in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, 1, ed. by A. DI BERARDINO, T. C. ODEN, J. HOOVER, Downers Grove, 2014, p. 413-414, p. 413.

²² M. SIMONETTI, *Roma cristiana* (see n. 7), p. 12.

²³ C. SCHOLTEN, *Quellen* (see n. 5); G. SCHÖLLGEN, *Probleme* (see n. 5); M. SIMONETTI, *Nuova proposta* (see n. 5).

mare i vuoti abbandonandoci alla fantasia“²⁴. Es trifft zwar zu, dass keine expliziten Texte zum Thema überliefert sind, jedoch bedeutet dies nicht, dass es illegitim wäre, die überlieferten Quellen auf diese Fragestellung hin zu untersuchen und die ansonsten eher auf Hypothesen beruhenden Argumente kritisch zu durchleuchten.

Um die umschriebenen Vorhaben zu bewältigen, stehen während des Episkopats Viktors insgesamt vier Fallbeispiele zur Ausübung von Disziplinargewalt zur Verfügung. Namentlich bekannt sind darunter Presbyter Florinus, Theodotus der Gerber, der einen dynamischen Monarchianismus nach Rom importierte sowie ein gewisser Blastus, der als Sprecher der quartodezimanischen Fraktion in Rom zu fungieren schien und daher mit dem Osterfeststreit zusammen zu untersuchen ist. Sollte man die These akzeptieren, dass die öffentliche Wirkung von Praxeas in Rom in die Zeit Viktors fällt, dann kann der Widerruf der für die stadtrömischen Anhänger der „phrygischen Propheten“ ausgestellten Friedensbriefe ebenfalls in diesem Rahmen untersucht werden. Der fünfte Fall ist ebenfalls mit Praxeas verbunden: obwohl er allem Anschein nach unbehelligt seiner Tätigkeit in Rom nachging und zudem die *urbs* freiwillig verließ, liefert er für die Fragestellung dennoch wertvolle Hinweise. Der letzte, sechste Fall, die „Verbannung“ von dem Ex-Sklaven Calixtus durch Viktor stellt zwar keinen Ausschluss aus der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft dar, hat aber eine nicht geringe Relevanz.

2. Presbyter Florinus

Laut einer Notiz²⁵ von Eusebius verursachen Blastus und der Presbyter Florinus²⁶ nicht unerhebliche Verwirrungen in- und außerhalb Roms. Der

²⁴ Vgl. M. SIMONETTI, *Roma cristiana* (see n. 7), p. 11-12.

²⁵ Eus. *H.E.* 5,15 = Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ Leipzig, 1903 (GCS, Eusebius 2/1), p. 458.

²⁶ Florinus scheint wohl nicht nur eine recht ansehnliche soziale Stellung als kaiserlicher Freigelassener innerhalb des Kaiserhauses innegehabt haben, sondern auch u. a. mit Polykarpus von Smyrna verkehrt haben bevor er nach Rom kam. Eus., *H. E.* 5, 20,5, p. 482. Siehe weiterführend P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 264, 327-328; R. HANIG, „Florinus, Gnostiker“, in *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, ed. by S. DÖPP, P. BRUNS, Freiburg, 32002, p. 271; C. GIANOTTO, „Florinus“, in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. by A. DI BERARDINO, T. C. ODEN, J. HOOVER, Downers Grove, 2014, p. 49. Eine Zuweisung des Florinus' Presbyter zu Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, wie dies Karl KASTNER durch konsequenten Bezug der *Adversus haereses* auf Rom vorschlug, ist jedoch nicht zu halten. K. KASTNER, „Irenäus von Lyon und der römische Presbyter Florinus“, *Der Katholik*, 90 (1910), p. 88-105, „Zur Kontroverse über den angeblichen Ketzler Florinus“, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 13 (1912), p. 59-83. Einspruch dagegen erhob bereits

Letztere scheint eine ansehnliche Aufmerksamkeit als Irrlehrer auf sich gezogen zu haben. So adressierte Irenäus gleich zwei, auch von Eusebius gesichtete²⁷ Schreiben an ihn. Im ersten geht der Lyoner Bischof mit dem Titel „An Florinus über die Alleinherrschaft Gottes oder dass Gott nicht der Urheber von Bösem sei“²⁸ gegen Florinus vor. Letzterer lässt sich in Rom offenbar durch die Anregungen aus Lyon kaum beeindrucken. Denn er scheint sich in die „gnostischen“ Lehren des Valentinus²⁹ zu vertiefen und sich weiterhin literarisch zu betätigen. Deshalb zieht er erneut die Aufmerksamkeit des Irenäus auf sich. Diesmal verfasst der Lyoner eine Studie „Περὶ ὁγδοάδος“³⁰ gegen valentinische Spekulationen des römischen Presbyters. Zum Schluss (faktisch aber chronologisch vorangestellt) erfährt man von Eusebius noch, dass Florinus sein Presbyteramt niederlegen musste.³¹ Mit anderen Worten, Florinus wurde nicht nur dazu gezwungen, aus seinem kirchlichen Amt auszuschcheiden, sondern ihm und seinem Schülerkreis wurde auch die Kirchengemeinschaft gekündigt. Über die nackten Tatsachen hinaus weiß Eusebius nichts zu berichten. Es fällt jedoch auf, dass der Name Viktors in diesem Kontext gar nicht erwähnt wird. Die-

H. KOCH, „Tertullian und der römische Presbyter Florinus“, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 13 (1913), p. 59-83; A. BAUMSTARK, „Die Lehre des römischen Presbyters Florinus“, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 13 (1912), p. 306-319.

²⁷ A. CARRIKER, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*, Leiden/Boston, 2003, p. 217-218.

²⁸ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480: „Πρὸς Φλωρίνον περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν“. Siehe dazu ausführlich C. E. HILL, *From the Lost Teaching of Polycarp: Identifying Irenaeus' Apostolic Presbyter and the Author of "Ad Diognetum"*, Tübingen, 2006, p. 12-17.

²⁹ Vgl. F. FLIEDNER, *Die ketzergeschichtlichen Angaben des Agapius und das System des Presbyters Florinus*, Münster, 1935; C. MARKSCHIES, *Valentinus Gnosticus? Untersuchungen zur valentinianischen Gnosis; mit einem Kommentar zu den Fragmenten Valentins*, Tübingen, 1992, p. 232; 296.

³⁰ Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480. Erstmals wurde diese Meinung von A. BAUMSTARK, Florinus (see n. 26), p. 311-312 vertreten und später von P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 264 sowie G. MAY, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts: die Entstehung der Lehre von der creatio ex nihilo*, Berlin/New York, 1978, p. 158-159 bzw. I. DUNDERBERG, *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle, and Society in the School of Valentinus*, New York, 2008, p. 2-3 und insbesondere n. 10 aufgegriffen.

³¹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458: „οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ρώμης ἡχμαζόν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρίνος πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεσόν ...“. In diesem Zusammenhang äußert M. WILLING, *Eusebius von Caesarea als Häreseograph*, Berlin/New York, 2008, p. 276 die Vermutung, dass die Niederlegung des Presbyteramtes durch Florinus mit einer „besonderen häretischen Konnotation“ versehen ist. Sie meint damit wohl eine gewissen Anklang des Verhaltens von Novatianus während der Verfolgungen. Er legte laut Eusebius sein Amt aus Feigheit nieder und floh. Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 6, 43,16 = Eusebius Caesariensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig, 1908 (GCS, Eusebius 2/2), p. 620. Angesichts des syrischsprachigen Fragments eines Irenäusbriefes erübrigt sich eine solche Interpretation sowieso – zumindest für die gegenwärtige Audienz. Vgl. weiter unten, n. 33.

ses Phänomen, sowie die Tatsache, dass der Caesareaner Blastus und Florinus zeitgleich in Rom auftreten lässt, jedoch keine weiteren Anmerkungen anhängt, legt nahe, dass sein Fundus an Quellen bezüglich der beiden Männer eher dürftig ausfiel.³²

Zu diesem Thema ist ein Brieffragment von Irenäus weit aufschlussreicher, welches in die Sammlung syrischer Texte Severus' von Antiochien, der sog. Nitrian Collection des British Museums gehört. In diesem Schreiben³³ bittet, ja drängt der Lyoner Bischof seine stadtrömischen Gesprächspartner³⁴ nahezu, nicht nur gegen die literarischen Erzeugnisse des Florinus

³² Eusebius besaß zumindest die genannten Schriften, da er daraus zitiert. Vgl. A. CARRIKER, *Library* (see n. 27), p. 218-219. Zur Datierung und Quellenrezeption siehe M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 270-276.

³³ Iren., *Fr.* 28 = Irenaeus Lugdunensis, *Fragmenta quaedam syriace*, ed. by W. W. HARVEY, in *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libros quinque adversus haereses*, II, Cantabrigiae, 1857, p. 431-461, p. 457. Das Fragment wurde wahrscheinlich als Anhang zur syrischen Übersetzung der Antijulianischen Polemik des Severus' von Antiochien überliefert. Die Authentizität dieses Fragments ist, abgesehen von E. THOMASSEN, *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the "Valentinians"*, Leiden/Boston, 2006, p. 501, n. 37, m.W. noch nicht ernsthaft bezweifelt worden. Seiner Meinung nach ist das syrische Fragment, „which according to its *inscriptio* was addressed to bishop Victor in Rome, [...] is of uncertain authenticity, to say nothing of the trustworthiness of the *inscriptio*“. Dagegen hebt J. BEHR, *Irenaeus of Lyons: Identifying Christianity*, Oxford, 2013, p. 54 vor, dass „although the inscription to the letter, and the extract itself, have no external point of corroboration, they do coincide well with what Eusebius says about Florinus and Irenaeus' work On the Ogdoad“. Gesundes Bedenken gegenüber der *inscriptio* ist naturgemäß angebracht, da ihre Angaben nicht unmittelbar zu überprüfen sind. Daraus folgt die Infragestellung der Authentizität des Fragments jedoch längst nicht, besonders, weil sie mit Eusebius korrespondiert. D. WANKE, „Irenäus und die Häretiker in Rom: Thesen zur geschichtlichen Situation von 'Adversus haereses'“, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 3 (1999), p. 202-240, p. 209, n. 45 in Anlehnung an A. HARNACK, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Bd. II: *Die Verbreitung*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 518-522 äußert zwar Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit der *inscriptio*, stuft jedoch das Fragment ausdrücklich als authentisch ein. Siehe dazu auch unten n. 34.

³⁴ Das Fragment wurde bereits von seinem antiken syrischen Editor identifiziert und der Korrespondenz zwischen Irenäus und dem römischen Bischof Viktor zugeordnet. Doch die Indizien, die eine solche Lesart des Textes aus dem überlieferten Brieffragment heraus ermöglichen sind rar gesät. Eine Zuweisung des Fragments nach Rom wäre ohne zusätzliche Informationen aus der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius genauso unmöglich, wie eine geographische Verortung an sich. Zieht man aber die externen Zeugnisse zu Rate, ergibt sich daraus ein plausibles und in sich kohärentes Bild. Dort wird berichtet, dass sich Irenäus mit den Irrlehren eines Presbyters namens Florinus mehrmals auseinandersetzte. Dass dieser aus seinem Amt als Presbyter enthoben wird, erfährt man vom Caesareaner. Dort wird Florinus zwar nicht unmittelbar mit dem Episkopat Viktors in Verbindung gebracht, wohl aber mit dem Wirken von Blastus in Rom. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15; 5, 20,4, p. 458; p. 482. Gegen eine Zuordnung des Ausschlusses Florinus' durch Viktor spricht dementsprechend nichts. Das muss sogar D. WANKE, Irenäus (see n. 33), p. 209, n. 45 sowie 233 einräumen, der sich für Eleutherus, den Vorgänger Viktors, als Adressat des syrischen Fragments starkmacht. Hätte sich der Fall tatsächlich schon während des Episkopats des Eleutherus ereignet, drängt sich

vorzugehen, sondern auch gegen den Schriftsteller selbst etwas zu unternehmen. Irenäus vermutet, den Angeschriebenen sei entgangen, dass einer seiner Presbyter eine Grenze überschritt, indem er seine Glaubensregel von valentinianischen Lehren beeinflussen ließ. Das könne man nach Irenäus nicht weiter tolerieren. Offensichtlich verwirklichte Florinus die „Neuausrichtung“ seiner Lehren nicht nur in seinem engeren „Schülerkreis“ oder in seiner „Hausgemeinde“, sondern diese fand wahrscheinlich auch in Rom sowie über die Grenzen Roms hinaus literarische Verbreitung. Sie stieß offenkundig auch innerhalb der christlichen Gemeinden auf reges Interesse („*offendiculo enim sunt multis*“) und gelangte unter anderem nach Gallien. Als die Schriften des Irrlehrers in Lyon ihre ersten „Früchte“ tragen, wird Irenäus alarmiert. Er beklagt in seinem Brief, dass Florinus’ Schrifttum recht destruktive Kräfte besaß. Insbesondere, weil sich Florinus auf unverächtliche Art und Weise damit rühmte, „dass er einer von euch ist“ („*se unum esse e vobis*“)³⁵. Der Presbyter legitimiert seine „blasphemischen Lehren“ laut Irenäus dadurch, dass er sich unter der Lehrautorität des Ortsbischofs verortet und sich in der Gemeinschaft mit den stadtrömischen Christen stehend darstellt. Für viele sei aber dieses Etikett ausreichend, um von einer Prüfung abzusehen und die Werke unbedarft zu konsumieren. So schadet Florinus nicht nur der Ortskirche in Rom, sondern erreicht durch sein Schrifttum auch jene, die in der „Ferne“ sind. Um diesen gefährlichen Giftzahn des Irrlehrers zu ziehen, ruft Irenäus die Angeschriebenen in Rom auf, sich dringend mit dem Fall zu beschäftigen. Für ihn steht fest: Da die durch die Schriften verbreiteten Irrlehren aus Rom stammen und der Irrlehrer selbst Mitglied des stadtrömischen Presbyterkollegiums ist, muss die Lösung des Problems ebenfalls aus Rom kommen.

Das Besondere an diesem Fall ist vor allem, dass der Lyoner Bischof die Lösung offenbar nicht allein von Viktor erwartet. Denn die Adressaten des Fragments sind durchweg in der Pluralform angesprochen: „euch diese Bücher verborgen geblieben sind“ („*vos lateant libri eorum*“); „ich mache euch kund“ („*notum facio vobis*“); „eurer Ehre entsprechend herauswirft“ („*pro vestra dignitate ejiciatis*“), etc. Der Gebrauch des Plurals setzt also

die Frage auf, wieso dann Florinus gar keine Erwähnung in *Adversus haeresis* findet. „Die einfachste Erklärung [...] ist, dass [...] die Kontroverse [...] nicht vor 190 (Antritt des Victor 189/190) ausgebrochen ist, weshalb auch Irenäus in seinem großen Werke den Florinus nicht nennt“, lieferte bereits A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius, Bd. I: Die Überlieferung und der Bestand*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 593-594 als plausible Antwort auf diese Frage. Damit kommt Eleutherus als Bischof eher nicht in Frage. Zur irenäischen Chronologie und zur Verbreitung des u. a. florinischen Schriftguts siehe auch C. E. HILL, *Teaching* (see n. 28), p. 73-80. Dazu hat vor kurzem J. BEHR, *Irenaeus* (see n. 33), p. 67-72 einige Korrekturvorschläge unterbreitet.

³⁵ Iren., *Fr.* 28, p. 457.

eher einen Empfängerkreis voraus, als das, was der spätantike Sammler und Redakteur der syrischen Texte als Vorwort dem Fragment interpretativ beifügt: eine Einzelperson, nämlich Viktor.³⁶ Dennoch hält sich diese Lesart hartnäckig, obwohl keine weiteren Indizien für eine Einzelempfängerschaft oder eine explizite Adressierung an Viktor überliefert sind. Das liegt vermutlich vor allem daran, dass weite Teile des Briefes, so auch der Briefanfang und das Ende, verloren gegangen sind.³⁷ Eine präzisere Ermittlung der Adressaten ist aus dem überlieferten Text nicht möglich. Einen Hinweis, der den Empfängerkreis genauer erscheinen lässt, liefert jedoch das Fragment selbst. Im Text ist davon die Rede, „dass er einer von euch ist“ („*unum esse e vobis*“), nämlich ein „Presbyter, der Lästereien gegen Gott“ („*a presbytero blasphemiam qua Deum*“) verbreitet. Da sich Irenäus noch im gleichen Satz auf das Presbyteramt des Irrlehrers bezieht, liegt es nahe, dass der Ausdruck im engeren Sinn gedeutet werden muss und damit der Kreis der stadtrömischen Presbyter gemeint ist. Denkbar ist jedoch auch eine Deutung im weiteren Sinn: In diesem Fall wäre mit „euch“ durchweg die stadtrömische Kirche gemeint. Für eine solche Lesart spricht, dass Irenäus die Adressaten auffordert, „eurer Ehre entsprechend“ („*pro vestra dignitate*“) zu handeln und die Schriften des Florinus aus ihrer Mitte zu entfernen. Welche der beiden Interpretationen näher an die tatsächlichen historischen Gegebenheiten herankommt, lässt sich aus dem Fragment kaum präziser erschließen. Es ändert jedoch nichts an dem Endergebnis: Es handelt sich bei den Adressaten nicht um eine Person, sondern um einen Adressatenkreis. Folglich sind die einführenden Worte des Editors, Viktor sei der ausschließliche Empfänger dieses Briefes, wohl kaum zutreffend.

Wahre Brisanz verleiht die Verwendung des Plurals dem Brief allerdings erst, wenn man diesen unter dem Aspekt des angeschnittenen Themas betrachtet. Es geht dabei um nicht weniger als die direkte Aufforderung – wohlgemerkt des stadtrömischen Presbyterkollegiums bzw. der Ortskirche und nicht des Bischofs persönlich –, die Initiative zu ergreifen und entschlossen gegen die Schriften und dadurch auch gegen die Lehren des Mitpresbyters Florinus vorzugehen. Zwar schreibt Irenäus nur, dass die Römer „jene Schriften“ des hiesigen Presbyters „aus der Mitte vertreiben“ („*ejiciatis e medio scripta illa*“) müssten. Gemeint ist freilich damit nicht, die

³⁶ „And Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, to Viktor, bishop of Rome, concerning Florinus, a presbyter, who was a partisan of the error of Valentinus and published an abominable book, thus wrote“. Aus der *inscriptio* geht die selbstverständliche Haltung des spätantiken Redaktors der syrischen Fragmente hervor, dass ein Anliegen mit solcher Schwere nur unmittelbar an einen Bischof adressiert werden kann. Vgl. *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libros quinque adversus haereses*, ed. by W. W. HARVEY, Cantabrigiae, 1857, p. 457, n. 1.

³⁷ Was E. THOMASSEN, *Valentinians* (see n. 33), p. 500, n. 37 dazu anleitete, an der Authentizität des Briefes zu zweifeln.

Werke in den *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* aufzunehmen. Vielmehr soll diese Anmerkung als eine indirekte Aufforderung verstanden werden, die Tätigkeit des Florinus nicht mehr zu dulden und seinen „Giftzahn“ zu ziehen. Durch einen Ausschluss wird er seiner gefährlichsten Waffe beraubt: Der Möglichkeit, sich in der διαδοχή des Bischofs von Rom zu verorten und dadurch seine Lehren als unverfälscht bzw. als „orthodox“ zu vermarkten. Ob Irenäus in diesem Zusammenhang konkretere Schritte empfahl, geht aus dem überlieferten Fragment nicht hervor.³⁸ Besonders im Licht des eusebianischen Berichts über das Ergehen des Florinus lässt die Ermahnung allerdings kaum Spielraum für eine anderslautende Interpretation.

Das Zeugnis des Irenäus ist schon deshalb besonders wertvoll, weil er die stadtrömischen Gegebenheiten nicht wie Eusebius lediglich aus Jahrhunderte alten Dokumenten kennt, sondern vielmehr aus erster Hand³⁹: Der Lyoner besuchte Rom zwischen 174 und 177. Damals überbrachte er als Presbyter einen Brief der Lyoner Märtyrer in die Reichshauptstadt.⁴⁰ In diesem Zusammenhang lernte er auch Bischof Eleutherus (175?-189?), den Vorgänger Viktors, persönlich kennen.⁴¹ Eine Zusammenkunft u. a. auch mit Viktor, damals bereits Presbyter, ist wahrscheinlich. Rege Korrespondenz herrschte ebenfalls zwischen Lyon und Rom, diese lässt sich punktuell historisch⁴² fassen. Die Formulierungen des syrischen Fragments

³⁸ „As far as we can tell from the extract, however, Irenaeus does not request Victor to ‘dismiss’ or ‘excommunicate’ Florinus“, unterstreicht J. BEHR, Irenaeus (see n. 33), p. 54. Diese Sicht findet er auch bei Eusebius bestätigt, der nur darüber schreibt, dass Florinus „abgefallen“ sei. Die Konsequenzen fasst er folgendermaßen zusammen: „Rather than thinking of Florinus as being a ‘presbyter’ of the ‘bishop’ Victor, all indications are that they both belonged together to the ‘presbytery of the Church’ in Rome, an arrangement that we have seen repeated over the course of the second century ...“. Eine solche Deutung des irenäischen Fragments ist vor allem deswegen problematisch, weil sich Florinus *expressis verbis* damit rühmt, „dass er einer von euch ist“ (*se unum esse e vobis*). Damit ordnet Irenäus Florinus unverkennbar der Kirche/Gruppe/Fraktion, oder mit J. Behr’s Terminologie gesprochen, der „company“ des Bischofs zu. Iren., Fr. 28, p. 457.

³⁹ Siehe dazu R. M. GRANT, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, London, 1997, p. 1-11; J. BEHR, „Gaul“, in *Cambridge History of Christianity, Bd. I: Origins to Constantine*, ed. by R. A. BARANOWSKI, J. M. H. SMITH, T. F. X. NOBLE, Cambridge/New York, 2008, p. 366-379, p. 374-379; J. BEHR, Irenaeus (see n. 33), p. 47-57.

⁴⁰ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 4,1, p. 432 sowie siehe C. E. HILL, *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Millennial Thought in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 2001, p. 254-259.

⁴¹ Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 4,1-2, p. 432-434.

⁴² Neben dem vorliegenden Brieffragment zeigt es sich vor allem beim sog. Osterfeststreit wie gut, ja bis ins Detail, Irenäus über die Vorgänge in Rom informiert war. Seine zweifache (uns bekannte) Intervention unterstreicht den regen Austausch zwischen Rom und Lyon. Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,1-5, 25, p. 488-498. Sollte die Annahme D. WANKE, Irenäus (see n. 33) zutreffen, würde sogar das irenäische Hauptwerk *Adversus haeresis* einen eindeutigen Rombezug aufweisen. Siehe auch unten, n. 43. Zwar weiß man nicht, ob sich der Autor der *Refutatio* und Irenäus jemals persönlich begegneten (als Presbyter der römischen Kirche hätte der

können also wohl kaum auf einen „Ausrutscher“ oder auf defizitäres Wissen zurückgeführt werden. Eher muss man davon ausgehen, dass die kollegiale Aufforderung der stadtrömischen Kirche von Irenäus wohl intendiert ist und auf die in der *urbs* vorherrschenden Leitungsstrukturen Rücksicht nimmt. Nach der Aussage des syrischen Fragments hat also Viktor zum Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts (noch) keinen besonderen disziplinarischen Anspruch in Rom aufzuweisen.

Nicht weniger bedeutend ist die Beobachtung, dass Irenäus (wieder⁴³) in einer eher genuin stadtrömischen Angelegenheit interveniert. Es ist darüber hinaus augenfällig, dass Viktor bzw. das Presbyterkollegium nicht aus eigenen Initiative heraus handelt. Wieso sich Viktor und sein Priesterkollegium im Einklang vor der Aufgabe drücken, lässt sich aus dem Text nicht entnehmen. Man kann dahinter beispielsweise tatsächlich die von Irenäus ins Spiel gebrachte Vermutung annehmen. Eine mögliche Erklärung könnte hier das Hauskirchenwesen, oder die „Fraktionierung“ des stadtrömischen Christentums liefern.⁴⁴ Bedenkt man jedoch, dass sich Florinus damit rühmt, unmittelbar in der Lehrautorität des Bischofs zu stehen – was er höchstwahrscheinlich auch tut, sonst wäre die Aufforderung Irenäus’ an die Römer sinnlos –, dann relativiert sich das Argument der zersplitterten Gemeindelandschaft. Aufgrund regelmäßigen Kontakts sowohl mit dem Presbyterkollegium als auch mit dem Bischof ist es wohl kaum vorstellbar, dass Florinus der Spagat gelang, seine Lehren „im Verborgenen“ zu verbreiten. Ferner muss ja seine Hausgemeinde bzw. Schule auch mit anderen Gemeinden der Stadt in engerer Beziehung stehen. Schließlich ist Bischof Viktor auch „sein“ Bischof. Florinus’ schriftstellerische Tätigkeit spricht übrigens auch gegen geheime Machenschaften, da er sich damit gezielt an die Öffentlichkeit wendete. Seine publizistischen Erfolge sind, gemessen an ihrer Verbreitung bis nach Gallien, durchaus beachtlich. Es wäre daher naiv anzunehmen, dass keiner in Rom davon Wind bekommt.

Autor dazu durchaus Gelegenheit gehabt), die intensive Nutzung des irenäischen Materials sowie die Übernahme seiner häresiographischen Methode könnte in diese Richtung deuten.

⁴³ Vor einiger Zeit äußerte bereits D. WANKE, Irenäus (see n. 33), p. 238 die Vermutung, dass *Adversus haereses* römische Adressaten vor Augen hat. Er geht davon aus, dass die römischen Bischöfe offenbar nicht die Verantwortung für die gesamte römische Kirche übernahmen und die Verehrung von „falschen“ Märtyrern, d. h. Märtyrer der Häretiker duldeten. Irenäus reagiert darauf, indem er die Konzepte *successio episcoporum*, bzw. *apostolorum* einerseits sowie die *successio martyrum* andererseits entwickelt und dadurch die Römer ermahnt: „Eine Gemeinde, die einen Häretiker wie Ptolemäus – und sei es stillschweigend – als Märtyrer anerkennt und damit gleichzeitig der Verbreitung seiner Irrlehren durch die Schüler Raum gibt (von denen einige unter Berufung auf die Theologie ihres Lehrers das Martyrium sogar vollständig ablehnen), läuft Gefahr, ihre Existenz als Glied des einen Christusleibes aufs Spiel zu setzen“.

⁴⁴ Vgl. P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 301-349.

Träfe folglich die durch Irenäus vorsichtig geäußerte Vermutung zu, dass die Zurückhaltung des römischen Klerus im Fall Florinus' tatsächlich einer Unwissenheit geschuldet ist, würde dieser Umstand weder auf Viktor, noch auf das Presbyterkollegium ein allzu vorteilhaftes Licht werfen. Konsequenterweise müsste man annehmen, dass der Bischof⁴⁵ von Rom nicht einmal ahnte, was in den einzelnen Gemeinden vor sich ging. Ein solches Szenario wäre an sich denkbar, wenn auch eher weniger wahrscheinlich. Für dieses Phänomen der Untätigkeit, das öfter wohl zu beobachten ist, bietet P. Lampe ein Erklärungsmodell.⁴⁶ Seiner Meinung nach pflegt man bis in die Zeit des Eleutherus, des Vorgängers Viktors, eine gewisse Duldung von Heterodoxie. Die offensichtliche Tatenlosigkeit der Römer kann ganz in dem Zeichen der stillschweigenden „Tolerierung“ nach stadtrömischen Gepflogenheiten gedeutet werden: Viktor bzw. das Presbyterkollegium kennt zwar die Tätigkeiten und die sich zunehmend valentinianisch verfärbenden Glaubenssätze des Florinus, sieht aber weder Anlass⁴⁷ noch Bedarf für eine Intervention. Die „tolerant-ignorante“ Haltung ändert sich erst dann schlagartig, als die schriftliche Aufforderung des Irenäus und das darin enthaltene, kaum kaschierte Drängen eine wirkungsvolle Lösung Rom erreicht. Der Brief macht offensichtlich Eindruck; eine Reaktion

⁴⁵ Geht man hingegen davon aus, dass die *inscriptio* des syrischen Fragments zuverlässige Angaben vermittelt und dass Irenäus tatsächlich den Brief ausschließlich an Bischof Viktor adressierte, ist das Ergebnis erst recht vernichtend. Tritt nämlich Bischof Viktor mit monarchischer Autorität auf (M. SIMONETTI, *Roma cristiana* (see n. 7), p. 11-13), oder bricht erstmals mit der traditionellen stadtrömischen „Toleranz“ und lässt dabei monarchische Ansprüche verlauten (P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 333-334), erweist er sich schnell als dem Amt nicht gewachsen.

⁴⁶ Nach P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 332-334 liegen nicht einmal eine Handvoll Ausnahmen vor, die vor Viktor gegen die stadtrömische Konvention des „Gewährenlassens“ verstoßen. Er nennt namentlich Marcion, Cerdo und „allenfalls die Karpokratianer“. Auf ähnliche Ergebnisse kommt auch D. WANKE, *Irenäus* (see n. 33), p. 237-239, als er die *Adversus haeresis* bezogen auf die stadtrömischen Verhältnisse interpretiert. Zwar lässt er offen, wieso eher Eleutherus als Viktor nicht interveniert, die theologischen Konsequenzen der (stillschweigenden) Anerkennung eines Häretikers als authentischen Märtyrer könnte jedoch Irenäus auf den Plan gerufen haben. Analoge Konsequenzen zieht auch E. THOMASSEN, „Orthodoxy and Heresy in Second-Century Rome“, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 97 (2004), p. 241-256, als er die Wirkung des Valentinus in Rom untersucht.

⁴⁷ Gleich mehrere Motive nennt P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 264 und p. 327-329 für das duldende Verhalten Viktors: Die bereits thematisierte mögliche Unkenntnis des Viktors rührt aus der fraktionierten stadtrömischen Kirche her. Demnach, Florinus „verwirklichte sich ‘woanders’ [...] und entzog sich deshalb [...] Viktors Kenntnis“. Auch die hohe Stellung des Florinus am Kaiserhof könnte für die Christen der Stadt – und Viktor – von Nutzen gewesen sein. Fraglich ist allerdings nicht nur, wie „glänzend“ die erwähnte Stellung am Hofe des Kaisers tatsächlich war und ob Florinus diese auch noch während seines Romaufenthaltes innehatte, sondern auch, wie sich ein Presbyter, der auch rege veröffentlicht, dermaßen erfolgreich „entziehen kann“. Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,5, p. 482.

bleibt, wie man von Eusebius⁴⁸ erfährt, nicht aus. Nach seinem Zeugnis wird zwar die Problembewältigung von Viktor im Alleingang durchgeführt, jedoch bleibt – angesichts der irenäischen Korrespondenz – der Wert dieser Aussage eher gering.

Betrachtet man das eusebianische Zeugnis für sich, so betritt ein selbstbewusster Bischof die Bühne, der Florinus ohne Zögern aus der Gemeinschaft ausschließt. Eine bereits vollzogene Monopolisierung von Disziplinargewalt in der Hand des Bischofs ist in seinem Verdikt unverkennbar. Nimmt man jedoch das irenäische Brieffragment hinzu, ändert sich die Kulisse entscheidend. Die Tatsache, dass die Stadtrömer erst auf die Umstände aufmerksam gemacht werden müssen, sowie der Erfolg der irenäischen Einflussnahme und die gezielte Aufforderung der Kirche von Rom statt Viktor alleine sprechen wohl kaum für einen angeblich recht souveränen und bereits monarchische Tendenzen verwirklichenden Bischof. Vielmehr unterstreicht die beachtliche Autorität des Lyoners, die auch in Rom ohne Wenn und Aber akzeptiert wird.

Die Florinus-Affäre fördert also unter dem Strich eine ganze Reihe von bedeutenden Beobachtungen zutage. Die wohl wichtigste darunter ist die Erkenntnis, dass der Zeitgenosse Irenäus die Lösung des Problems nicht nur von Bischof Viktor als Einzelperson erwartet, sondern vielmehr von einem kollektiven Entscheidungsprozess in Disziplinarfragen ausgeht und diese als eine Sache der Selbstverständlichkeit bei den Römern voraussetzt. Nicht weniger bedeutend ist die zweite Einsicht zum Verhalten Viktors. Seine Ignoranz gegenüber Florinus und seine valentinianisch gefärbten Lehren, obwohl dieser sie offenbar nicht insgeheim propagiert, ist nicht nur auffällig, sondern passt auch hervorragend zu dem traditionellen stadtrömischen Prinzip des Gewährenlassens. Der Presbyter hätte vermutlich noch viele Jahre seinen Tätigkeiten nachgehen können, wenn Irenäus ihm nicht einen Strich durch die Rechnung gemacht und die Römer zum Handeln angespornt hätte. Zum Schluss muss noch auf eine, für die Fragestellung nicht gerade unbedeutende Tendenz hingewiesen werden: Wofür bei Irenäus noch Viktor und das Presbyterkollegium bzw. die römische Kirche verantwortlich gemacht wird, sieht Eusebius nur noch den Ortsbischof in der Pflicht. Die Verschiebung der Disziplinarkompetenz und seine Monopolisierung in der Hand des Bischofs ist offenbar in der Zeit von Eusebius zu einem Abschluss gekommen. Deshalb eignen sich seine Nachrichten zur bischöflichen Verwaltung von Disziplinargewalt ohne eingehende Prüfung kaum für die Erschließung des Sachverhalts in der vorkonstantinischen Periode.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458.

3. Theodotus aus Byzanz

Theodotus⁴⁹, auch genannt, der Gerber, kann sich eines gewissen „Ruhms“ im Vergleich zu Florinus erfreuen, da er nicht nur bei Eusebius, sondern auch in der *Refutatio omnium haeresium*⁵⁰ gleich fünfmal eine explizite Erwähnung⁵¹ findet. Über seine Person erfährt man von seinem unmittelbaren stadtrömischen Zeitgenossen jedoch, abgesehen von einer relativ detailreichen Wiedergabe seiner adoptionistischen Lehren⁵², nur noch so viel, dass er aus Byzantium stammt und als der Gründer einer neuen Häresie gelten darf.⁵³ Aus den beiden größeren Abschnitten zu seinen Leh-

⁴⁹ Zur sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse der Theodotianer siehe P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 289-293. Einen kurzen Überblick bietet auch M.-Y. PERRIN, Rom (see n. 7), p. 701-703; M. WILLING, Häreseograph (see n. 31), p. 279-297; K. BRACHT, *Hippolyts Schrift In Danielem: kommunikative Strategien eines frühchristlichen Kommentars*, Tübingen, 2014, p. 135-136.

⁵⁰ Dieses Kompendium von 32 Häresien wird traditionell mit dem Namen Hippolytus (Romanus) in Verbindung gebracht. Die Zuweisung des Werkes zum Hippolytus-Korpus sowie die Autorschaft ist Subjekt zum Teil äußerst kontrovers geführten Diskussionen. Da der Text keinen (un)mittelbaren Aufschluss über seinen Verfasser gibt und eine Verbindung zu „Hippolytus“ nur umständlich und mit erheblichen Unsicherheiten behaftet hergestellt werden kann (diese wird durch die *Chronicon* welche mit der Passah- und Osterfestkalender der sog. Hippolytusstatue identifiziert wird sowie der Hinweis der *Refutatio* auf *De universo*, der mit dem Schriftenverzeichnis der Statue in Verbindung steht, „gesichert“), wird die Schrift als ein Werk eines unbekannten Verfassers behandelt und als der „Autor (der *Refutatio*)“ genannt. Siehe dazu u. a. C. SCHOLTEN, „Hippolytos II (von Rom)“, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 15, Stuttgart, 1991, p. Sp. 492-551; A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1); M. SIMONETTI, „Introduzione“, in *Ippolito, Contro Noeto*, ed. by M. SIMONETTI, Bologna, 2000, p. 7-146; M. SIMONETTI, Profilo (see n. 7); C. SCHOLTEN, „Autor, Anliegen und Publikum der Refutatio“, in *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques: actes du colloque international sur la «réfutation de toutes les hérésies», Genève, 13-14 juin 2008*, ed. by G. ARAGIONE, E. NORELLI, Prahins, 2011, p. 135-166; E. CASTELLI, L'Elenchos, ovvero una „biblioteca“ contro le eresie (see n. 7).

⁵¹ *Refut.* 7, 35,1-2; 9, 3; 9, 12,19; 10, 23,1-2; 10, 27,4 = Hippolytus [Romanus], *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, ed. by P. WENDLAND, Leipzig, 1916, (GCS Hippolytus 3), p. 222; p. 240; p. 249; p. 282; p. 284).

⁵² Mehr dazu bei M. DECKER, *Die Monarchianer – frühchristliche Theologie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rom und Kleinasien*, Hamburg, Univ. Diss., 1987; B. D. EHRLMAN, „The Theodotians as Corruptors of Scripture“, *Studia patristica*, 25 (1993), p. 46-51; W. A. LÖHR, „Theodotus der Lederarbeiter und Theodotus der Bankier – ein Beitrag zur römischen Theologiegeschichte des zweiten und dritten Jahrhunderts“, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 87 (1996), p. 101-125.

⁵³ *Refut.* 7, 35,1, p. 222. Ferner findet Theodotus noch einmal im Calixtusabschnitt eine Erwähnung, als der Autor dem Bekenner-Bischof vorwirft, mal der Lehre des Sabellius, mal der des Theodotus zu verfallen. *Refut.* 9, 12,19, p. 249: „... ἵνα μόνον κατὰ τῆς ἀλήθειας λέγειν δοκῇ, ποτὲ μὲν εἰς τὸ Σαβελλίου δόγμα ἐμπίπτων, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς τὸ Θεοδότου οὐκ αἰδεῖται ...“.

ren und zu seiner Person geht in keinsten Weise hervor, dass er in Rom tätig gewesen ist. Zwar werden seine dynamischen Glaubensformeln über den Sohn im Calixtusabschnitt⁵⁴ zweimal mit der „Häresie“ des römischen Bischofs in Verbindung gebracht, seine anderweitig gesicherte stadtrömische Wirkung lässt sich daraus nicht erkennen.⁵⁵ Ferner erwähnt der Autor noch, dass einer seiner Schüler, der ebenfalls Theodotus hieß und ähnlich wie Calixtus in der Finanzwirtschaft⁵⁶ tätig war, die ursprünglichen Lehren des Byzantiners mit Spekulationen um Melchisedech erweiterte. Damit ist das Thema Theodotianer für den Autor abgehakt.

Zu Person, Werk und Ergehen des Theodotus weiß Eusebius nicht mehr als die *Refutatio* zu berichten: Theodotus der Gerber begegnet uns hier als Urheber einer neuen Häresie während der Amtszeit Viktors. Immerhin erwähnt er noch, dass Theodotus in Rom tätig ist und wirft ihm Heterodoxie vor⁵⁷. Die ziemlich knapp ausfallende Charakterisierung lässt sich diesmal eindeutig auf Quellenmangel zurückführen. Dem Caesareaner steht offensichtlich nur eine einzige Schrift zum Thema zur Verfügung, die zudem anonym ist: „Gegen die Häresie des Artemon“.⁵⁸ Darin ist wohl

⁵⁴ *Refut.* 9, 12, p. 246-251.

⁵⁵ *Refut.* 9, 12, 19; 10, 27, 4, p. 249; p. 283-284.

⁵⁶ *Refut.* 7, 36, 1-2, p. 222-223.

⁵⁷ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 28, 1-6; 28, 9, p. 500-502; p. 502, besonders aber 5, 28, 6 und 5, 28, 9.

⁵⁸ In Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 27, p. 498-500 versucht Eusebius seine Unsicherheit bezüglich der gleich zu zitierenden Quelle darzulegen. Die Anonymität bereitete ihm zum Teil gleich auf mehreren Ebenen unlösbare Schwierigkeiten. Einige Gelehrte unternahmen daher nicht wenig Anstrengungen und griffen dem Caesareaner hilfsbereit unter die Arme, indem sie versuchten, den Verfasser des Zitats zu identifizieren. Neben dem auf einer frühmittelalterlichen Identifikation basierenden Vorschlag von T. D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981, p. 133-135, der den Verfasser mit Presbyter Gaius von Rom in Verbindung bringt, gibt es bereits aus der Antike durch Theodoret von Cyrus einen weiteren Hinweis, der den fraglichen Text als ein Zitat aus dem „Kleinen Labyrinth“ auswies. Thdt., *Haer.* 1, 23 = Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, ed. by J. L. SCHULZE, Paris, 1864 (*PG*, 83), p. 335-556, hier p. 371-372. Vor einiger Zeit wurde diese These von R. H. CONNOLLY, „Eusebius ‘H.E.’ V. 28“, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 49 (1948), p. 73-79 erneut aufgegriffen. Da damals das „Kleine Labyrinth“ als ein authentisches Werk des „Hippolyts von Rom“ angesehen wurde, verleitete diese Tatsache H. Connolly dazu, ihn als Verfasser des eusebianischen Fragments auszumachen. Seine Argumente sind folgende: 1) Sowohl die Schrift, als auch Hippolyt sind in Rom verwurzelt. 2) Er lebte und wirkte bereits unter Viktor. 3) Stil und Sprache sind einander ähnlich. M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 285-287 ergänzt noch, dass die Unterscheidung der *Refutatio* zwischen Theodotus dem Gerber bzw. dem Geldwechsler auch für eine hippolytische Verfasserschaft spräche. Sie aber – wie ich finde, nicht zu Unrecht – spricht sich gegen eine solche Identifizierung aus. Sie hebt hervor, dass Eusebius solche Informationen bietet, die ausgezeichnet in das häresiographische Konzept des Hippolyts passen würden. Es wäre also kaum zu verstehen, wieso er ausgerechnet diese Beweise nicht in die *Refutatio* hätte einfließen lassen wollen. Das schwerwiegendste Argument nannte m. E. J. T. FITZGERALD, „Eusebius and ‘The little labyrinth’“,

auch das größte Problem des Kirchenhistorikers begründet: Die quälende Ratlosigkeit über die chronologische Einordnung der Theodotianer.⁵⁹

Anonymus scheint über präzise Kenntnisse über das Thema „Theodotianer“ zu verfügen. Gegenüber der Behauptung der Artemonier, dass ihre Lehren auf die Apostel zurückgingen, bietet er gleich drei Einwände. Hier ist vor allem der Letzte dieser drei von Interesse. Dort argumentiert er, dass die stadtrömische Kirchengeschichte selbst gegen die Lügen der Artemonier spricht: Denn ausgerechnet Viktor war derjenige, der Theodotus, den Begründer dieser Häresie, aus der Kirche ausschloss.⁶⁰ Konsequenterweise, wenn Viktor wirklich die Lehren des Theodotus, dass Christus ein bloßer Mensch sei, vertreten hätte, wieso hätte er ihn dann von der Kirche verstoßen? – fragt sich Anonymus nicht gerade unberechtigt. Folglich muss es Bischof Viktor gewesen sein, der dem sich ausbreitenden dynamischen Monarchianismus die Stirn bot und die Gemeinschaft mit deren stadtrömischen Vertretern kurzerhand aufkündigte. Leider erspart sich Anonymus jeglichen Hinweis darauf, wie es überhaupt zu einem Konflikt zwischen Viktor sowie seiner Bischofskirche und der Schule des Theodotus aus Byzanz kommt.⁶¹ Ebenso schweigt er über jegliche diesbezügliche Modalitäten. Deshalb lässt sich weder aus der Schrift „Gegen die Häresie

in *The early church in its context: essays in honor of Everett Ferguson*, ed. by A. J. MALHERBE, Leiden, 1998, p. 120-146, p. 134-135: Während die eusebianische Quelle keine erkennbare Abneigung gegenüber Bischof Zephyrinus demonstriert, ist die Meinung des Autors über den „Dilettanten“ ist wesentlich weniger schmeichelhaft. Dieses muss noch mit einem weiteren Einwand ergänzt werden. Ein Argument, welches das Fragment doch noch vor dem Bruch zwischen dem Autor und Zephyrinus verorten würde, muss deshalb ausscheiden, weil das Fragment offenbar aus der Retrospektive, vermutlich einige Zeit nach dem Tod des Zephyrinus verfasst wurde. Das schließt jegliches Wohlwollen oder die Neutralität des Autors gegenüber dem ungebildeten Bischof aus. *Refut.* 9, 11,1, p. 245: „τὸν Ζεφυρίνον, ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην καὶ ἀγράμματον καὶ ἄπειρον τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὅρων ...“. Folglich muss das Fragment nach wie vor als anonym betrachtet werden. Ähnlich urteilt übrigens auch R. M. GRANT, *Eusebius as Church Historian*, Oxford, 1980, p. 91-92.

⁵⁹ Vgl. M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 288-290.

⁶⁰ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 28,6, p. 502: „... ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι Βίκτωρ Θεόδοτον τὸν σκυτέα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκέρυξεν τῆς κοινωνίας“.

⁶¹ Die hier zitierte Schrift „Gegen die Häresie des Artemon“ bezichtigt Theodotus einer ausgedehnten Lehrtätigkeit, die in einem ansehnlichen Schülerkreis mündete. Namentlich sind sogar fünf seiner Schüler bekannt: Asklepiodotus, Theodotus der Geldwechsler, Asklepiades, Herophilus und Apolloniades. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 28, 9; 16-17, p. 502; p. 504-508. Nach den Vorwürfen des Anonymus beschäftigte sich die Theodotianerschule nicht nur mit adoptionistischen Spekulationen, sondern bewunderte sie auch Aristoteles und Theophrast sowie widmete sich der Geometrie Euklids. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 28,14, p. 504. Darüber „weiß“ allerdings die *Refutatio* überraschenderweise rein gar nichts. Diese Tatsache ist um so bemerkenswerter, weil die Vorwürfe des Anonymus wunderbar in sein härsiographisches Konzept passen: Sie weisen nämlich nach, dass die Theodotianer das Gedankengut griechischer Philosophen plagieren. Denkbar wären also, darin die Ursachen des Konflikts zwischen Viktor und Theo-

des Artemon“, der *Historia ecclesiastica*, noch aus der *Refutatio* ein Bild über den Vorgang und die Rolle des Viktors rekonstruieren.⁶²

4. Blastus und der sog. Osterfeststreit

Der Ausschluss des Blastus⁶³ stellt den bei Eusebius am schlechtesten dokumentierten Fall dar. Aus seiner ersten Notiz⁶⁴ erfährt man lediglich, dass Blastus in Rom tätig ist und auf die gleiche Weise wie der Presbyter Florinus abfällt.⁶⁵ Daraus lässt sich nicht einmal entnehmen, ob er, wie Florinus, das Amt eines Presbyters bekleidet, oder „nur“ das gleiche Schicksal⁶⁶ mit ihm teilt. Nach der detaillierten Darstellung der „phrygischen Propheten“ kommt Eusebius noch ein zweites Mal kurz auf Blastus zu sprechen. Hier

dotus zu vermuten. Bedenkt man jedoch den Fall des Florinus sowie des Praxeas, drängt sich unweigerlich die Frage auf, inwiefern dieses Erklärungsmodell tatsächlich praxistauglich ist.

⁶² In diesem Zusammenhang bezweifelt sogar M.-Y. PERRIN, Rom (see n. 7), p. 684, n. 118, dass Viktor unmittelbar im Ausschluss von Theodotus involviert gewesen wäre: „Daß Victor die Exkommunikation von Theodotus dem Lederarbeiter veranlaßt haben soll, wurde bereits in der Frühzeit des Christentums bestritten“. Auf welcher Grundlage er diese Aussage macht, erfährt man aber nicht.

⁶³ Zur Person und Rolle von Blastus im Streit siehe M. SIMONETTI, *Roma cristiana tra II e III secolo* (see n. 7), p. 115-122; P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 321-322; A. BRENT, *Hippolytus* (see n. 1), p. 412-415; J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, *Die Synoden von den Anfängen bis zum Vorabend des Nicaenums*, ed. by W. BRANDMÜLLER, Paderborn/München, 1997, p. 60-87. Die Kontroverse im Überblick sowie eine Auswahl an Literatur entnehme aus V. LOI, B. AMATA, „Easter, III. The easter controversy“, in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, 1, ed. by A. DI BERARDINO, T. C. ODEN, J. HOOVER, Downers Grove, 2014, p. 763-764.

⁶⁴ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458.

⁶⁵ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458: „... Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ, παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχήμενος ...“. Daraus schließt J. BEHR, Gaul (see n. 39), p. 45-46 darauf, dass Blastus und Florinus, beide Presbyter in Rom, nicht nur valentinianischen Lehren in Rom Geltung verschaffen wollten, sondern auch beide von der Kirche abfielen, aber nicht exkommuniziert wurden. Noch etwas weiter geht K. ESHLEMAN, *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire: Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 59, wenn sie beide Protagonisten als valentinianische Presbyter beschreibt. Gegen solche Verortungen spricht die Bemerkung des Eusebius mit großer Eindeutigkeit: „Bezüglich der Wahrheit suchte jeder eigene, neue Wege zu gehen“. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458: „... θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀληθεῖαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος“. Damit verdeutlicht der Caesareaner, dass es sich hier um zwei voneinander getrennte Fortgänge handelt. Folglich kann Blastus kaum als ein Lehrer mit valentinianischem Einschlag fungieren. Ob beide Presbyter waren, ist im Fall des Florinus sicher, bei Blastus wäre es durchaus denkbar, wenn man ihn als Wortführer der stadtrömischen Quartodezimaner bestimmt. Siehe auch M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 277-278.

⁶⁶ Diese Angabe erscheint übrigens im Licht der zweiten Notiz ebenfalls vertrauenswürdig. Siehe dazu unten, n. 72.

erwähnt er,⁶⁷ dass Irenäus einen Brief mit dem Titel „Πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος“⁶⁸ an jenen adressiert. Abgesehen vom Titel kann der Caesareaer dazu scheinbar nichts weiter berichten.⁶⁹ Dieser verrät dennoch soviel, dass dieses Mal wohl weder mit dem Anschluss an eine bereits bestehende Häresie, noch mit der Neugründung einer heterodoxen Gemeinschaft zu rechnen ist. Diese wäre nach dem Sprachgebrauch des Irenäus konsequent als Häresie (αἵρεσις) gekennzeichnet⁷⁰ worden. Dementsprechend muss man hier davon ausgehen, dass Irenäus Blastus „nur“ zur Verantwortung ziehen will, weil er eine Bedrohung der Einheit der Kirche in ihm sieht. Diese Beobachtung ist insofern von Bedeutung, weil sie nicht gegen eine Identifikation von Blastus mit dem Anführer der stadtrömischen Quartodezimaner⁷¹ spricht. Eine unmittelbare Verbindung beider Personen stellt erst der anonyme Autor, Pseudo-Tertullianus genannt, in der *Adversus omnes haereses*, her: Blastus „*latenter Iudaismus vult introducere*“⁷². Basiert diese Notiz auf belastbaren Informationen, wäre damit einer der bedeutendsten Protagonisten der stadtrömischen quartodezimanischen Fraktion benannt.⁷³

Die Quartodezimaner werden auch in der *Refutatio omnium haeresium* angeschnitten⁷⁴ und nach Tatianus sowie Hermogenes, aber noch vor den

⁶⁷ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480-482.

⁶⁸ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480.

⁶⁹ Vgl. A. CARRIKER, *Library* (see n. 27), p. 217-218; M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 277-278. A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 64, n. 48 geht sogar ein Schritt weiter als er schreibt: „Eusebius’ reflections on Blastus are, to say the least, confused“.

⁷⁰ Vgl. M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 278, n. 710.

⁷¹ Zu der „korrekten Schreibweise“ der Quartodezimaner siehe W. HUBER, *Passa und Ostern: Untersuchungen zur Osterfeier der alten Kirche*, Berlin, 1969, p. 5, n. 35.

⁷² Ps. Tert., *Haer.*, 8,1 = Pseudo Tertullianus, *Adversus omnes haereses*, ed. E. KROYMANN, Turnhout, 1954 (*CCSL*, 2), p. 1401-1410, hier p. 1410. Für eine quartodezimanische Verortung spricht wohl auch eine eusebianische Notiz. Demnach adressierte Irenäus einen Brief an Blastus über das *Schisma* und nicht über die Häresie. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480-482. Mit dem Schisma wäre dann die Eskalation des quartodezimanischen Streits gemeint. Ziel des Briefes könnte demnach auch ein Zureden des Irenäus sein, Blastus zu einer friedvollen Lösung und zur Einheit mit der Mehrheitskirche analog zum Brief an Viktor bei Eusebius zu bewegen. Die Behauptung von Pacianus, nachdem nicht nur „Blastus der Griechen“ (*grae-cus Blastus*), sondern auch Theodotus und Praxeas Anhänger der Neuen Prophetie waren, muss selbst dann als zweifelhaft gelten, wenn theoretisch eine solche Konstellation denkbar wäre. Die angebliche kleinasiatische Herkunft des Blastus würde eine solche Kombination an Lehrsätzen sogar rechtfertigen. Pacian., *Ep.* 1, 2,1 = Pacianus Barcinonensis, *Epistulae II ad Symprosianum*, ed. C. GRANADO, Paris, 1995 (SC, 410), p. 166-204, hier p. 168.

⁷³ Zu einem ähnlichen Schluss kommt auch F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, Vittore (see n. 6), p. 231.

⁷⁴ *Refut.* 8, 18, p. 237-238). Siehe dazu auch N. BROX, „Tendenzen und Parteilichkeit im Osterfeststreit des zweiten Jahrhunderts“, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 83 (1972), p. 291-324, p. 313-314; A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 65-69.

Neuen Propheten im Telegrammstil umrissen. Bereits die einleitenden Worte fallen durch einen ausgesprochen rauen Ton ins Auge: „Gewisse Andere“, so die *Refutatio*, haben eine „streitlustige Natur“, sind „dreiste Ungebildete“ und haben eine „kämpferische Art und Weise“.⁷⁵ Keine weiteren Häretiker – abgesehen von „Erzfeind“ Calixtus sowie in diesem Kontext seinem Vorgänger Zephyrinus⁷⁶ – werden von dem Autor *in medias res* diffamiert. Nach den einleitenden Vorwürfen geht es aber erstaunlich sachlich zu. Erst wird berichtet, dass sich diese „Anderen“ auf das „frühere Gesetz“⁷⁷ berufen und „Ostern am vierzehnten Tag des ersten Monats“⁷⁸ feiern. Wer es nicht so halte, so das Gesetz bzw. der Grundtenor der Quartodezimaner, soll verflucht sein.⁷⁹ Nach einer frappanten Widerlegung⁸⁰ muss der Autor sich geschlagen geben und einräumen: „Im übrigen stimmen sie mit der apostolisch-kirchlichen Überlieferung überein“⁸¹.

Der Abschnitt zu den Quartodezimanern bleibt in der *Refutatio*ermaßen allgemein⁸² – sowohl in seiner Kritik als auch in der Kontextualisierung –, dass man allein aus dem Abschnitt heraus kaum eine fundierte Entscheidung darüber treffen kann,⁸³ ob der Autor Blastus sowie die stadtrömische

⁷⁵ *Refut.* 8, 18,1, p. 237: „Ἐτεροι δέ τινες, φιλόνηκοι τὴν φύσιν, ἰδιῶται τὴν γνώσιν, μαχημώτεροι τὸν τρόπον ...“.

⁷⁶ Der Calixtusvorgänger Zephyrinus darf sich sogar zweimal mit der wenig schmeichelhaften Charakterisierung eines ἰδιώτης schmücken. Damit stellt er mit Abstand die „ungebildetste Person“ des Werkes dar. Abgesehen von ihm sowie den Quartodezimanern wird keine weitere Person oder Gruppe als unwissend abgestempelt. *Refut.* 8, 18,1; 9, 7,1; 9, 11,1, p. 237; p. 240; p. 245.

⁷⁷ Gemeint ist Ex 12, 18.

⁷⁸ *Refut.* 8, 18,1, p. 237: „... συστάουσι δεῖν τὸ πάσχα τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς ...“.

⁷⁹ Deut 27,26; Num 9,13.

⁸⁰ Siehe dazu unten, n. 94.

⁸¹ *Refut.* 8, 18,2, p. 238: „... ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις οὗτοι συμφωνοῦσι πρὸς πάντα τὰ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδεδομένα“.

⁸² In diesem Zusammenhang weist I. MUELLER, „Heterodoxy and Doxography in Hippolytus' 'Refutation of All Heresies', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II,36,6 (1992), p. 4309-4374, p. 4347-4350 darauf hin, dass das Ende von Buch VII (Carpocrates; Kerinthus; Ebioniten; Theodotus aus Byzanz und Theodotus der Geldwechsler; die Nicoaliten, Kerdon und Lukian; Apelles *Refut.* 7, 32-37, 38) und weite Teile des Buches VIII (Apelles, Tatian, Hermogenes, Quartodezimaner; Phrygischen Propheten; Enkratites) grundsätzlich zum schlechtesten ausgearbeiteten Teil der *Refutatio* gehören. Für diesen Umstand liegen allerdings keine erkennbaren Gründe vor.

⁸³ W. HUBER, Passa (see n. 71), p. 14-16 geht ohne weitere Begründung davon aus, dass der Autor der *Refutatio* zweifellos Blastus und die stadtrömischen Ableger der kleinasiatischen Quartodezimaner vor Augen hat. Darin wird er von N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 313-314 gefolgt. Dagegen spricht sich aber A. HILGENFELD, *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche: nach seiner Bedeutung für die Kirchengeschichte und für die Evangelienforschung urkundlich dargestellt*, Halle, 1860, p. 280-281 aus.

Fraktion oder „die Quartodezimaner“ im Allgemeinen anprangert. Die einzige Auffälligkeit stellt die einführende Charakterisierung der Gruppe als ungebildet, streitsüchtig und kampfbereit dar. Einerseits ist es gut möglich, dass man es bei dieser Aneinanderreihung von negativen Adjektiven mit einem häresiographischen Mittel zu tun hat: Dem Autor gehen die bewährten Instrumente aus, die Quartodezimaner als eine Häresie⁸⁴ zu stilisieren. Er kann oder will⁸⁵ hier keine Rückführung ihrer Lehren auf die „Weisheit der Griechen“ vornehmen und sie dadurch in die *successio haereticorum* einbinden. Den belastendsten Vorwurf erscheint im Vergleich zu anderen Häresien seines Monumentalwerkes nicht nur recht banal, sondern deutet dazu auch noch in Richtung Judentum. Folglich ist es ein vielfaches einfacher, den Quartodezimanern mangelnde Bildung sowie eine kämpferisch-streitsüchtige Haltung zu unterstellen bzw. ihre Unfähigkeit, die Schriften „richtig“ zu verstehen zu unterstreichen, als eine komplette Sukzessionskette für sie zu entwickeln. Andererseits ist es genauso gut möglich, dass der Autor tatsächlich die stadtrömischen Ableger der Quartodezimaner vor Augen hatte. Dafür sprechen die bereits wohlbekannten Argumente: Die mangelnde Bildung, die streitlustige Natur sowie insbesondere die Kampfbereitschaft.

Es ist ungewiss, wenngleich eher unwahrscheinlich, dass der Verfasser den Osterfeststreit bereits als Presbyter hautnah erlebt. Dennoch hat er gute Chancen, Blastus wenigstens vom Hörensagen zu kennen. Folglich dürften ihm die Einzelheiten zum Streitverlauf und zur quartodezimanischen Position bekannt gewesen sein.⁸⁶ Aus seiner Sicht mögen die Quartodezimaner tatsächlich ungebildet (im Sinne von mangelnder Erkenntnis, γνῶσις) sein, da sie sich nicht überzeugen lassen, sowie kampfbereit, weil sie ihre Überzeugung bzw. ihre Tradition zu verteidigen wissen. Auch das sonst leider nicht erhaltene irenäische Schreiben an Blastus „Über das Schisma“⁸⁷ könnte sehr wohl in diesem Sinn für die Kampffreudigkeit der Quartodezimaner sprechen. Daher ist es denkbar, ja gerade wahrscheinlich, dass

⁸⁴ Sie werden in der *Refutatio* weder als Häresie abgestempelt noch nach ihrem Schultyp ge- bzw. benannt (da diese erst gar nicht erwähnt werden).

⁸⁵ Es ist auffällig, wie kurz die Behandlung der Quartodezimaner, besonders im Vergleich zu „gnostischen“ Gruppen, ausfällt. Gleichzeitig sprengt ihre Darstellung nicht den Umfang, der den Häresien des Buches VII und VIII eingeräumt wird. Daraus wird ersichtlich, dass die „Gnostiker“ eindeutig im Rampenlicht der *Refutatio* stehen. Die übrigen Häresien (abgesehen von den Calixtianern) werden der Vollständigkeit halber dazu gezogen und dementsprechend eher halbherzig abgefertigt. Dieses Schicksal trifft offenbar auch die Quartodezimaner. Vgl. oben, n. 82.

⁸⁶ So urteilt auch N. BROX, *Tendenzen* (see n. 74), p. 313.

⁸⁷ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480-482. Ähnlich W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 14, Amn. 16; N. BROX, *Tendenzen* (see n. 74), p. 313-314.

die *Refutatio* tatsächlich stellvertretend für „die Quartodezimaner“ über die Blastusgruppe referiert und sie aus persönlichen Erfahrungen heraus als ungebildet und streitsüchtig charakterisiert. Trifft diese Feststellung zu, fällt umso mehr ins Auge, wie äußerst mager das dargebotene genuine bzw. spezifische Material zu den Quartodezimanern ausfällt. Der Autor entwurzelt sein Referat regelrecht, indem er die Namen tilgt, den Ort unterschlägt und darüber hinaus zu erwähnen „vergisst“, dass die Quartodezimaner für ihre Tradition eine ebenso apostolische Herkunft beanspruchen⁸⁸ wie diejenigen, die die dominikale Feier favorisieren.

Über den Osterfeststreit erfährt man aus der Feder des Eusebius einiges mehr. Der Caesareaner nimmt in seinen Bericht gleich zwei, wohl demselben Brief entstammende irenäische Fragmente⁸⁹ auf, sowie einen weiteren Brief⁹⁰ des Polykrates von Ephesus, beide an Bischof Viktor adressiert.⁹¹ Das ändert allerdings kaum etwas an der Tatsache, dass Eusebius eine ausgesprochen durcheinander geratene, stark selektive und eindeutig tendenziöse „Rekonstruktion“ der Ereignisse⁹² präsentiert. Ferner sind die Quellen, zu denen Eusebius bezüglich der ersten Phase der Auseinandersetzung Zugang hat, stark limitiert. Das verdeutlicht z. B. die bereits angesprochene Tatsache, dass der Zusammenhang zwischen Blastus und den Quartodezimanern aus der Kirchengeschichte nicht erkennbar wird. Dementsprechend ist es beinahe aussichtslos, anhand der eusebianischen Angaben eine tragfähige und einigermaßen lückenlose Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse vorzunehmen.

Soviel scheint allerdings einigermaßen gesichert zu sein, dass der von Eusebius vorgelegte Bericht bereits einer zweiten bzw. einer Spätphase der Auseinandersetzung zuzuordnen ist. Einige Hinweise deuten darauf hin, dass der Konflikt ursprünglich eine genuin stadtrömische Angelegenheit⁹³

⁸⁸ Entsprechend argumentieren sowohl Irenäus als auch Polykrates von Ephesus. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,2-6; 5, 24,14-17, p. 490-492; p. 494-496.

⁸⁹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,12-13; 24,14-17, p. 494; p. 494-496. Siehe dazu M. RICHARD, „La Lettre de Saint Irénée au Pape Victor“, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 56 (1965), p. 260-282; N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 292-308; H. CAMPENHAUSEN, „Ostertermin oder Osterfasten? Zum Verständnis des Irenausbriefs an Viktor (Euseb. Hist. eccl. 5,24,12-17)“, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 28 (1974), p. 114-138; W. PETERSEN, „Eusebius and the Paschal Controversy“, in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, ed. by H. W. ATTRIDGE, Detroit, 1992, p. 311-325.

⁹⁰ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,2-7; 8, p. 490-492; p. 492.

⁹¹ Für eine detaillierte Materialanalyse siehe A. CARRIKER, Library (see n. 27), p. 245-247.

⁹² Die Tendenziosität des Eusebius lässt sich anhand verschiedener Aspekte entlang seiner Kirchengeschichte beobachten. Speziell zum Osterfeststreit siehe auch N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 308-312; W. PETERSEN, Controversy (see n. 89), p. 213-218; J. BEHR, Irenaeus (see n. 33), p. 57-58.

⁹³ Auch in diesem Sinne M. RICHARD, „La question pascale au II^e siècle“, (1961), p. 179-212, p. 198-199; W. HUBER, Passa (see n. 71), p. 59-61; J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 66-73.

ad intra darstellt. Diese erste Phase lässt sich mit dem Namen Blastus in Verbindung setzen. Er scheint nach Pseudo-Tertullianus derjenige zu sein, der in Rom lautstark für eine quartodezimanische Position⁹⁴ eintritt.⁹⁵ Dass diese „judaisierende“ Praxis des Osterfests bzw. des Osterfastens nicht erst durch Blastus, sondern schon früher in Rom Fuß fasst, darf als gesichert gelten: Aus dem ersten, durch Eusebius zitierten irenäischen Fragment⁹⁶ geht hervor, dass es, als sich Bischof Polykarpus von Smyrna (c. 70-c. 156) im Jahr 154/155 in Rom aufhält, bereits unter Bischof Anicetus (155?-166?) einmal zu einer Auseinandersetzung aufgrund divergierender Traditionen⁹⁷ kommt. Die damaligen Unstimmigkeiten verlaufen jedoch weitgehend friedlich und enden damit, dass beide Seiten an ihrer jeweiligen Tradition

⁹⁴ Es ist bemerkenswert, dass sich Pseudo-Tertullianus derselben Argumentationskette bedient, wie dies der Autor der *Refutatio* tut. Beide versuchen nämlich, den Gegner mit der eigenen Waffe zu schlagen. Die Beweisführung geht auf folgende Überlegung zurück: Wer sich bei der Festlegung des Ostertermins auf das Gesetz beruft und verlangt, das Fest nach dem Gesetz zu richten, ist gleichzeitig auch gezwungen, nach dem Gesetz zu leben. Differenzen zeigen sich vor allem bei der Begründung der Beweisführung. Während der Autor der *Refutatio* mit Gal 5,8 biblisch argumentiert, fragt sich Pseudo-Tertullianus, ob Christus nicht das Gesetz der Juden zurückgerufen hätte. Ferner gibt es einen kleinen, aber wesentlichen Unterschied in der Situationsbeschreibung. Während der Autor der *Refutatio* wörtlich über den Zeitpunkt des Osterfestes schreibt, spricht Pseudo-Tertullianus über judaisierende Tendenzen sowie explizit über die Feier des Pessach. Das Wort „Ostern“ fällt bei ihm nicht. Vgl. *Refut.* 8, 18, p. 237-238 und Ps. Tert., *Haer.*, 8,1, p. 1410.

⁹⁵ Dass die Kontroverse unter Viktor vom Zaun gebrochen wird, gilt als Konsens. Auf das Zeugnis des Pseudo-Tertullianus berufen, mutmaßt W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 60 jedoch, dass der Auftritt des Blastus bereits unter Eleutherus erfolgen konnte. Ps. Tert., *Haer.*, 8,1, p. 1401.

⁹⁶ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,12-17, p. 494-496.

⁹⁷ Der Standpunkt des Polykarpus ist eindeutig. Es ist hingegen umstritten, ob in Rom Ostern vor diesem Aufeinandertreffen der beiden Bischöfe gefeiert wurde, bzw. wenn ja, dann an welchem Tag. Anhand des Irenäuszitats lassen sich drei mögliche Szenarien aufstellen. O. CASEL, „Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier“, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 14 (1934), p. 1-78; C. MOHRMANN, „Pascha, Passio, Transitus“, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 66 (1952), p. 37-52; N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74) vertreten die Ansicht, dass die dominikale Osterfestpraxis möglicherweise auf eine lange, womöglich apostolische Tradition in Rom zurückblickt. Erst während der Amtszeit von Soterus (etwa um 165) kam es wohl wegen offensichtlichen liturgischen Differenzen zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit der quartodezimanischen Tradition in Rom. Dagegen vertreten M. RICHARD, *Question* (see n. 93); W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 55-61 die Meinung, dass vor der Zeit von Soterus gar kein Osterfest in Rom begangen wurde. Eine Zwischenlösung stellt die These von S. G. HALL, „The Origins of Easter“, *Studia Patristica*, 15 (1984), p. 554-567 dar. Er hält zwar an einer ausgeprägten Ostertradition in Rom fest, doch wird diese nach quartodezimanischer Praxis gefeiert. Zum Konflikt kam es, als die Feier nach einer Mehrheitsentscheidung auf den Sonntag, also auf den Tag des Herrn, verschoben wurde. Siehe dazu ferner auch G. VISONÀ, „Pasqua quartodecimana e cronologia evangelica della passione“, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 102 (1988), p. 259-315.

festhalten. Irenäus hebt in seinem Brief an Viktor ausdrücklich hervor, dass sich Polykarpus und Anicetus nicht anfeinden, oder gar jemand aufgrund abweichender Ansichten über die Art und Zeit der Osterfeier aus der Kirchengemeinschaft ausgeschlossen wird. Vielmehr erlaubt Anicetus Polykarpus, so resümiert schließlich der Lyoner, die Feier der Eucharistie in seiner (Haus)Kirche: „Trotz dieser Differenzen blieben beide in Gemeinschaft. [...] Und im Frieden schieden sie voneinander“⁹⁸.

Was noch in der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts ohne nennenswerte Komplikationen bewältigt wird, ist etwa 40 Jahre später ein *casus belli*. Wie es zur Auseinandersetzung kommt, erfährt man weder in der *Historia ecclesiastica*, noch anderswo. Dennoch ist es nicht gerade unwahrscheinlich, dass der Konflikt auf das Konto des leicht wahrnehmbaren Charakters voneinander differierender Festtage zu verbuchen ist. Denn das Begehen eines Festes an einem, von anderen Gemeinden bzw. Christentümern abweichenden Tag, fällt zwangsläufig ins Auge. Besonders dann, wenn man sich als Teil des Festes die Eucharistie als Zeichen der Verbundenheit gegenseitig zukommen lässt (*fermentum*).⁹⁹ Vermutlich sorgt diese Divergenz für zunehmende Irritation. Aus dem Bericht des Eusebius geht auch nicht hervor, welche Ursachen letztendlich zu der ersten Stufe der Eskalation und damit zur Aufkündigung¹⁰⁰ der Gemeinschaft mit den stadtrömischen Quartodezimanern führen. Die quantitativen Verhältnisse, der Ablauf des Konfliktes sowie Teile der Argumentation von Bischof Polykrates von Ephesus (um 130-nach 195) legen jedoch nahe, dass die Verantwortlichen¹⁰¹ eher

⁹⁸ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,17, p. 496. Übersetzungen zur *Historia ecclesiastica* sind, sofern nicht anders gekennzeichnet, von *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. by H. KRAFT, trans. by P. HAEUSER, H.A. Gärtner, München, 1967 entnommen.

⁹⁹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,16-17, p. 496.

¹⁰⁰ Besonders das irenäische, an Blastus adressierte Schreiben „Über das Schisma“ legt nahe, dass ein erster Bruch zwischen den Verfechtern der dominikalen Position und den stadtrömischen Ablegern der kleinasiatischen Quartodezimaner noch vor der Ausbreitung des Konflikts in Kleinasien vollzogen wurde, indem Viktor (oder Blastus?) dem anderen stadtrömischen Lager den Kirchenfrieden aufkündigte. Ein an Blastus gerichtetes, gezieltes Zureden des Irenäus ist allerdings nur dann sinngebend, wenn dieses unmittelbar etwas mit dem Schisma zu tun hat bzw. diesbezüglich Verantwortung trägt. Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 20,1, p. 480-482. In Anknüpfung an B. LOHSE, *Das Passafest der Quartodezimaner*, Gütersloh, 1953, p. 125-127 spricht sich J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 82 dafür aus, dass der Bruch der Kirchengemeinschaft zwischen Viktor und Blastus etwa gleichzeitig mit dem Bruch der Kleinasien inklusive Polykrates erfolgte. Damit widerspricht er jedoch seiner eigenen, früher geäußerten Vermutung, nach der Blastus bereits infolge der römischen Synode zu Beginn der Kontroverse exkommuniziert wurde. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰¹ Inwiefern sich auch die „andere Seite“, also Blastus und seine quartodezimanische Fraktion an der Eskalation schuldig macht, erfährt man freilich nicht. Das Schreiben des Irenäus, „An Blastus über das Schisma“, könnte allerdings dafür ein Indiz liefern, dass dieser durchaus – auf welche Weise auch immer – eine gewisse Verantwortung für die Misere trägt. Gleich-

in den Reihen des dominikalen Lagers zu suchen sind. Denn als die Quartodezimaner der Kirchengemeinschaft verwiesen werden, fühlen sie sich nicht nur gekränkt und an den Rand gedrängt, sondern wird auch ihre apostolische Tradition durch einen *Bischof* mit Füßen getreten. In ihrer Verzweiflung holen Blastus¹⁰² und seine Fraktion Schützenhilfe aus ihrer kleinasiatischen Ex-Heimat. Die Suche nach externer Hilfe wäre wohl kaum nötig, wenn die Quartodezimaner der Bischofskirche den Frieden in vollem Selbstbewusstsein aufgekündigt hätten. Als Polykrates dann Partei für die römischen Glaubensbrüder ergreift und für die Osterfeier am 14. Nisan u. a. doppelte apostolische Tradition proklamiert,¹⁰³ entwickelt sich der bis dahin genuin stadtrömische Lokalkonflikt rasant zu einer überregionalen und interepiskopalen Affäre. Damit beginnt die zweite Phase der Kontroverse.

Über diese zweite Etappe besitzt Eusebius eigenes an Material. Er zitiert aus einem Brief,¹⁰⁴ in dem sich Bischof Polykrates bei Viktor für seine Gleichgesinnten in Rom einsetzt. Der Epheser argumentiert darin nicht nur für seine Position, sondern erwähnt auch, dass die Kleinasiaten – auf das Drängen Viktors hin – eine Synode abhalten.¹⁰⁵ Diese Bischofsversammlung kommt nach Polykrates zu einem eindeutigen Ergebnis: Alle versammelten Bischöfe stimmen seinem Brief zu und bekennen sich zur quartodezimanischen Osterfestpraxis.¹⁰⁶ Ob die Versammlung tatsächlich so einstimmig ausfällt, wie dies behauptet wird, ist jedenfalls fraglich: Die Anzahl und Namen der teilnehmenden Bischöfe bleiben in der Schwebe.¹⁰⁷

wohl ließe dies auch den Schluss zu, dass Irenäus mit dem Brief an das Gewissen des Blastus appelliert und ihn, ähnlich wie Viktor, dazu zu bewegen versucht, das Schisma zu überwinden und die für ihn (Irenäus) so wichtige Einheit der Kirche in Rom wiederherzustellen. Da abgesehen von dem Titel nichts weiter zum Brief bekannt ist, sind beide Schlüsse denkbar. Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458.

¹⁰² Darüber wie Blastus zum Wortführer der Quartodezimaner avancierte, gibt es unterschiedliche, jedoch rein hypothetische Mutmaßungen. Siehe dazu J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, *Synoden* (see n. 63), p. 68, n. 45.

¹⁰³ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,2-3, p. 490.

¹⁰⁴ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,2-7; 8, p. 490-492.

¹⁰⁵ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,8, p. 492. Zu der abgehaltenen Synode siehe J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, *Synoden* (see n. 63), p. 79-81.

¹⁰⁶ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,2-7; 8, p. 490-492.

¹⁰⁷ Dabei könnte es sich um eine rhetorische Übertreibung des Polykrates handeln. Wäre das Ergebnis tatsächlich so einheitlich ausgefallen wie er dies behauptet, hätte er mit Sicherheit die Namensliste der zustimmenden Bischöfe beigefügt. Dies könnte wiederum darauf hindeuten, dass die Quartodezimaner nicht einmal in seiner kleinasiatischen Heimat mehr die Mehrheit besaßen. In diesem Sinn äußerte sich W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 36 in der Anlehnung an P. NAUTIN, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens: des II^e et III^e siècles*, Paris, 1961, p. 73-74. Ein anderes Erklärungsmodell liefert C. ANDRESEN, "Zum Formular frühchristlicher Gemeindebriefe", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 56 (1965), p. 233-259,

Dazu vermerkt Polykrates lapidar: „Wollte ich ihre Namen niederschreiben: ihre Zahl wäre groß“¹⁰⁸. Nach Eusebius lässt die Reaktion Viktors nicht lange auf sich warten. Er versucht die wahrscheinlich bereits angedrohte¹⁰⁹ Gegenmaßnahme zu verwirklichen, indem er in seinem Antwortschreiben die Kirchengemeinschaft mit den quartodezimanisch orientierten „Gemeinden von ganz Asien sowie die angrenzenden Kirchen“¹¹⁰ kurzerhand kündigt. Zwar nennt Eusebius wieder nur Viktor, „den Bischof der römischen Kirche“ als Initiator und Träger jeglicher Handlungen, man erfährt jedoch über den stadtrömischen Prozess der Entscheidungsfindung rein gar nichts. Diesbezüglich vertritt J. A. Fischer die These, dass aus dem eusebianischen Bericht eine stadtrömische Synode mit dem Vorsitz von Viktor herausgehört werden kann, die noch *vor* der Exkommunikation von Blastus und der Aufforderung des Polykrates, selbst eine Bischofsversammlung zu berufen, abgehalten wird.¹¹¹ Er übersieht dabei jedoch, dass der Caesareaner bei der Darstellung des Streits eher an der klaren Exposition der – aus seiner Sicht – Orthopraxis, als an einer korrekten chronologischen Ordnung interessiert ist.¹¹² Die zu Beginn seines Berichts¹¹³ aufgezählten Bischofsversammlungen, u. a. in Palästina, Pontus, Gallien und darunter auch in Rom, werden nicht etwa am Anfang der Kontroverse abgehalten, sondern erst

p. 253-255; *ibid.*, *Die Religionen der Menschheit: Die Kirchen der alten Christenheit*, Stuttgart, 1971, p. 187. Demzufolge verzichtet Polykrates auf die Unterschriften der teilnehmenden Bischöfe, weil die Aufforderung Viktors im eigenen Namen erfolgte.

¹⁰⁸ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,8, p. 492: „ὅν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν γράψω, πολλὰ πλήθη εἰσὶν“.

¹⁰⁹ Dass es bereits Androhung(en) zur Auflösung der Kirchengemeinschaft gab, lässt sich aus dem Schreiben des Polykrates indirekt erschließen. Seine, durch Eusebius überlieferte Entschlossenheit drückte er sogar mit einem Bibelzitat aus: „Man muss Gott mehr gehorchen als den Menschen“. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,7, p. 492 || Act 5,29. Es ist gut vorstellbar, dass die römische Kirche durch das Auffahren einer Drohkulisse versuchte, den Kleinasiaten einzuschüchtern und zur Übernahme des Feiertages am Sonntag zu bewegen. Siehe zu Polykrates: V. TWOMEY, *Apostolikos Thronos: The Primacy of Rome as Reflected in the Church History of Eusebius and the Historico-apologetic Writings of Saint Athanasius the Great*, Münster, 1982, p. 101.

¹¹⁰ Vgl. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,9, p. 494: „ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεστὼς Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν...“. Wie diese Erklärung im Detail aussah und vor allem wie sie zustande kam, bleibt im Dunkeln. Diesmal lässt sich nicht einmal der grobe Rahmen mit einiger Sicherheit abstecken. Kam die Entscheidung aus dem stadtrömischen Presbyterkreis? Hielt Viktor Rücksprache mit den Bischöfen der Region? Oder wurden gar eine (oder mehrere) Bischofsversammlungen zum Thema abgehalten? Träfe diese letzte Möglichkeit zu, dann wäre die Lösung, vollkommen unabhängig von der Dimension des Konflikts, kollegial gesucht und herbeigeführt gewesen. Folglich müsste man Viktor als den Vertreter und Wortführer der „Sonntagsfraktion“ im Streit ausmachen.

¹¹¹ Vgl. J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 71-73.

¹¹² Siehe N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 308-312.

¹¹³ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,3-4, p. 488-490.

nach der römischen „Überreaktion“ gegenüber den Kirchen in Kleinasien zur Klärung des Sachverhalts einberufen.

Aber zurück zum Streit. Die römische Proklamation verhält in der Oikumene nicht ohne spürbares Echo: „Nicht allen Bischöfen gefiel dies Vorgehen Viktors“, berichtet Eusebius und fügt hinzu, dass sie ihn dabei „ziemlich scharf angreifen“. Weiterhin fordern sie Viktor auf, sich für „Frieden, Einigung und Liebe“¹¹⁴ einzusetzen. Auch Irenäus gehört zum Lager der Unzufriedenen, obwohl sein Brief, zumindest in den von Eusebius zitierten Passagen, nicht die besagte „Schärfe“ vorweist. Die beiden überlieferten Fragmente enthalten ein leidenschaftliches Plädoyer für die Einheit der Christenheit und eine Aufforderung diese zu wahren – selbst dann, wenn dies auf Kosten der Uniformität geht. Den eigentlichen Dorn in seinem Auge kommt in den historischen Beispielen gut erkennbar zum Ausdruck: „Trotz dieser Verschiedenheit lebten all diese Christen im Frieden“¹¹⁵, oder, „trotz dieser Differenzen blieben beide in Gemeinschaft“¹¹⁶. Diesem irenäischen Grundduktus entsprechend fasst Eusebius kurz die nicht zitierten Teile des Briefes zusammen: „Er mahnt auch Viktor würdig und eindringlich, er solle nicht die ganzen Kirchen Gottes, die an alten, überlieferten Bräuchen festhalten, ausschließen“¹¹⁷. In diesem Satz kumuliert die Empörung nicht nur darüber, dass Viktors Vorgehen vollkommen unangemessen ist, sondern auch darüber, dass der Bischof von Rom weder Autorität noch einen Autoritätsanspruch außerhalb seiner Ortskirche vorweisen kann.¹¹⁸ Der Lyoner Bischof konzentriert sich im Folgenden ganz auf sein eigentliches Herzensanliegen: die Wahrung der Einheit der Kirche.¹¹⁹ Er beschwört dabei einen seiner Ansicht nach altbewährten Brauch, der offenbar auch in Rom eine lange Tradition hat. Diese Behauptung

¹¹⁴ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,10, p. 494: „ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἡρέσκετο. ἀντιπαρκαλεῖονται δὴτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐνώσεως τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν, φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος“.

¹¹⁵ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,13, p. 494: „... οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὔτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ...“.

¹¹⁶ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,17, p. 496: „... καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς ...“.

¹¹⁷ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,11, p. 494: „... τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως, ὥς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας ...“. Die Interpretationen dieses Satzes unterliegen einer ungeahnten Vielfalt. W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 60 und M. VINZENT, *Viktor* (see n. 6), p. 95 sehen diesen Satz als eine eusebianische Glättung an. Denn Irenäus ergreift „doch deutlich Partei für Asia“. N. BROX, *Papsttum* (see n. 7), p. 33 hingegen deutet den Satz von Eusebius her: Er bringt „seine eigene Abneigung gegen solche autoritäre Ambitionen des römischen Bischofs noch 100 Jahre später“ zum Ausdruck.

¹¹⁸ Ähnlich urteilt auch W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 59-61; N. BROX, *Tendenzen* (see n. 74), p. 295.

¹¹⁹ Siehe auch J. BEHR, *Irenaeus* (see n. 33), p. 55-57.

wird gleich mit einer ansehnlichen Liste aus der eigenen *διαδοχή* des Viktors angereichert, um die nötige Autorität dafür zu sichern. Dabei werden bemerkenswerterweise die Vorgänger Viktors als *presbyter*, nicht jedoch als Bischöfe ausgewiesen.¹²⁰ Auch die Narration über die „Konfliktlösung“ von Anicetus und Polykarpus unterstreichen die beschworene Tradition der Friedfertigkeit, d.h. Des Gewährenlassens in Rom. Gleichzeitig bietet er ein Modell des Zusammenlebens trotz sichtbarer Differenzen an.¹²¹

Die Irritation seitens Irenäus sowie die der anderen ungenannten Kritiker¹²² ist hier von besonderem Interesse. Der Tadel hagelt eben nicht auf Viktor wegen seines unbiegsamen Beharrens auf der dominikalen Osterfestpraxis beim Ringen um die Wahrheit.¹²³ Vielmehr bezieht sich dieser auf die von Viktor angedrohten und verwirklichten Konsequenzen, und zwar *ad extra*. Es kann in Irenäus' Augen nicht gerecht sein, wenn eine Kirche, die an ihrer „*ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν*“¹²⁴ festhält, einfach vor den Kopf gestoßen wird. Besonders das Ausmaß des Vorgehens ist ein Dorn im Auge der protestierenden Bischöfe. Denn Viktor bzw. die stadtrömische Kirche geht nicht nur gegen die Quartodezimaner der *urbs* vor, sondern droht sofort „*ὅλας ἐκκλησίας*“¹²⁵ mit dem Ausschluss.

Ein für die Fragestellung nicht gerade unbedeutender Hinweis lässt sich in der überlieferten Korrespondenz erkennen. In zwei Fällen liefert Euse-

¹²⁰ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,14, p. 494-496: „... οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον Ὑγινόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ξύστον ...“.

¹²¹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,15-17, p. 496.

¹²² Der Kommentar des Eusebius, „nicht alle“ (οὐ πάντες) seien von der Initiative des Viktors begeistert gewesen, deutet allerdings darauf hin, dass es eine gewisse Anzahl von Bischöfen gab, die einen von Viktor eingeschlagenen Weg durchaus billigten oder wenigstens nicht gänzlich abgeneigt waren. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,10, p. 494. Ob diese nur „einige“ oder eher „viele“ waren, lässt sich naturgemäß nicht mehr bestimmen. Genauso wenig lässt sich das Lager der Unzufriedenen quantifizieren.

¹²³ Für ihre sture Haltung hätte Irenäus auch die Quartodezimaner auf das Korn nehmen können. Der Lyoner Bischof weist Blastus vermutlich auch wegen seines eigensinnigen Standpunktes zurecht, wie dies auch der Titel seines an ihn adressierten Schreibens „Über die Schisma“ nahelegt.

¹²⁴ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,11, p. 494. Eusebius hat keine einfache Aufgabe. Einerseits fühlt er sich verpflichtet, an seiner eigenen Osterfestpraxis festzuhalten und sie auch zu verteidigen. Er schreckt deshalb auch nicht davor zurück, „*ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως*“, also eine „apostolische Tradition“ für seine dominikale Osterfeier zu beanspruchen, obwohl seine zitierten Quellen desgleichen nicht proklamieren. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,1, p. 488. Hätte in der, dem Eusebius vorliegenden Korrespondenz jemand die Sonntagsfeier apostolischer Herkunft beschworen, hätte der Caesareaner dies mit Sicherheit breit zitiert. Andererseits unterschlägt er den Quartodezimanern scheinbar ohne schlechtes Gewissens die apostolische Tradition und spricht in diesem Kontext nur über eine „ältere Tradition“ („*παραδόσεως ἀρχαιότερας*“). Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,1, p. 488.

¹²⁵ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,11, p. 494.

bius neben den Epistelfragmenten auch gleich die Adressatenangaben mit. Durch einen glücklichen Zufall lassen sich durch die Formulierungen der jeweiligen Briefe die eusebianischen Angaben überprüfen. Wie es scheint, gibt Eusebius jedes Mal die Angaben korrekt wieder. So teilt er mit, dass der Polykratesbrief nicht ausschließlich an Viktor, sondern gleichzeitig auch an die römische Kirche¹²⁶ adressiert ist. Dieser Adressatenkreis lässt sich gleich im mitgelieferten Zitat verifizieren: Dort rühmt sich Polykrates, dass er die Bischöfe, die sich auf das Auffordern von Viktor hin versammelt haben, aufzählen könne.¹²⁷ Es ist also keine Anmaßung anzunehmen, dass der bereits angedrohte Ausschluss nicht allein von Viktor, wohl aber von der römischen Kirche mit Bischof Viktor als ihrem Repräsentant für externe Angelegenheiten ausgeht. Der zweite Hinweis, der sich aus dem Irenäusbrief entnehmen lässt ist nicht weniger interessant. Dieser Brief wird laut Eusebius scheinbar nur an Viktor adressiert. Die Angabe wird dadurch bestätigt, dass Irenäus Viktor brüderlich duzt und dementsprechend mit σὺ anredet.¹²⁸ Der Lyoner weist also gezielt nur seine römischen Amtskollegen zurecht, die „römische Kirche“ ist darin allerdings nicht inkludiert. Was auf den ersten Blick als ein Hinweis auf den Alleingang Viktors im Sinn einer monopolisierten Amtsführung gedeutet werden kann, muss im Lichte des irenäischen Schreibens an Blastus, in dem er vermutlich seine Sicht über das vorgefallene Schisma darlegt und das inhaltlich dem Brief an Viktor ähneln dürfte, hinterfragt werden: Blastus ist mit Sicherheit nicht alleine für die Eskalation der innergemeindlichen Auseinandersetzung verantwortlich. Scheinbar redet Irenäus den Repräsentanten der beiden Konfliktparteien gezielt ins Gewissen, den Streit beizulegen.

Aus der *Historia ecclesiastica* erfährt man den weiteren Verlauf der Geschichte nur noch schlaglichtartig. Eine Reihe von Bischofsversammlungen¹²⁹ zum Thema Osterfest werden sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten abgehalten; auch ein reger brieflicher Austausch mit zahlreichen Diskussionsbeiträgen wird geführt. Eusebius zählt in diesem Fall penibel die ihm bekannten, mit höchsten bischöflichen Autoritäten geführten Synoden auf. Selbstverständlich lässt er sich dabei nicht die Gelegenheit entgehen, ausdrücklich darauf hinzuweisen, dass all diese Bischofsversammlungen seiner Meinung nach dasselbe Urteil abgeben.¹³⁰ Verdächtig ist nur, dass

¹²⁶ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,1, p. 490: „ὁς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἧ πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διετυπώσατο γραφῇ ...“.

¹²⁷ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,8, p. 492.

¹²⁸ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,11, p. 494.

¹²⁹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 25, p. 496-498. J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 71-73 fällt der chronologische Verdreh der Eusebius offenbar auf und er datiert die Synode von Rom ganz an den Anfang der Kontroverse.

¹³⁰ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,4, p. 490.

die angeblich unisono ausgefallenen Ergebnisse weitestgehend die persönliche Position des Eusebius, seiner Heimatkirche in Caesarea¹³¹ und den Beschluss des Konzils von Nizäa¹³² entsprechen.

Es ist angesichts der irenäischen Korrespondenz, die auf die überregionale Phase der Kontroverse fällt, sowie anhand der Anmerkungen von Eusebius wohl kaum zu leugnen, dass sich die stadtrömische Kirche und deren oberster Repräsentant in externen Angelegenheiten recht selbstbewusst, ja fast schon autoritär verhält, als er die kleinasiatischen Kirchen zurecht- und bald darauf der Kirchengemeinschaft verweist. Ebenfalls wird daraus ersichtlich, dass die Römer auf ihre doppelte apostolische Tradition pochen und versuchen, dieser universal-normative Geltung zu verschaffen. Ob hier aber tatsächlich mit der bewussten und von Anfang an intendierten Wahrnehmung von Universalverantwortung gerechnet werden muss, und ob sich darin tatsächlich Primatsansprüche Roms (eher als die eines römischen Bischofs) erkennen lassen, ist nur dann offenkundig, wenn man nur die zweite, bei Eusebius breit diskutierte überregionale Phase der Kontroverse beachtet. Bedenkt man jedoch, dass es sich bei diesem Konflikt um eine genuin stadtrömische Angelegenheit handelt, die erst durch den Verlauf der Streitigkeiten überregionale Ausweitung erfährt, ist eine solche Konklusion weder zwangsläufig, geschweige denn *per se* evident. Denn statt ein um „die Einheit der Gesamtkirche bemühter und wohl auch der besonderen Stellung seines Sitzes bewußter Bischof von Rom“¹³³, stellt sich am Anfang der Osterfeststreits ein Viktor bzw. eine römische Kirche vor, der bzw. die allem Anschein nach bemüht ist, die stadtrömischen Christentümer wenigstens im Zeichen einer sichtbaren Uniformität miteinander zu verbinden. Als die Situation jedoch entgleist, weil seine Anstrengungen bei den stadtrömischen Quartodezimanern auf erbitterten Widerstand stoßen, greift er bzw. sie zu einer radikalen, aber in Angelegenheiten *ad intra* vollkommen unproblematischem und weitestgehend akzeptablen sowie akzeptierten Maßnahme: Die quartodezimanische Tradition wird als Heteropraxis abgestempelt, und ihnen wird kurzerhand die Kirchengemeinschaft aufgekündigt. Damit wäre die Geschichte wohl zu Ende gekommen, hätten sich die Ausgeschlossenen keine Schützenhilfe von Außen geholt. Damit wird Viktor bzw. die römische Kirche auf dem falschen Fuß erwischt. Sie rechnen offenbar nicht damit, dass der Konflikt weite Kreise bis hin

¹³¹ Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 25, p. 496-498.

¹³² Vgl. N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 310-311; G. ALBERIGO, „Concilium Nicaenum I – 325“, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, Bd. I: The Oecumenical Councils. From Nicaea I to Nicaea II (325-787)*, ed. by G. ALBERIGO, Turnhout, 2006, p. 1-14, p. 11-12.

¹³³ J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 71.

nach Kleinasien zieht. Spätestens ab diesem Punkt verlieren sie die Kontrolle über die Ereignisse. Als Polykrates aus Ephesus das Wort für die stadtrömischen Quartodezimaner ergreift und ebenfalls das Apostolitätsprinzip als Argument einsetzt, geraten Viktor bzw. die römische Kirche in eine Zwickmühle.¹³⁴ Einerseits gilt die beidseitige Inanspruchnahme des Apostelprinzips bei voneinander offenbar abweichenden Traditionen für die Vorstellungen der Zeit als unlösbar.¹³⁵ Andererseits ist es viel zu spät zurückzurudern, ohne dabei das Gesicht zu verlieren und erhebliche Kollateralschäden in Kauf zu nehmen: Die Römer müssten sich nämlich sowohl für ihre Vorgehensweise (den Abbruch des Friedens mit der Blastusgruppe) rechtfertigen bzw. diese zurücknehmen, als auch sich in Sachen dominikale Osterfeier geschlagen geben. Dazu müssten sie die triumphierenden Belehrungen der Kleinasien ertragen sowie auf heimischem Boden weiterhin auf Einheit und Uniformität verzichten. Der scheinbar einzig vertretbare Ausweg (also die Bewahrung des Gesicht inner- und außerhalb Roms sowie

¹³⁴ Die scharfe Vorgehensweise Viktors sieht P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 322, n. 69 durch die doppelte Frontstellung gerechtfertigt. Das Problem ist nicht alleine darin begründet, dass der Blastuskreis an der kleinasiatischen Tradition festhält, sondern dass er nach dem Zeugnis des Eusebius erfolgreich Mitglieder abwirbt. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 15, p. 458. Aus der Sicht Viktors (und P. Lampes) besteht also wegen des Mitgliederschwunds dringend Handlungsbedarf. Diese Argumentationskette wäre durchaus plausibel, wenn Blastus nicht in einem Satz mit Florinus erwähnt wäre und Eusebius dem Florinus nicht desselben „Erfolgs“, nämlich der Mitgliederabwerbung, bezichtigen würde. Das trifft jedenfalls für Gallien und für Iräneus zu. Doch geht Viktor erst nach unmittelbarer Aufforderung des Lyonens gegen Florinus vor. Der angeblicher Mitgliederschwund auf dem heimischen Boden scheint ihn hingegen eher rudimentär zu beschäftigen. Siehe dazu Iren., *Fr.* 28, p. 457 sowie Abschnitt 2. Ähnliches dürfte auch auf den Konflikt um Blasuts treffen. M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 397, auch n. 994, gelang es durchaus plausibel darzulegen, dass es sich bei der eusebischen Notiz über die Abwerbung eher um ein härsiographisches Topos handelt. Es dient in der ersten Linie dazu, die Gefährlichkeit von Blastus und Florinus hervorzuheben. Ferner würde es überraschen, dass Eusebius, obwohl er offenbar so gut wie nichts über Blastus weiß (nicht einmal das, was für eine Neuerung ihm zuzuschreiben ist), ausgerechnet zum Thema etwas vorgefunden hätte.

¹³⁵ Nach frühchristlichem Verständnis wahrten die Apostel als Kollegium stets ihre Einheit und dachten uniform (sonst wäre das Argument der Apostolizität ebenso wie die darauf basierende *successio apostolica* für die Sicherung der „orthodoxen“ Traditionen unbrauchbar). Diese Problematik ist offenbar auch Irenäus bewusst. Daher ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, dass seine Lösung im Grunde genommen keine ist: Er ignoriert kurzerhand die Argumente und bagatellisiert gleichzeitig die Unterschiedlichkeit beider Osterfesttraditionen, indem er das Aufeinandertreffen beider Überlieferungen als ein Phänomen älteren Datums mit dem Hinweis auf Polykarpus und Anicetus darstellt. Ebenso verharmlost er die Terminfrage, indem er die Fastenfrage einführt. Folglich gibt es gar keinen Grund für einen Streit und noch weniger für ein solches unangemessenes und rücksichtsloses Vorgehen, wie Viktor dies zutage fördert. Siehe dazu auch W. HUBER, *Passa* (see n. 71), p. 56-57; N. BROX, *Tendenzen* (see n. 74), p. 295-297.

das Festhalten an der dominikalen Praxis als der einzig gültigen Wahrheit) besteht darin, die Flucht nach vorn zu ergreifen, Neuland zu betreten und den kleinasiatischen Muttergemeinden mit derselben Radikalität zu begegnen, mit der bereits ihre stadtrömischen Ableger behandelt wurden. Dass sich die Römer dabei nach wie vor auf die doppelte apostolische Herkunft ihrer Tradition berufen und sie zur universalen Normative erheben, ist weder überraschend, noch steht eine tragbare Alternative dazu bereit. Obwohl diese kühne Vorgehensweise schließlich am heftigen Widerstand der Bischöfe scheitert, stellt sie dennoch einen Präzedenzfall dar, der sich von nachfolgenden Generationen leicht für die eigenen Zwecke instrumentalisieren lässt.

Die eigentlichen Sieger des Streits heißen letztendlich Blastus und die stadtrömischen Quartodezimaner. Ihnen gelingt es nicht nur, den Konflikt durch den erfolgreichen Einbezug der kleinasiatischen Glaubensbrüder zu exportieren bzw. auf eine neue Ebene zu bringen, sondern auch die für sie sonst recht ungünstige Ausgangslage auszugleichen. Aus den Quellen geht zwar nicht eindeutig hervor, ob Viktor den Kirchenfrieden mit Blastus und den stadtrömischen Quartodezimanern wiederherstellt. Es spricht jedoch Einiges¹³⁶ dafür, dass auch diese rehabilitiert werden. Damit schei-

¹³⁶ Zwar geht aus der Kirchengeschichte nicht hervor, wie der Fall endete sowie ob und zu welchem Zeitpunkt Viktor die Gemeinschaft mit Blastus bzw. mit dem Kleinasien wiederherstellte. Mann muss jedoch aufgrund des weiteren Verlaufs der Geschichte der Quartodezimaner davon ausgehen, dass die Kirchengemeinschaft sowohl mit den kleinasiatischen Quartodezimanern als auch mit ihren stadtrömischen Ablegern bald wiederhergestellt wurde. Sonst wäre der Versuch, eine Verurteilung der quartodezimanischen Position auf der Synode von Nizäa im Jahre 325 vorzunehmen (diese führte aber wohl nicht zu einem Dekret) unbegründet und unnötig gewesen. Vgl. Eus., *V. C.*, 3,18-19 = Eusebius, *De vita Constantini*, ed. by H. SCHNEIDER, Turnhout, 2007 (FC, 83), p. 332-336. Siehe dazu P. L'HUILLIER, *The Church of the Ancient Councils: The Disciplinary Work of the First Four Ecumenical Councils*, Crestwood, NY, 1996, p. 19-26; G. ALBERIGO, *Concilium* (see n. 132), p. 3-4; A. A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Easter computus and the origins of the Christian era*, Oxford, 2008, p. 51-53. Ferner hätte es Eusebius auch nicht nötig gehabt, in der Kirchengeschichte durchgehend für die dominikale Position zu werben bzw. immer wieder zu behaupten, das Thema wäre bereits in der Bischofsversammlung *einstimmig* gelöst worden: „this ‘unanimity’ is exactly what was lacking between 190 and 325“, hebt W. PETERSEN, *Controversy* (see n. 89), p. 212 zutreffend hervor. Trotz einiger Fragezeichen schätzt J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, *Synoden* (see n. 63), p. 85-86 den Sachverhalt ähnlich ein. M. E. lässt sich diese Liste mit einem weiteren Argument ergänzen. Zwar bewundert Eusebius die Friedfertigkeit des Irenäus sowie sein Streben nach sichtbarer Einheit, die Erwähnung der Wiederherstellung dieser Einheit zwischen den Quartodezimanern in Kleinasien und Rom, der stadtrömischen Kirche sowie Viktor geht ihm aber vollkommen gegen den Strich. Mit einer bereits vollzogenen interepiskopalen Aussöhnung (dazu noch mit Rom) im Hintergrund hätte er indirekt einräumen müssen, dass die quartodezimanische Tradition tatsächlich eine apostolische ist und dementsprechend zu akzeptieren gilt. Danach wäre es ihm wesentlich schwieriger gewesen, die Quartodezimaner der Heteropraxis zu bezichtigen und die dominikale Feier zu der einzig

tert all das, was die Römer in der zweiten, überregionalen Phase des Streits erwirken wollen: Erstens, zu verhindern, dass sie Gesicht und Autorität verlieren. Zweitens, eine sichtbare Uniformität unter den stadtrömischen Christentümern zu erreichen. Und drittens, dass die Sonntagsfeier allgemeine Zustimmung findet. Obwohl die wegen der quartodezimanischen Auseinandersetzung einberufene Synoden angeblich unisono die dominikale Osterfeierpraxis billigen,¹³⁷ führen diese Bischofsversammlungen trotz diesbezüglicher Beschwörungen durch Eusebius längerfristig gesehen zu keiner Einigung. Das Problem wird noch einige weitere Synoden, u. a. auch das Konzil von Nizäa¹³⁸ beschäftigen; ebenso lassen sich die Spuren der Quartodezimaner noch einige Jahrhunderte lang verfolgen.¹³⁹

Aus dem Verlauf des Streits wird ersichtlich, dass das selbstbewusste Auftreten der stadtrömischen Kirche mit Bischof Viktor als ihr oberster Repräsentant in einer *externen*, d. h. in einer überregionalen und interepiskopalen Affäre zu verbinden ist. Die hier demonstrierte Einigkeit, das selbstbewusste und geschlossene Handeln der stadtrömischen Kirche bzw. Viktors wird durch die Marginalisierung der innergemeindlichen Konkurrenz, d. h. durch den Ausschluss der stadtrömischen Quartodezimaner möglich. Deshalb fällt es dem Presbyterkollegium und Viktor nicht mehr schwer, mit einer gemeinsamen Stimme zu reden und trotz möglicher innergemeinschaftlicher Differenzen *ad extra* eine einheitliche Position und mehrheitlich akzeptierten Linie zu verfolgen. Ferner sitzt Viktor als Bischof und als Außenrepräsentant an der Schaltstelle der internen und externen Affären und dadurch *ex officio* am längeren Hebel. Wie die von Eusebius rezipierten Quellen dies verdeutlichen, gelangt über den Standpunkt der stadtrömischen Opposition nicht viel in die Öffentlichkeit. Zumindest hadert der Caesareaner damit, Blastus in diesen Kontext adäquat, ja überhaupt einzuordnen. Das nach Außen vermittelte Bild der Einheit reflektiert also nur sehr bedingt die tatsächlichen stadtrömischen Lokalverhältnisse. Dies trifft gerade auf die leitende Rolle Viktors in der Kontroverse *ad extra* zu: Als episkopaler Repräsentant der stadtrömischen Ortskirche fungiert er offenbar als ein Sprecher und als Ansprechpartner in der Korrespondenz mit den übrigen Gemeinden und Bischöfen des Reiches. Damit bedient er lediglich einen Kompetenzbereich, mit welchem bereits seine Amtsvorgänger seit

Wahren zu postulieren. Der Verzicht auf die Aussöhnung erfolgt also nicht zwangsläufig (weil Eusebius dazu keine Informationen besessen hätte), sondern eher aufgrund seines eigenen theologischen und kirchenpolitischen Interesses.

¹³⁷ Siehe Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 23,3-4, p. 488-490.

¹³⁸ Vgl. J. A. FISCHER, A. LUMPE, Synoden (see n. 63), p. 85-87; G. ALBERIGO, Concilium (see n. 132), p. 12, besonders n. 34 mit ausführlichen Literaturhinweisen.

¹³⁹ Vgl. B. LOHSE, Quartadecimaner (see n. 100), p. 127-134; W. HUBER, Passa (see n. 71), p. 61-88; N. BROX, Tendenzen (see n. 74), p. 310-324.

Soterus betraut sind.¹⁴⁰ Das heißt aber längst nicht, dass er deshalb vergleichbare innergemeindliche Befugnisse beansprucht bzw. Angelegenheiten *ad intra* mit ähnlichem Selbstbewusstsein geregelt hätte. Die Quellen legen diesbezüglich ein gänzlich anderes Verhalten nahe.¹⁴¹ Folglich lassen sich aus einer externen Affäre keine (un)mittelbaren Rückschlüsse auf innergemeinschaftliche Befugnisse bzw. auf die dem Bischof zugeordneten Kompetenzbereiche ziehen. Dazu muss vielmehr der Kernkonflikt um Blastus und die stadtrömischen Quartodezimanern in Betracht gezogen werden. Doch die einzige dazu verfügbare Quelle zum Thema, der Eusebiusbericht, weist eine ganze Reihe von recht einschneidenden Mängeln auf. So lässt sich nicht mehr erkennen bzw. aus dem Text entnehmen, wie die einschlägige erste Phase der Kontroverse verläuft und insbesondere wie die Verurteilung und der Ausschluss der Quartodezimaner in Rom sowie ferner später in Asien über die Bühne geht. Neben der Quellenarmut¹⁴² hat Eusebius auch erhebliche Probleme damit, das ihm vorliegende Material sinnvoll und gleichzeitig seiner Position entsprechend zu ordnen. Deshalb ist es oft nur mit erheblichen Schwierigkeiten verbunden möglich, seine „Interpretation“ von den Vorkommnissen des ausgehenden 2. Jahrhundert zu separieren. Unter dem Strich eignet sich der Bericht, wenn überhaupt dann nur punktuell dazu, daraus zur Entwicklung bischöflicher Befugnisse in Rom Schlüsse zu ziehen.¹⁴³ Zwei eher unscheinbare Hinweise indizieren jedoch, dass man durchaus mit einer gemeinschaftlichen Verantwortung rechnen kann: Das Brieffragment des Polykrates stützt eine solche Deutung, das von Irenäus spricht nicht (zwangsläufig) dagegen. Ferner – und der Negativbefund ist hier genauso bedeutend – lässt sich ein Beleg für einen Alleingang Viktors trotz eusebianischer Tendenziösität auch hier nicht vorfinden. Ob die Kirchentrennung der kleinasiatischen und der stadtrömischen Quartodezimanern aufgehoben wird, unterschlägt Eusebius als Verfechter dominikaler Praxis elegant. Dennoch ist es recht wahrscheinlich. Folglich kann man davon ausgehen, dass Viktor die Instruktionen aus Lyon ein weiteres¹⁴⁴ Mal beherzigt und die nahegelegten Anregungen in die Tat umsetzt.

¹⁴⁰ Siehe dazu P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 339-341.

¹⁴¹ Vgl. Abschnitte 2, 5 und 6.

¹⁴² Ähnlich M. WILLING, Häreseograph (see n. 31), p. 277-278.

¹⁴³ Dies muss auch M. SIMONETTI, Nuova proposta (see n. 5), p. 41 einräumen: „Eusebio facendogli carico di presentare fatti dei II e inizio III secolo rapportandoli alle strutture e alle istituzioni ecclesiastiche del tempo suo. In linea di massima non c'è difficoltà ad ammettere la scarsa capacità di contestualizzazione storica di Eusebio, come di Girolamo e tanti altri storici antichi...“. Gleichzeitig warnt er – nicht zu Unrecht – davor, das Argument zu überstrapazieren.

¹⁴⁴ Ob die Florinus-Affäre oder der Osterfeststreit zuerst stattfand, lässt sich chronologisch nicht mehr rekonstruieren. Nach eusebianischen Angaben ereignete sich der Letztgenannte

Aus der Rolle und dem Auftreten Viktors im Osterfeststreit lässt sich also erstaunlich wenig für die vorliegende Fragestellung abgewinnen. Es liegt erstens daran, dass die gut dokumentierte zweite Phase des Streits bereits eine Kontroverse *ad extra* darstellt. Das dort wahrnehmbare Selbstbewusstsein und der Autoritätsanspruch Viktors, bzw. eher der der stadtrömischen Kirche, ist das Ergebnis eines innergemeinschaftlichen Prozesses. Naturgemäß basiert die nach Außen gerichtete Kommunikation auf einem geschlossenen und einheitlichen Auftreten; Gegenstimmen bleiben auf der Strecke. Deshalb ist es unzulässig, daraus Rückschlüsse auf die *interne* hierarchischen Strukturen sowie auf die innergemeindlichen Amtsbefugnisse von Viktor zu ziehen. Aus der zweiten Phase des Konflikts ergibt sich nur, dass Viktor, wie seine Vorgänger seit Soterus, als Wortführer und Repräsentant der stadtrömischen Kirche fungiert. Zweitens leidet die für die Fragestellung interessante erste Phase *ad intra* unter akutem Quellenmangel. Immerhin lässt sich soviel aus dem Brieffragment von Polykrates entnehmen, dass in Rom mit einem gemeinschaftlichen Entscheidungsprozess gerechnet werden kann. Darüber hinaus begegnet man hier erneut dem von der Florinus-Affäre bekannten Muster: Die Hinweise aus Lyon werden beherzigt und umgesetzt.

5. Die Neuen Propheten und Praxeas

Der Weg zum Fall der „phrygischen Propheten“ in Rom führt über Karthago und ist eng mit einem Bekenner namens Praxeas verbunden. Angesichts des derzeitigen Forschungsstandes sind sowohl seine Person als auch seine Wirkung in Rom (sowie in Karthago) mit erheblicher Unsicherheit verbunden. Umstritten ist nicht nur die Identifikation der Person des Praxeas (es reicht von einer rein fiktiven Figur¹⁴⁵ über ein Pseudonym¹⁴⁶ bis hin zu einer realen Persönlichkeit¹⁴⁷), sondern auch die Datierung seiner

im zehnten Regierungsjahr des Commodus. Damit befindet man sich im Jahr 191/192, also recht bald nach dem Amtseintritt Viktors. Denkbar wäre also, dass zuerst die Osterkontroverse stattfand und Florinus danach in den Mittelpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit geriet. Für die Fragestellung spielt die Chronologie allerdings keine Rolle. Für die reservierte, ja gerade passive Haltung Viktors könnte der Ausgang des Osterfeststreits eine plausible Erklärung liefern. Zur Datierung siehe auch M. WILLING, *Häreseograph* (see n. 31), p. 276.

¹⁴⁵ R. A. LIPSUS, „Ueber Tertullian's Schrift wider Praxeas“, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 13 (1868), p. 701-724, p. 701-703; A. HARNACK, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. I: *Die Entstehung des kirchlichen Dogmas*, Tübingen, 1909, p. 741.

¹⁴⁶ Vgl. A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 526-529; G. D. DUNN, *Tertullian*, London, 2004, p. 24-25 hält es für möglich.

¹⁴⁷ H. HAGEMANN, *Die Römische Kirche und ihr Einfluss auf Disciplin und Dogma in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten: nach den Quellen aufs Neue untersucht*, Freiburg, 1864, p. 234-

Wirkung in Rom. Diskutiert wird die Amtszeit von Viktor¹⁴⁸, von Eleutherus (175?-189?)¹⁴⁹ oder die von Zephyrinus¹⁵⁰. Die Lage wird dadurch erschwert, dass sich die Quellen nicht widerspruchsfrei harmonisieren lassen. Meiner Meinung nach besteht jedenfalls kein Grund dafür, die Angaben Tertullianus' in Zweifel zu ziehen und aus einer fiktiven Figur oder von einem Pseudonym auszugehen. Besonders eine Identifikation mit Bischof Calixtus erscheint mir angesichts der Nachrichten der *Refutatio* als wenig überzeugend.¹⁵¹ Ähnliches gilt auch für die Datierung des pra-

257; A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 529; R. E. HEINE, "The Christology of Callistus", *Journal of Theological Studies*, 49 (1998), p. 56-91, p. 58, besonders n. 12; E. PRINZIVALLI, "Callisto I, santo", in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 1, ed. by S. ESPOSITO, G. BARONE, Roma, 2000, p. 237-246, p. 244 und siehe auch n. 167.

¹⁴⁸ Besonders in der deutschsprachigen Forschung, aber auch zunehmend in dem angelsächsischen Raum erfährt diese Zuweisung zunehmend Zuspruch: G. ESSER, *Wer war Praxeas?*, Bonn, 1910, p. 24-28; G. LA PIANA, "The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century: The Episcopate of Victor, the Latinization of the Roman Church, the Easter Controversy, Consolidation of Power and Doctrinal Development, the Catacomb of Callistus", *Harvard Theological Review*, 18 (1925), p. 201-277, p. 244-254; P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 294; H. TRÄNKLE, "§ 474. Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus", in *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike, Bd. IV: Die Literatur des Umbruchs. Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.*, ed. by K. SALLMANN, München, 1997, p. 438-511, p. 475-478; R. M. HÜBNER, "Die Ignatianen und Noët von Smyrna", in *Der Paradox Eine. Antignostischer Monarchianismus im zweiten Jahrhundert*, ed. by R. M. HÜBNER, Leiden/Boston, 1999, p. 30; 235; H. J. SIEBEN, "Einleitung", in *Tertullianus, Adversus Praxean*, ed. by H. J. SIEBEN, Freiburg im Breisgau/Basel, 2001, p. 7-94, p. 99, n. 11; D. E. WILHITE, *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities*, Berlin/New York, 2007, p. 175, n. 140; E. THOMASSEN, Orthodoxy (see n. 46), p. 244.

¹⁴⁹ Vgl. I. DÖLLINGER, *Hippolytus und Kallistus: oder die römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts; mit Rücksicht auf die Schriften und Abhandlungen der HH. Bunsen, Wordsworth, Baur und Gieseler*, Regensburg, 1853, p. 198; A. HARNACK, Dogmengeschichte (see n. 145), p. 741; C. TREVETT, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 58-60.

¹⁵⁰ Die frankophone sowie die italienischsprachige Forschung spricht sich überwiegend für Zephyrinus aus: P. DE LABRIOLLE, *La crise montaniste*, Paris, 1913, p. 267-275; J. MOINGT, *Théologie trinitaire de Tertullien. 1. Histoire, doctrine, méthodes*, Paris, 1966, p. 93; M. SIMONETTI, Nuova proposta (see n. 5), p. 28-33; R. E. HEINE, Christology (see n. 147), p. 59; E. PRINZIVALLI, "Zefirino, santo", in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 1, ed. by S. ESPOSITO, G. BARONE, Roma, 2000, p. 234-236, p. 236; F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, Vittore (see n. 6), p. 231; M. SIMONETTI, Introduzione (see n. 50), p. 68-70; M.-Y. PERRIN, Rom (see n. 7), p. 684-685.

¹⁵¹ Die These wurde von H. HAGEMANN, Die Römische Kirche (see n. 147), p. 234-257 begründet und erfuhr in den vergangenen Dekaden ein Revival. Vgl. A. BRENT, Hippolytus (see n. 1), p. 525-529. R. E. HEINE, Christology (see n. 147), p. 58-60 hingegen sieht zwar von einer Identifikation beider Personen ab, schlägt aber den Namen Praxeas als Pseudonym für Calixtus vor. Gegen beide Annahmen spricht nicht nur die betont kleinasiatische Herkunft von Praxeas, sondern auch seine offene und freie Lehrtätigkeit in Rom. Vgl. Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,4 = Tertullianus, *Adversus Praxean*, ed. by H. J. SIEBEN, Freiburg im Breisgau/

xeanischen Wirkens, wenngleich das Problem ein wesentlich mysteriöseres ist. Tertullianus erwähnt zwar, dass Praxeas, bevor er nach Karthago kam, in Rom tätig ist. Er unterschlägt jedoch aus unverständlichem Grund den Namen des damals amtierenden Bischofs und begnügt sich mit der lapidaren Feststellung, dass dieser Bischof erwog, die Prophetien und die Neuen Propheten anzuerkennen.¹⁵² Daraus lässt sich die Identität des anonymen Bischofs nicht mit Sicherheit erschließen. Einige (indirekte) Hinweise jedoch, wie das *silentium* der *Refutatio* sowie manche sonderbare „Zufälle“, z. B. der Name Victorinus im Kontext der patripassianistischer Häresie bei Pseudo-Tertullianus¹⁵³, sprechen dafür, dass Bischof Viktor am ehesten als Identifikationsfigur in Frage kommt. Eine Zuordnung zu Zephyrinus wäre an sich auch denkbar. Es ist jedoch kaum glaubhaft, dass die Ausbreitung der Neuen Propheten in Rom, vor allem jedoch die Kritik der kirchlichen Opposition, die Reichshauptstadt nicht einmal 30 Jahre nach Auftreten des Gründertrios erreicht hätte.¹⁵⁴

Die Anhänger der Neuen Prophetie genießen vor der Ankunft des Bekenners aus Kleinasien große Freiheiten. Viktor, wohl gutmütig und unbedarft, erkennt die Prophezeiungen des Montanus und der beiden Prophetinnen Prisca und Maximilla als geistgewirkt an. Wie es scheint, liegen keine disziplinarischen Bedenken vor, da er als Zeichen seiner Zustimmung Friedensbriefe¹⁵⁵ ausstellen lässt. Der Ausdruck „*ecclesiis asiae et phrygiae*“ kann wohl kaum die Kirchen in *Asia Minor* sowie in *Phrygia* meinen, sondern ihren Ableger in der *caput mundi*, da die Erstgenannten im fraglichen Zeitraum bereits eine klare und ablehnende Haltung gegenüber der Neuen Prophetie einnahmen.¹⁵⁶ Ferner wäre es schwer zu erklären, wieso Viktor aus-

Basel/Wien, 2001 (FC, 34), p. 98. Der Sklave Calixtus hingegen arbeitet als *nummularius* bereits in seinen jungen Jahren in Rom; seine kleinasiatische Herkunft wird – zu Recht – nicht einmal in Erwägung gezogen. Vgl. *Refut.* 9,12,1, p. 246.

¹⁵² Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,5, p. 98-100.

¹⁵³ Ps. Tert., *Haer.*, 8,4, p. 1410: „*Sed post hos omnes etiam Praxeas quidam haeresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit*“.

¹⁵⁴ Vgl. C. TREVETT, Montanism (see n. 149), p. 55-56; W. TABBERNEE, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism*, Leiden/Boston, 2007, p. 28-40; 68-79.

¹⁵⁵ Tertullianus schreibt hier wortwörtlich „*litteras pacis*“. Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,5, p. 100.

¹⁵⁶ Eusebius zieht ein anonymes, möglicherweise von einem Bischof der sog. phrygischen Pentapolis verfasstes „antimonastisches“ Traktat zu Rat, als er sich die Vorstellung der „Phrygischen Häresie“ vornimmt. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 16,1-5, 19,4, p. 458-480. Es ist zwar nicht sicher zu datieren, wurde aber etwa zwischen 179 und 193 verfasst. Aus diesem Werk geht hervor, dass sowohl Bischof Zoticus von Komana, als auch Bischof Julianus von Apamea etwa um 175 gegen die Prophetin Maximilla auftreten. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 16,16-17, p. 466. Ebenso berichtet Eusebius darüber, dass Claudius Apollinaris, Bischof von Hierapolis in Phrygien (Bischof c. 171-175), ebenfalls ein (mittlerweile verlorenes) Werk gegen die phrygische Häre-

gerechnet mit den Kirchen in Asien und Phrygien hätte Frieden schließen wollen. Alles scheint also darauf hinauszulaufen, dass der Bischof mit den Ansichten seiner Vorgänger¹⁵⁷ brach, als er mit den Vertretern der Neuen Prophetie Frieden herbeigeführte und diesen auch bescheinigte. Dies wird allerdings durch den Auftritt des Kleinasien Praxeas erfolgreich sabotiert. „Er hat den Parakleten [aus Rom] verjagt“¹⁵⁸, wie Tertullianus formuliert, indem er den Bischof dazu bewegt, die bereits ausgestellten Friedensbriefe zurückzurufen. Offenbar importiert Praxeas nicht nur den Monarchianismus patripassianistischer Prägung mit Erfolg von Kleinasien über Rom bis nach Nordafrika, sondern brachte (auch) gleich die in Kleinasien bereits ausgeprägte Abneigung gegenüber der Neuen Prophetie mit.

Man erfährt nur wenig über das tatsächliche stadtrömische Wirken des Praxeas. Es wird aber ersichtlich, dass er sich relativ rasch etablieren konnte und dass es ihm gelang – möglicherweise aufgrund seines unvollendeten Martyriums – in die Nähe des Bischofs zu kommen. Da nicht bekannt ist, wann und wo Praxeas Ketten für seinen Glauben trug, lässt sich über Spekulationen hinaus kaum etwas Konkretes dazu sagen, ob er im Klerus tätig war oder nicht. Möglich wäre eine solche Konstellation durchaus. Sein Einfluss reicht auf jeden Fall dafür aus, Stimmung zu machen und die Schädlichkeit der Neuen Prophetie zu demonstrieren. Tertullianus unterstreicht dabei, dass Praxeas unmittelbar dafür Verantwortung trug.¹⁵⁹ Ob diese ebenso apologetische Gründe hat wie der Hinweis, der Bekenner habe es im Gefängnis nur eine kurze Zeit etwas „unbequemer“ gehabt,¹⁶⁰ ist vor allem beim Letztgenannten gut möglich, beim Erstgenannten jedoch keineswegs zwangsläufig. Es ist jedoch auffällig, dass Tertullianus allein den römischen Bischof für den Rückruf der Friedensbriefe verantwortlich macht. Aus den Quellen geht erneut nicht hervor, wie der Prozess der Anerkennung bzw. Aberkennung im Detail aussah und inwiefern Viktor tatsächlich selbst dafür verantwortlich ist oder ob sich eine gemeinschaftli-

sie verfasste. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 27, p. 388. Siehe dazu auch W. TABBERNEE, *Fake Prophecy* (see n. 154), p. 3-21; 38-40.

¹⁵⁷ Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,5, p. 100: „... falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseuerando et praecessorum eius auctoritates defendendo coegit ...“.

¹⁵⁸ Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,5, p. 100: „... paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit“.

¹⁵⁹ Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 1,5, p. 100: „... falsa de ipsis prophetis et ecclesiis eorum adseuerando et praecessorum eius auctoritates defendendo coegit et litteras pacis reuocare iam emissas et a proposito recipiendorum charismatum concessare“.

¹⁶⁰ Einer ähnlichen Figur begegnet man auch in *De pudicitia*, als Tertullianus den Versuch unternimmt, den „katholischen“ Märtyrern die geistliche Autorität abzustreiten. Tert., *Pudic.*, 22,4-7 = Tertullianus, *De pudicitia*, ed. by E. DEKKERS, Turnhout, 1954 (CCSL 2), p. 1281-1330, p. 1328-1329.

che Legitimation dahinter verbirgt. Viktor erscheint in der tertullianischen Darstellung jedenfalls als ausführende Instanz.

Es sticht hier erneut ins Auge, wie unkritisch Viktor bzw. das stadtrömische Presbyterkollegium mit Anderslehrenden umgeht. Als die stadtrömischen Ableger der „Phrygischen Propheten“ ihre Anerkennung erbitten, wird diese erteilt und es werden Friedensbriefe ausgestellt, wie es aus *Adversus Praxeas* eindeutig hervorgeht. Ob es ein Prüfverfahren gibt und wie ein solches im Detail aussieht, erfährt man nicht. Bis zu der Intervention des Praxeas sehen weder Viktor noch das Presbyterkollegium oder sogar der Autor der *Refutatio*¹⁶¹ einen Anlass, gegen sie vorzugehen. Es ist ebenso bezeichnend, dass die Kirchenleitung erst auf den Hinweis eines Externen reagiert und ihre Haltung ändert. Statt Eigeninitiative zu ergreifen, herrscht erneut Ignoranz bzw. traditionelles Gewährenlassen. Hier findet also das aus den Fällen von Florinus und Blastus gewonnene Bild wieder einmal auf kontrastierende Weise seine Bestätigung.

Die Pikanterie an der Geschichte ist lediglich, dass, während Viktor erfolgreich dazu angespornt wird, gegen die phrygische „Häresie“ auf stadtrömischem Boden vorzugehen, ihm der Patripassianismus des Praxeas¹⁶² überhaupt nicht verdächtig vorkommt. Er lässt sich von dem Kleinasiatischen Bekenner nicht nur in Sachen Neuer Prophetie beraten, sondern gibt ihm auch freie Hand bei seiner eigenen stadtrömischen Wirkung. Zumindest berichtet Tertullianus weder von einer römischen Phase der Auseinandersetzung noch lässt sich aus der *Adversus Praxeas* deduzieren, dass dieser aus Rom „verjagt“ worden wäre.¹⁶³ Die modalistischen Ansichten gedeihen etwa gut zwei Jahrzehnte lang unbehelligt in Rom, bis der Autor der *Refutatio* sowie Calixtus unter dem Episkopat des Zephyrinus versuchen, dessen aktuellen Vertreter Sabellius zum Besseren zu bewegen.¹⁶⁴ Schließlich ergreift Calixtus als Bischof Disziplinarmaßnahmen und schließt Sabellius und seine Anhänger nach einem längeren Streit aus der Kirchengemeinschaft aus.¹⁶⁵ Angesichts weiterer Hinweise wäre für dieses Gedeihen die Erklärung, dass Viktor selbst monarchistischen Ansichten vertrat und ihm deswegen die modalistischen Spekulationen des Praxeas nicht auffielen, nicht nur plausibel, sondern auch wahrscheinlich.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Seine ablehnende Haltung gegenüber den Neuen Propheten bringt der anonyme Autor in seiner Monumentalhäresiographie mit großer Eindeutigkeit zur Sprache. Vgl. *Refut.* 8, 19, p. 237-238.

¹⁶² Ein solcher Hinweis wäre für den Rhetoriker Tertullianus natürlich hochwillkommen gewesen.

¹⁶³ *Refut.* 9, 11,1-2, p. 245-246.

¹⁶⁴ *Refut.* 9, 12,15, p. 248.

¹⁶⁵ Siehe dazu R. M. HÜBNER, Ignatianen (see n. 148), p. 29-30; 235.

6. Die „Verbannung“ des Calixtus nach Antium

Die „Verbannung“ vom Bekenner¹⁶⁶ und späteren Bischof Calixtus (217 ?-222 ?) von Rom in die Hafenstadt Antium durch Bischof Viktor, wovon die *Refutatio omnium haeresium*¹⁶⁷ berichtet, bietet einen authentischen Einblick in die bischöfliche Handlungsweise aus erster Hand und aus unmittelbarer Nähe des Bischofs. Der anonyme Autor der *Refutatio* ist, im Gegensatz zu Calixtus, Viktor gegenüber durchweg positiv gesinnt.¹⁶⁸ Deshalb lässt sich hier von einer eingehenderen Prüfung des sonst oft polemisierenden Textes gänzlich absehen.

Die Vorgeschichte der „Verbannung“, die ebenfalls in der *Refutatio* überliefert¹⁶⁹ ist, lässt sich rasch nacherzählen: Der Sklave Calixtus führt Geldgeschäfte als *nummularius* für seinen Herren Carpophorus, ein christlicher Freigelassener des Kaiserhauses, aus. Als das Geschäft ins Wanken gerät, flieht er, wird jedoch von Carpophorus in der Hafenstadt Portus gefangen genommen. Seine Unternehmungen, die noch ausstehenden Gelder bei den jüdischen Debitoren einzutreiben, schlagen ebenfalls fehl. Er wird geschlagen und vor Fuscianus, dem damaligen *praefectus urbi* verklagt. Dieser verurteilt ihn zu *ad metalla*, einer *de facto* Todesstrafe, deren Vollstreckung auf Zeit ausgesetzt wird. Calixtus wird als *servus poena* nach Sardinien abtransportiert. Infolge der Befreiungsmision des Hyakinthus, eines engen Vertrauten und *cubicularius* von Marcia, der gottesfürchtigen Hauptkonkubine des Kaisers Commodus (180-192), kehrt er nun als Bekenner nach Rom zurück. Über die „siegreiche“ Wiederkehr des Freigelassenen *sine domino* sind aber nicht alle erfreut. Carpophorus, der nicht nur den Kapitalstock der Geldgeschäfte, sondern auch gleich einen gut ausgebildeten und jungen Sklaven verliert, ist über seine Anwesenheit ebenso wenig amüsiert wie die christlichen Kleinanleger, die ihre Investitionen ebenfalls abschreiben müssen. Selbst Bischof Viktor zeigt sich – nach der diesmal wohl tendenziösen

¹⁶⁶ Vgl. A. HANDL, „Bishop Callistus I. of Rome (217 ?-222). A Martyr or a Confessor?“, *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 18 (2014), p. 390-419.

¹⁶⁷ *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248.

¹⁶⁸ Viktor findet in der *Refutatio* gerade zweimal eine Erwähnung. In *Refut.* 9, 12,10, p. 247 wird er als der „selige Viktor“ (μακάριον Οὐκτορα) bei seiner Begegnung mit Marcia vorgestellt. Ferner wird er hier mit dem *terminus technicus* ἐπίσκοπος ausgezeichnet, der im Rahmen der *Refutatio* ein Alleinstellungsmerkmal darstellt, obwohl andere Bischöfe wie Irenäus, Zephyrinus oder Calixtus ebenfalls erwähnt werden. Das zweite Mal betritt er in der Calixtus-Affäre als rücksichtsvoller und einfühlsamer Oberhirte die Bühne. Vgl. *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248.

¹⁶⁹ *Refut.* 9, 12,1-14, p. 246-248.

Angaben der *Refutatio* – über den Fortgang „sehr betrübt“¹⁷⁰. Doch seine pastorale Milde übersteigt seinen Ärger: „... mitleidsvoll, wie er war, hat er die Sache ruhen lassen“¹⁷¹, beteuert der Autor. Mit anderen Worten, er ignoriert das Problem. Erst als die Lage entgleist, weil „viele“ den Ex-Sklaven verdächtigen und auch Carpophorus offenbar immer vehementer protestiert, wird Viktor zum Handeln gezwungen. Da ihm nichts anderes übrig bleibt, als die Konfliktparteien voneinander zu separieren, schickt er, oder nach der Lesart der *Refutatio*, verbannt er den Bekenner nach Antium.¹⁷² Selbst bei der „Verbannung“ lässt er sich von seiner pastoralen Weitsicht leiten und beschert dem „verbrecherischen“ Ex-Sklaven sogar monatliche Alimente.¹⁷³

Das in der *Refutatio* skizzierte Verhalten Viktors entspricht dem aus anderen Fällen bereits bekannten Muster und scheint daher symptomatisch zu sein. Vorerst schert sich der Bischof nicht im Geringsten um die Angelegenheit: Obwohl er angeblich wegen der Calixtischen Rückkehr verärgert ist, negiert er das Problem.¹⁷⁴ Er wird erst aktiv, als die Lage aus den Fugen gerät und die Aufruhr der Opponierenden nicht mehr zu ignorieren ist. Ebenfalls stereotypisch erscheint die Art und Weise der Intervention. Er versucht scheinbar nicht zu vermitteln, einen Kompromiss zu erarbeiten oder einen tragbaren Konsens zu finden. Vielmehr schafft er sich den Konflikt kurzerhand vom Hals, indem er den Bekenner Calixtus bei Gewährung monatlicher Alimente von der Bildfläche verschwinden lässt.

7. Auswertung der Fallstudien

Die Ausübung von Disziplinargewalt, die gerne als Zeichen des „monarchischen“ Episkopats verstanden wird, ist in den Quellen mehrmals mit dem Namen von Viktor in Verbindung gebracht. Die Fälle von Florinus, den Neuen Propheten und von Blastus sowie der Quartodezimaner liefern wenigstens ansatzweise halbwegs verwertbare Hinweise; das Schicksal von Theodotus aus Byzanz muss jedoch gänzlich ausscheiden. An dieser Stelle darf und soll der Umgang Viktors mit Calixtus zusammen mit dem Wirken von Praxeas in Rom mitbedacht werden. Charakteristisch, ja fast

¹⁷⁰ *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248: „οὗ παραγενομένου ὁ Οὐῆκτωρ πάνυ ἤχθετο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ...“.

¹⁷¹ *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248: „... ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ εὐσπλαγχνος ἦν, ἡσύχαζε ...“.

¹⁷² *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248: „... ἡσύχαζε· φυλασσόμενος δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὄνειδον – οὐ γὰρ ἦν μακρὰν τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τετολμημένα –, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Καρποφόρου ἀντιπίπτοντος, πέμπει αὐτὸν καταμένειν ἐν Ἀνθείῳ ...“.

¹⁷³ *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248: „... ὁρίσας αὐτῷ μηνιαῖόν τι εἰς τροφάς“.

¹⁷⁴ *Refut.* 9, 12,13, p. 248: „οὗ παραγενομένου ὁ Οὐῆκτωρ πάνυ ἤχθετο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ εὐσπλαγχνος ἦν, ἡσύχαζε ...“.

schon stereotyp wirken die Muster, die sich aus diesen Nachrichten abgewinnen lassen. Presbyter Florinus, die stadtrömischen Vertreter der Phrygischen Propheten, Praxeas sowie die stadtrömischen Ableger der kleinasiatischen Quartodezimaner genießen in Rom während des Episkopats Viktors vorerst uneingeschränkte Freiheit. Der eine, Florinus, kann als ein Presbyter des Bischofs unbehelligt in aller Öffentlichkeit seine valentinianisch angehauchten Lehren propagieren. Ein anderer, Praxeas, kann sein modalistisches Denken sowie seine Lehren ohne Einspruch verbreiten, und dabei handelt er mit Sicherheit nicht im Verborgenen. Die Neuen Propheten erhalten nach der ablehnenden Haltung des viktorschen Vorgängers Eleutherus sogar Friedensbriefe; ihre Tätigkeit wird also von höchster Stelle gebilligt. Schließlich feiern die Quartodezimaner Ostern von allen wahrnehmbar an einem anderen Zeitpunkt als die dominikale Mehrheit Roms. Viktor zeigt sich in allen überlieferten Fällen gegenüber Abweichlern auffällig ignorant. Die auf unterschiedliche Weise zum Ausdruck kommende Heterodoxie löst bei ihm offenbar keine erkennbaren Reaktionen aus, obwohl die Aufsicht – erst recht als „monarchischer“ Bischof – zu seinem Kompetenzbereich gehört. Die viktorsche Ignoranz findet sogar eine unmittelbare Bestätigung aus erster Hand, nämlich der dem Bischof wohlgesonnenen *Refutatio*. Viktor bleibt so lange passiv, bis er den Fall nicht mehr ignorieren kann. Dieses Muster wird ein einziges Mal gebrochen, bei der für jedermann leicht wahrnehmbaren Heteropraxis der Quartodezimaner. Da hier keine anderslautende Nachricht vorliegt, muss man davon ausgehen, dass wohl die stadtrömische Kirchenleitung bzw. der Bischof das Verfahren einleitet. In mehreren Fällen bedarf jedoch Viktor einen externen Anstoß, um nicht zu sagen, Druck, damit er bzw. das gemeinschaftliche Leitungsgremium endlich die Initiative ergreift. Im Fall des Florinus ist es Irenäus, dem der Kragen platzt und der dem Presbyterkollegium, inklusive Viktor, nahelegt, den Presbyter abzusetzen. Für den Abbruch des Friedens mit der stadtrömischen Gefolgschaft der „Neuen Propheten“ sorgt hingegen der Neuankömmling aus Kleinasien. Praxeas stellt hier allerdings nur insofern einen Sonderfall dar, weil er der Einzige ist, der seine Lehrtätigkeit während seines Aufenthalts in Rom offenbar unbehelligt ausführen kann und darf. Es ist bezeichnend, dass weder er noch sein ungenierter Patripassianismus zur Debatte wird, geschweige denn einen Grund für eine Aufkündigung des Kirchenfriedens darstellt. Ähnliches Verhalten ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auch in einem überregionalen Kontext zu beobachten. In der vergleichsweise gut dokumentierten, interepiskopalen Phase des Streits erfährt man, dass diesmal nicht nur eine Einzelperson interveniert, sondern eine ganze Reihe von Amtskollegen Viktor mit „ziemlich scharfen“ Worten tadeln. Freilich lässt sich diese Angelegenheit *ad extra* sowie die massenhafte Bestürzung wegen der Übertretung eigener „Juris-

diktion“ nicht mit den sonstigen internen Affären vergleichen, geschweige denn gleichsetzen. Die Tendenz lässt sich aber auch hier wohl kaum verkennen. Denn es ist wahrscheinlich, dass Viktor den Kirchenfrieden mit Blastus und den Quartodezimanern in Rom sowie in Kleinasien wiederherstellt. Mit Blastus, Florinus, den Neuen Propheten sowie einschließlich der *Refutatio* liegen gleich vier¹⁷⁵ Fälle von externer Einflussnahme vor. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings weniger die Tatsache der Interventionen selbst, als die stereotype Konsequenz dieser versuchten Einflussnahmen: Die Einmischung von Außen wurde in drei Fällen mit Sicherheit und in einem Fall mit beachtlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit von Erfolg gekrönt. Ein Beispiel, welches das Gegenteil bestätigen würde, ist hingegen nicht bekannt.

Die Deutung des Befunds, besonders bezogen auf die Ignoranz bzw. auf das „Gewährenlassen“ ist allerdings alles andere als leicht. Denkbar wären hier Umstände wie mangelnde (theologische) Bildung, die Ausübung eines „Toleranz-Verhalten gegenüber dem theologisch Anderslehrenden“¹⁷⁶, limitierte Möglichkeit der Wahrnehmung angesichts des Hauskirchenwesens bzw. nebeneinander florierender Christentümer, sowie schlichte Ignoranz. Eine genauere Bestimmung der Ursache wird allerdings dadurch erschwert, dass man aus der Wirkung in der Regel keine sicheren Rückschlüsse auf die Ursachen treffen kann und diese aus der Retrospektive auch nur bedingt gewonnen werden können. So ist es ohne zusätzliche Spuren oft kaum zu unterscheiden, ob z. B. Viktor bzw. die stadtrömische Kirche die heterodoxen Tendenzen nicht wahrnimmt, weil sie aus irgendeinem Grund daran gehindert wird, oder ob sie diese sehr wohl registriert, jedoch auf Gegenmaßnahmen verzichtet.

Angesichts der Blastus-Affäre liefert eine unbekümmerte Ignoranz als Erklärungsmodell nur partiell eine plausible Explikation für das Phänomen: Dort liegt die Initiative allem Anschein nach bei der römischen Kirche bzw. vielleicht bei Viktor selbst. Die Wahrnehmung von abweichenden Tendenzen wird durch die Diversität der in Rom angesiedelten Christentümer sowie durch das Hauskirchenwesen erschwert oder sogar verhindert. Es ist jedoch unwahrscheinlich, dass dieses Phänomen allein für die Duldung verantwortlich wäre. Aus den Quellen wird ersichtlich, dass die betroffenen Gruppen bzw. Lehrer überwiegend nicht insgeheim handeln: Florinus prahlt damit, Presbyter der römischen Kirche zu sein und veröffentlicht rege; Praxeas pflegt enge Kontakte zum Klerus und zum

¹⁷⁵ Würden sich die Überlegungen von D. WANKE, Irenäus (see n. 33) als zutreffend erweisen und das Hauptwerk des Irenäus tatsächlich einen eindeutigen Rombezug aufweisen, würde sogar ein weiterer Fall für eine externe Intervention vorliegen. Siehe dazu auch n. 43.

¹⁷⁶ Vgl. P. LAMPE, Die stadtrömischen Christen (see n. 4), p. 323-334, hier 323 ähnlich urteilt übrigens auch E. THOMASSEN, Orthodoxy (see n. 46), p. 255-256.

Bischof; die Neuen Propheten werden sogar durch den Bischof autorisiert; die Rückkehr der Bekenner aus Sardinien, darunter auch Calixtus, ist mit Sicherheit ein Großereignis für die stadtrömische Kirche und Blastus sowie die Quartodezimaner sind mit ihrer Feier am 14. Nisan auch nicht erst am Vorabend des Streits in Rom angekommen.

Einige Hinweise könnten wiederum darauf hindeuten, dass das theologische Reflexions- und Bildungsniveau von Viktor im niedrigeren Bereich anzusiedeln ist. Am ehesten dürfte hierfür der Causa Praxeas von Bedeutung sein, und zwar aus doppeltem Grund. Erstens scheint Viktor mit der Praxis seiner Vorgänger wohl bewusst gebrochen zu haben, als er den stadtrömischen Anhängern der Neuen Propheten die Friedensbriefe aushändigt. Mit anderen Worten, diese werden nicht als problematisch eingeschätzt. Zweitens erregt der Patripassianismus des Praxeas offenbar nicht die Gemüter. Ferner nimmt er auch nicht die valentinianisch angehauchten Lehren des Florinus wahr. Während also abweichende Lehren zu keinerlei Reaktion führen, ruft die Heteropraxis der Quartodezimaner die stadtrömische Kirchenleitung bzw. Viktor auf den Plan. Solide theologische Bildung ist hierfür nicht vonnöten, da es jedermann auffällt, wenn die gesendeten Eucharistiegaben (*fermentum*) in der Partnergemeinde(n) von niemandem entgegengenommen werden. Ferner wird der Idealbischof der *Refutatio* weder mit Bildung (aber auch nicht mit Unbildung) assoziiert, noch bedarf die calixtische Verbannung durch Viktor einer solchen. Das Bildungsniveau eines Bischofs dürfte allerdings selbst im Fall eines „monarchischen“ Episkopats nur eine bedingte Rolle gespielt haben: An seiner Seite stehen ja nicht nur seine Diakone, sondern auch ein ganzes Presbyterkollegium. Dem gesamten Klerus der stadtrömischen Bischofskirche in diesem Zusammenhang theologischen Dilettantismus zu unterstellen, ist zwar möglich, jedoch nicht besonders überzeugend. Insbesondere, weil z. B. auch der Autor der *Refutatio* mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit bereits unter Viktor diesem Kreis angehörte. An seiner ausgezeichneten Bildung und seiner Sensibilisierung in Fragen der Rechtsgläubigkeit besteht nicht der geringste Zweifel.¹⁷⁷ Folglich muss der Verdacht auf das geringe Bildungsniveau als Ursache ausscheiden. Übrig bleibt als Modell nur noch das von P. Lampe vorgeschlagene, und zuletzt von E. Thomassen bezüglich Valentinus' noch einmal unterstrichene, traditionell stadtrömische Gewährenlassen übrig. Abgesehen vom Osterfeststreit lassen sich alle anderen bekannten Fälle nahtlos in diese Kategorie einordnen: So dürfen Florinus und die Neuen Propheten bis zu einem externen Hinweis grundsätzlich ungehindert in

¹⁷⁷ Vgl. K. PREYSING, „Der Leserkreis der Philosophumena Hippolyts“, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 38 (1914), p. 421-445; M. SIMONETTI, *Profilo* (see n. 7); C. SCHOLTEN, *Anliegen* (see n. 50).

Rom wirken, Praxeas wird nicht einmal behelligt. Die Quartodezimaner bzw. Blastus gefährdet die sichtbare Einheit der Kirche an einer entscheidenden Stelle des christlichen Selbstverständnisses. Deshalb lässt sich die Initiative gegen diese auf die leichtere Wahrnehmbarkeit ihrer Heteropraxis zurückführen. Ähnliche Reminiszenzen klingen in der Calixtus-Affäre an. Dieser wird auch erst „verbannt“, als die Lage bereits zu eskalieren und der Konflikt merklich den inneren Frieden zu (zer)stören droht.

Unter dem Strich ist also eine monokausale Erklärung der viktorschen Zurückhaltung kaum möglich. Sie lässt sich im Wesentlichen auf zwei Faktoren verdichten: Auf die Zersplitterung stadtrömischer Christentümer sowie vor allem auf die Weiterführung der bereits durch seinen Vorgänger gepflegten stadtrömischen „Toleranz“, oder vielleicht zutreffender, „Ignoranz“ gegenüber Heterodoxen. Eine Abweichung von dieser Tradition erfolgt nur dann, wenn externe Hinweise, in manchen Fällen sogar im- oder expliziter Druck, keine Alternative übrig lassen als das Band der Gemeinschaft zu durchtrennen. Was also die Disziplinarpraxis angeht, weicht Viktor von der Gepflogenheiten seiner Vorgänger¹⁷⁸ nicht in nennenswertem Maße ab. Dass sich die Hinweise zu dem Ergreifen von Disziplinarmaßnahmen häufen, liegt offenbar nicht an der geänderten Attitüde bischöflichen Selbstverständnisses.

8. Konklusion und Ausblick

Welchen Konsequenzen ergeben sich für die Entwicklung der kirchlichen hierarchischen Strukturen während des Episkopats von Viktor in Rom im Allgemeinen und für das „monarchische“ Episkopat im Speziellen?

Die wohl bedeutendste Erkenntnis betrifft die Methodologie. Die bisher angewendete Prämisse, nach der die Ausübung von bischöflicher Disziplinargewalt als zuverlässiger Indikator für gewachsene Alleinherrschaftsansprüche im Sinn eines „monarchischen“ Episkopats anzusehen ist, lässt sich anhand der Quellen um Viktor nicht verifizieren. Bereits aus den literarischen Hinterlassenschaften der irenäischen Intervention im Osterfeststreit, aber vor allem aus der Korrespondenz des Lyoner Bischofs während der Florinus-Affäre wird ersichtlich, dass die Ausübung von Disziplinargewalt durch den Bischof nicht zwangsläufig mit deren Monopolisierung verbunden ist. Vielmehr muss man das Ergreifen von Disziplinarmaßnahmen sowie die zu einer Entscheidung führende Urteilsfindung als zwei voneinander separate Prozesse betrachten und zwei, vorerst voneinander getrenn-

¹⁷⁸ Siehe dazu die Analyse bei P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen* (see n. 4), p. 323-334.

ten Kompetenzbereichen zuordnen. Es steht zwar außer Zweifel, dass diese beiden Bereiche durch die sukzessive Aufwertung des Bischofsamtes miteinander verschmelzen und allerspätstens mit der staatlichen Privilegierung der Kirche als integrative Einheit miteinander verbunden sind. Bei einer Einschätzung der ersten beiden Jahrhunderte kann und darf man jedoch kaum von einer Machtkonzentration in der Hand des Bischofs ausgehen, geschweige denn eine solche als gottgegeben voraussetzen. Das heißt also, dass man nicht ohne eine eingehende Prüfung des Sachverhalts (sofern dies überhaupt möglich ist) aus der Ausübung von Disziplinargewalt auf vermeidlich „monarchische“ Tendenzen schließen kann oder diese voraussetzen darf.

Es ist nicht weniger bedeutend, dass besonders die zeitgenössischen Quellen eine Konzentration der Disziplinargewalt in die Hände Viktors im Entscheidungsfindungsprozess gegenüber Anderslehrenden nicht belegen. Vielmehr gewinnt man angesichts der irenäischen Intervention in der Florinus-Affäre sowie in dem Streit mit den Quartodezimanern den Eindruck, dass die Urteilsfindung auch während des Episkopats von Viktor in kollektiver Verantwortung getragen und gemeinschaftlich legitimiert wird. Ebenfalls bezeichnend ist, dass keine der sonst zur Verfügung stehenden zeitgenössischen Quellen einen solchen Prozess in den ausschließlichen Zuständigkeitsbereich des Bischofs einordnen. Ganz anders sieht es bei Eusebius aus: Der Bischof von Caesarea geht selbstverständlich von einem bischöflichen Monopol in der Urteilsbildung sowie in der Ausübung von Disziplinargewalt aus. Der Kontrast könnte hier nicht deutlicher ausfallen. Konsequenterweise eignet sich die eusebianische Berichterstattung als Quelle zur Ermittlung von bischöflichen Befugnissen der vorkonstantinischen Periode nur dann, wenn sich diese auf Zitate von Zeitzeugen stützt. Sein Standpunkt reflektiert vielmehr die Verhältnisse seinerzeit und setzt eine bereits weit vorangeschrittene hierarchische Entwicklung vor. Ferner lässt sich seitens Viktors aus den Quellen keine Bestrebung erkennen, die darauf deuten würde, dass er gewollt gewesen wäre, seine repräsentative und exekutive Rolle als (einziger) Bischof auszuweiten oder solche anzuvisieren. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings, dass die Umsetzung der kollegial gefassten Beschlüsse, seien sie *ad extra* oder gar *ad intra* gerichtete Angelegenheiten, nur noch durch Viktor erfolgt. Er fungiert also nicht mehr nur als Sprecher der stadtrömischen Christen in externer Korrespondenz, wie dies bei den Vorgängern wohl der Fall ist.¹⁷⁹ Vielmehr repräsentiert er die stadtrömische Kirche gleichermaßen nach außen wie nach innen. Ferner wird die Exekutivgewalt, d. h. die Vollstreckung von gemeinschaftlich herbeigeführten Beschlüssen mittlerweile engstens mit dem Bischofsamt

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 339-341.

verbunden. Abgesehen von dieser – für die Entwicklung des stadtrömischen Bischofsamtes durchaus bedeutende – Kompetenzerweiterung folgt die Amtsführung von Viktor weitgehend dem Vorbild seiner Vorgänger. Er agiert ganz im Geist der für Rom typischen Gesinnung des Gewährenlassens. Mit Sicherheit lässt sich auch feststellen, dass das Episkopat von Viktor – wenn man geneigt ist, bei der etablierten Terminologie zu bleiben – als Monepiskopat¹⁸⁰ zu determinieren ist. „Monarchisierende“ Tendenzen sind hier hingegen nicht zu erkennen.

Der übermütige, autoritäre und im vollen Bewusstsein mit seinem Amtssitz prahlende Viktor, den man geneigt ist, aus der zweiten, überregionalen und interepiskopalen Phase des Osterfeststreits zu erkennen, zeigt nur die eine, und wie es scheint, nicht gerade die charakteristischste Seite einer Medaille. Aus den Quellen zu den gemeindeinternen Affären zeichnet sich ein überraschend divergentes, dafür aber recht einheitliches Bild ab. Dieses führt einen Bischof vor Augen, der sich wenig um doktrinaire Differenzen schert und noch weniger Ambitionen zeigt, Konflikte auszutragen oder die Grenzen der Rechtsgläubigkeit aus dem eigenen Bedürfnis heraus aufzuzeigen, wenn es um seine eigene Herde vor Ort geht. Man gewinnt tendenziell den Eindruck, dass Viktor eher von den Ereignissen bestimmt wird, als dass er selbst die Ereignisse bestimmt oder Initiative ergreift. Das trifft nicht nur auf die Florinus-Affäre sowie auf den Umgang mit den Neuen Propheten zu, sondern mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auch auf das Finale des Osterfeststreits. Diese ignorant-zaghafte Haltung findet bei den vorerst ausgebliebenen Reaktionen Viktors im Kasus Calixtus eine weitere zeitgenössische Bestätigung. Angesichts seines Charakters, seines Verhaltens und seiner fehlender Freude an Initiativen fällt es erst recht schwer, seinen Namen mit innovativer und autoritärer Amtsführung sowie mit dem Anbruch einer neuen Ära im Zeichen der Monopolisierung bischöflicher Disziplinargewalt zu verbinden.

Zum Schluss muss noch gefragt werden, inwiefern die Begriffe „monarchischer Episkopat“ bzw. „Monepiskopat“ sinnvoll und gewinnbringend im Kontext der ersten drei Jahrhunderte zu verwenden sind. Denn sie sind

¹⁸⁰ Möglicherweise kann Viktor oder sein unmittelbarer Amtsvorgänger Eleutherus (175 ?-189 ?) als erster Monepiskopus von Rom gelten. Hermas schreibt noch mit Selbstverständlichkeit über Bischöfe in der Mehrzahl, wenn er sich über die stadtrömischen Lokalverhältnisse äußert. Vgl. etwa Hermas, *Die apostolischen Väter 1: Der Hirt des Hermas*, ed. by M. WHITTAKER, Berlin, 1956 (GCS Hermas), p. 11 = Herm., *Vis.*, 3,5,1. Noch gewichtiger ist hierfür das Zeugnis von Irenäus. Als der Lyoner das Beispiel der Friedfertigkeit unter den Amtsvorgängern von Viktor im Kontext des Osterfeststreits vor Augen führt, nennt er diese einschließlich Soterus (166 ?-175 ?) „Presbyter“. Eus., *H. E.*, 5, 24,14, p. 494-496: „... οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἧς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον Ἰγνόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ξύστον ...“.

offenbar kaum geeignet, die Komplexität der Verhältnisse, die nicht nur für Rom charakteristisch sein mögen, aber dort wenigstens ansatzweise fassbar werden, adäquat zu reflektieren. Dazu kommt noch, dass die Nutzung des „monarchischen Episkopats“ für die ersten drei Jahrhunderte irreführend ist. Weiterhin sind keine der beiden Begriffe für die Antike belegt. Vielmehr hat man es im Fall des „monarchischen Episkopats“ mit einem Produkt des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu tun, dessen konfessionalisierender Beigeschmack bis heute gut zu vernehmen ist.¹⁸¹ Ferner implizieren die beide Begriffe einen teleologischen Zug, da sie nicht nur eine lineare Entwicklung suggerieren, sondern auch gleich Momente von „schon“ bzw. „noch nicht“ markieren. Außerdem ist es fraglich, inwiefern die beiden Entwicklungsschritte tatsächlich so entscheidend und repräsentativ sind, dass sie ausgerechnet und ausschließlich einer dezidiert terminologischen Unterscheidung gegenüber anderen Elementen bedürfen. Schließlich lassen beide Begriffe offen (bzw. ist man dazu gezwungen, diese von Fall zu Fall individuell zu bestimmen, sofern das überhaupt möglich ist), wie die kollegialen und monarchischen Leitungselemente in dem jeweiligen Kontext miteinander ins Verhältnis gesetzt sind. Denn selbst in der Phase der staatlichen Privilegierung ab dem vierten Jahrhundert, als man mit einer weitgehenden Entfaltung monarchischer Amtsführung zu rechnen hat, bleiben beide Elemente in der Gemeindeleitung präsent. Die gerade genannten Defizite der Terminologie führen allzu oft dazu, dass gerade die Vielgestaltigkeit der Entwicklung auf diese Weise leicht aus dem Blick gerät. Um einerseits Missverständnissen und Fehltritten vorzubeugen und andererseits der Diversität des Prozesses Rechnung zu tragen, wäre eine terminologische Nuancierung bzw. Neuausrichtung begrüßenswert.

Summary

The emergence of the Monarchianic episcopal model in Rome is tied to bishop Victor I of Rome (189?-199?). His authoritative intervention in the Easter controversy but also the frequent exclusion of heterodox teachers from the church he presided over are commonly considered as the beginning of a new era in ecclesiastical government. Based on six case studies concerning the disciplinary actions traditionally attributed to him (Florinus, Theodotus, the Easter controversy, Praxeas and the New Prophets, Calixtus), this essay

¹⁸¹ Vgl. G. SCHÖLLGEN, Terminologie (see n. 10), p. 146, n. 1; P. BRUNS, „Der Monepiskopat im Briefkorpus des Ignatius von Antiochien“, in *Die Legitimation der Einzelherrschaft im Kontext der Generationenthematik*, ed. by T. BAIER, Berlin/New York, 2008, p. 295-308, p. 295, n. 1.

examines the circumstances, context and procedures to outline the role of Victor in each of the conflicts. It argues that while the executive power was already clearly attributed to the bishop, the decision making process was still collectively legitimised. Furthermore, two major tendencies are characteristic for his episcopacy. First, like his predecessors, he maintained the traditional virtue of “tolerance” towards heterodox teachers and teachings. Second, his efforts in the Easter controversy illustrate his desire for the (visible) unity of (some of) the Christian denominations in the City. The essay concludes with the necessity to establish a precise and distinctive terminology, adequate for the complexity of the developments.

András HANDL

KU Leuven

⟨andras.handl@kuleuven.be⟩

L'interpretazione di *Luc.* 15, 11-32 nell'*ep.* 21 di Gerolamo*

Alessandro CAPONE

(Lecce)

Nessuna qualità umana è più intollerabile nella vita ordinaria,
né in fatti tollerata meno, che l'intolleranza (G. Leopardi)

1. Premessa

L'*ep.* 21, in cui è commentata in maniera dettagliata la parabola del Padre misericordioso (*Luc.* 15, 11-32), si colloca all'interno dello scambio epistolare avvenuto negli anni 383-384 tra papa Damaso e Gerolamo a proposito dell'interpretazione di alcuni passi delle Scritture¹.

Il presente contributo si propone di ricostruire il contesto storico, sociale e culturale nel quale si colloca l'epistola e di mettere in luce le caratteristiche dell'interpretazione geronimiana relativa al passo lucano, in cui motivi strettamente esegetici si intrecciano con puntate e allusioni polemiche riconoscibili solo grazie a un'indagine che tenga conto di una pluralità di livelli di lettura.

L'analisi sarà condotta su un doppio binario: da un lato il punto di partenza è rappresentato dalle spiegazioni richieste da papa Damaso, dall'altro si porrà attenzione alle tre figure della parabola. Si tratta in realtà di due binari che tendono a incrociarsi ripetutamente, offrendo in questo modo la possibilità di cogliere meglio la ricchezza del testo.

* Si stampa qui, in forma molto più ampia, il testo della conferenza tenuta a Lecce (15 aprile 2016) in occasione del terzo incontro della *XVI Lectio Patrum Lupiensis* dedicata alle parabole della misericordia.

¹ Cf. A. CAIN, «In Ambrosiaster's Shadow: A Critical Re-Evaluation of the Last Surviving Letter Exchange between Pope Damasus and Jerome», *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 51 (2005), p. 257-277; ID., *The Letters of Jerome. Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2009, p. 53; U. REUTTER, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366-384). Leben und Werk*, Tübingen, 2009, p. 23-24.

2. Le domande di Damaso

Quali fossero le domande di Damaso a proposito della parabola è possibile sapere grazie alla testimonianza di Gerolamo, il quale le riporta probabilmente alla lettera proprio all'inizio dell'epistola:

Ais: « quis est iste in euangelio pater, qui duobus filiis substantiam diuidit? qui duo filii? qui maior quiue minor? quomodo iunior acceptam substantiam cum meretricibus dissipat, fame facta a principe regionis praeponitur porcis, siliquas comedit, ad patrem redit, accipit anulum, stolam et immolatur ei uitululus saginatus? qui sit maior frater et quomodo de agro ueniens susceptioni fratris inuideat? et cetera, quae in euangelio plenius explicantur ». Addis insuper: « scio multos diuersa in hac lectione dixisse et fratrem maiorem Iudaeum, minorem aestimasse Gentilem. Sed quaero, quomodo iudaico populo possit aptari: *ecce tot annis seruius tibi et numquam mandatum tuum praeteriui, et numquam dedisti mihi haedum, ut cum amicis meis epularer*, et illud: *fili, tu mecum es semper et omnia mea tua sunt*. Si autem », ais, « de iusto et peccatore uoluerimus esse parabolam, iusto non poterit conuenire, ut de salute alterius, et fratris maxime, contristetur. Si enim inuidia diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum et imitantur eum qui sunt ex parte ipsius, numquam personae iusti tam inmanis inuidia poterit coaptari, ut foris steterit et clementissimo patri rigidus obstiterit solusque liuore cruciatus laetitiae domus interesse noluerit »².

² Hier. ep. 21, 1 « Tu mi chiedi: 'Chi è quel padre del racconto evangelico, che divide il patrimonio fra i suoi due figli? Chi sono i due figli? Voglio dire: chi è il figlio maggiore e chi il minore? In che senso il più giovane dissipa il patrimonio ricevuto con le meretrici? Quale significato ha il fatto che durante la carestia, viene mandato da uno dei principi del paese a custodire i porci, si nutre di carrube, poi ritorna dal padre, riceve l'agnello e la veste, e per lui si ammazza il vitello ingrassato? Chi è il fratello maggiore, e per quale motivo, tornando dalla campagna, arde d'invidia per l'accoglienza fatta al minore? Inoltre che vogliono dire gli altri particolari che il Vangelo dettaglia?'. Alle interrogazioni tu aggiungi una nota: 'So che molti interpreti hanno dato spiegazioni diverse del brano; hanno pensato, per esempio, che il fratello maggiore rappresenti i Giudei, e il fratello minore i pagani. Mi vado però domandando come possa adattarsi al popolo giudeo il versetto: *Ecco, io ti servo da tanti anni, e non ho mai trasgredito un tuo comando e tu non mi hai dato neppure un capretto per banchettare con i miei amici*, e quell'altro, *Figlio mio, tu sei sempre con me e tutto ciò che è mio è tuo*'. E continui: 'Se vogliamo riferire la parabola al giusto e al peccatore, non può adattarsi ad un giusto provar tristezza per la salvezza d'un altro, massimamente d'un fratello. Infatti se è per l'invidia del diavolo che è entrata la morte nel mondo (e sono dalla sua parte coloro che lo imitano), non si potrà mai applicare alla persona del giusto una così feroce gelosia: restare fuori di casa, opporsi con ostinatezza al migliore dei padri, e per di più, torturato dall'invidia, rifiutare di prendere parte alla festa di famiglia, restandosene solo' » (qui e in seguito per le epistole geronimiane si riporta la traduzione di S. Cola).

Come si vede, Gerolamo non si limita a riportare le domande di Damaso a proposito dell'interpretazione dei personaggi (padre e figli) della parabola, ma riferisce a due riprese anche le perplessità del papa relative alla spiegazione dei due figli in riferimento ai giudei (figlio maggiore) e ai pagani (figlio minore) oppure in riferimento al giusto (figlio maggiore) e al peccatore (figlio minore): dunque per Damaso entrambe le interpretazioni si scontrano con la difficoltà di adattare alcuni versetti o azioni relative al figlio maggiore al popolo giudaico o al giusto.

Ora già a prima vista si ha l'impressione che non si tratti solo di questioni di carattere specificatamente esegetico, ma di problemi ermeneutici che dovevano in qualche modo toccare la vita della comunità romana che in quel torno di anni era attraversata da significative tensioni, di cui ci dà notizia anche l'Ambrosiaster: nella Roma damasiana vi era un panorama piuttosto articolato di intransigenti presenti sia tra le fila dei cattolici, in particolare i gruppi ascetici femminili³, sia tra le fila degli scismatici, in particolare i novaziani⁴, gli ursiniani⁵, i luciferiani⁶ e i donatisti⁷, tutti accu-

³ Cf. e.g. P. LAURENCE, *Jérôme et le nouveau modèle féminin. La conversion à la « vie parfaite »*, Paris, 1997; E. DI SANTO, *L'apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster. Cristiani, pagani e guidei nella Roma tardoantica*, Roma, 2008, p. 92-107.

⁴ Cf. in sintesi le voci « Novaziani » (P. MATTEI) e « Novaziano » (H. J. VOGT), in *NDAPC*, ed. A. DI BERARDINO, vol. II, Genova-Milano, 2007, col. 3552-3556 e 3556-3560. Sulla presenza dei novaziani nella Roma del IV secolo cf. A. FITZGERALD, *Conversion through Penance in the Italian Church of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. New Approaches to the Experience of Conversion from Sin*, Lewiston, Queenstone, 1988, p. 36-61; E. DI SANTO, *L'apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster*, p. 74-79.

⁵ Cf. e.g. G. DE SPIRITO, « Ursino e Damaso. Una nota », in *Peregrina curiositas. Eine Reise durch den orbis antiquus zu Ehren von Dirk van Damme*, ed. A. KLESSLER – T. RICKLIN – G. WURST, Göttingen, 1994, p. 263-274; R. LIZZI TESTA, *Senatori, popolo, papi: il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentiniani*, Bari, 2004, p. 129-170; M. RAIMONDI, « I 'partiti' dei papi del IV secolo », in « Partiti » e « fazioni nell'esperienza politica romana », ed. G. ZECCHINI, Milano, 2009, p. 183-218; EAD., « Elezione Iudicio Dei e turpe convicium: Damaso e Ursinio tra storia ecclesiastica e amministrazione romana », *Aevum*, 83/1 (2009), p. 169-208; U. REUTTER, *Damasus*, p. 31-56.

⁶ Sui luciferiani, così chiamati solo in secondo momento, allo scopo di essere identificati come eretici che si ispiravano a Lucifero di Cagliari, cf. e.g. E. DI SANTO, *L'apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster*, p. 57-63; V. GHELLER, « Et tunc primum erubuit Damasus. Damasus, i luciferiani e l'editto Cunctos populus », in *Lex et Religio. Atti del XL Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana. Roma, 10-12 maggio 2012*, Roma, 2013, p. 229-250.

⁷ Sui donatisti romani, noti anche come *montenses*, poiché si riunivano nelle grotte (cf. e.g. Opt. Mil. 2, 4, 5; Aug. *de haer.* 69, 3), e sulla presenza di un loro vescovo, Felice, alla Conferenza di Cartagine del 411 cf. C. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)*, Roma, 1976, vol. I, p. 432-433, vol. II, p. 1171; A. FITZGERALD, *Conversion through Penance in the Italian Church*, p. 49; H. O. MAIER, « The Topography of Heresy and Dissent in Late-Fourth-Century Rome », *Historia*, 44 (1995), p. 2446-2448.

munati dalla medesima prospettiva rigorista e dalla pretesa di essere la vera Chiesa, in opposizione alla gerarchia ufficiale⁸.

Se si considera che accanto a questi gruppi scismatici, che in qualche modo venivano a incrociarsi nell'opposizione a Damaso, erano compresenti vari gruppi ereticali in senso stretto⁹, frange di aristocratici pagani e cerchie di adepti dei culti misterici orientali¹⁰, si può avere un'idea piuttosto articolata del contesto sociale e intellettuale nel quale si collocano Damaso e Gerolamo e in particolare è possibile intuire quali fossero le esigenze concrete sottese alle domande di chiarimento dell'uno e all'interpretazione proposta dall'altro a proposito di *Luc.* 15, 11-32.

3. La parabola nel suo contesto e la polemica con Tertulliano

Prima di entrare nel merito della spiegazione del passo lucano, Gerolamo ritiene opportuno mettere in evidenza i motivi per cui Gesù pronunciò le parabole riportate in *Luc.* 15: gli scribi e i farisei criticano il fatto che Gesù riceve i peccatori e mangia con loro che erano condannati dalla Legge. Quindi, dopo aver dimostrato che tale critica è attestata anche dagli altri evangelisti, osserva che le tre parabole raccontate in *Luc.* 15 sono una replica che vuole sottolineare la clemenza divina contro la rigidità della Legge (*ep.* 21, 2).

A questo punto Gerolamo scopre il vero obiettivo della sua polemica, cui finora ha alluso solo velatamente:

Unde uehementer admiror Tertullianum in eo libro, quem de pudicitia aduersum paenitentiam scripsit et sententiam uerterem noua opinione dissoluit, hoc uoluisset sentire, quod publicani et peccatores, qui cum Domino uescebantur, ethnici fuerint, dicente scriptura: *non erit uectigal pendens ex Israhel* [...] Ille autem, quia iuxta insanas feminas suas id dogmatis defendebat quo christianos nollet recipi paenitentes, frustra

⁸ Cf. E. DI SANTO, *L'apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster*, p. 48-49.

⁹ Cf. H. O. MAIER, « The Topography of Heresy », p. 232-249.

¹⁰ Sul paganesimo nella Roma di fine IV secolo mi limito a ricordare A. CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford, 2011 e in una prospettiva più particolare A. CAPONE, « Fuggire in una cesta: gesto esemplare o soluzione indegna? A proposito di *Act.* 9, 25 e *II Cor.* 11, 33 », in *Studi in onore di Antonio V. Nazzaro*, ed. G. LUONGO, Napoli, 2016, p. 3-17. Sui rapporti tra aristocrazia senatoria e culti iniziatici cf. A. CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 142-153 e, più in particolare rispetto al mitraismo, A. CAPONE, V. UGENTI, « Il viaggio del cristiano tra realtà e simbolo », in *Terra marique. Ricerche sul tema del viaggio nella letteratura classica. Atti del VI Convegno Nazionale dell'AICC*, ed. M. CAPASSO, Lecce, 2014, p. 113-123.

argumentatus est publicanos Iudaeos non fuisse, ut in persona eorum gentilium tantum populus possit intellegi¹¹.

In effetti Tertulliano nel *De pudicitia* aveva dedicato ampio spazio alla contestualizzazione e all'interpretazione delle parabole contenute in *Luc.* 15, ritraendo la sua interpretazione precedente (*Poen.* 8, 3-9)¹² e dimostrando con argomentazioni sofisticate che le parabole dovevano essere interpretate in riferimento al pagano e non al cristiano¹³. Qui, tuttavia, non interessa ripercorre l'esegesi del testo lucano in Tertulliano, quanto mettere in evidenza come Gerolamo abbia ben presente il passaggio del Cartaginese e intenda contestare la sua interpretazione.

La sinossi che segue permette di cogliere il modo di procedere dello Stridonense e le riprese polemiche che a prima vista potrebbero sfuggire:

Gerolamo
ep. 21, 2 Itaque, sicut in ceteris parabolis, quae non sunt a saluatore dissertae, quam ob causam dictae sint, solemus inquirere, ita et in hac facere debemus, quare dominus in istiusmodi uerba proruperit et ob quam interrogationem responsionis similitudo prolata sit. scribae et pharisaei mussitabant

Tertulliano
Pud. 7, 2 Praescribimus enim ex naturae disciplina, ex lege auris et linguae, ex mentis sanitate ea semper responderi quae prouocantur [id est ad ea quae prouocant]. Scribae et Pharisaei mussitabant dicentes: quare hic peccatores recipit et uescitur cum eis?

¹¹ Hier. ep. 21, 3 « Mi meraviglio altamente che Tertulliano, nel suo volume sulla castità contro la penitenza (in cui ritrattò le sue opinioni precedenti con una nuova interpretazione), abbia potuto pensare che i peccatori e i pubblicani che mangiavano col Signore fossero dei pagani, appellandosi al passo della Scrittura: *Non esigere gabelle dal popolo di Israele* [...] Egli poi, che seguendo le pazze fantasie delle sue donne, era d'opinione che si rifiutasse il perdono ai cristiani pentiti delle colpe commesse, s'è scervellato inutilmente a dimostrare che i pubblicani non erano Giudei, ma soltanto dei pagani ». Mi discosto dalla traduzione di Cola (*Egli poi* in luogo di *quell'eretico poi, che* [...]) sia perché troppo forte rispetto al testo latino sia perché intende in riferimento a Montano e non, come mi sembra preferibile, allo stesso Tertulliano, cui ha accennato poco prima e che, come si vede, ha cercato di dimostrare che i pubblicani in questione non erano giudei, ma pagani. Cf. B. CONRING, *Hieronymus als Briefschreiber*, Tübingen, 2001, p. 242; Una ripresa di *Pud.* 2, 8-9 si legge anche in Hier. *Com. Matth.* 7, 1: cf. C. MICAELLI, « L'exordium del *De pudicitia* di Tertulliano: fortuna letteraria e questioni esegetiche e critiche nei secoli XVI/XVII », in *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL*, ed. V. ZIMMERL-PANAGL – L. J. DORFBAUER – C. WEIDMANN, Berlin-Boston, 2014, p. 6-7.

¹² Cf. P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia della salvezza*, Torino, 1971, p. 121-125.

¹³ Cf. Tert. *Pud.* 7, 3 *Ad hoc Dominum pecudis perditae restitutionem, cui alii configurasse credendum est quam ethnico perduto, de quo agebatur, non [de] christiano, qui adhuc nemo?* Cf. O. KUSS, « Tertuliano y la hermenéutica bíblica », in *Homenaje al profesor Michael Schmaus*, San Lorenzo del Escorial, 1963, p. 45-46; P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia*, p. 126-258; A. ORBE, *Parabolas evangelicas en San Ireneo*, vol. I, Madrid, 1972, p. 160-169; Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques de la parabole lucanienne des deux fils (Luc 15, 11-32) », in *Exegesis: problèmes de méthode et exercices de lecture (Genèse 22 et Luc 15)*, ed. F. BOVON – G. ROUILLER, Neuchâtel, 1975, p. 267-271.

Gerolamo

dicentes: quare hic peccatores recipit et uescitur cum eis?

ep. 21, 3 ... publicani et peccatores, qui cum Domino uescabantur, ethnici fuerint, dicente scriptura: non erit uectigal pendens ex Israhel.

Tertulliano

Pud. 7, 5 Ergo nihil ad pharisaeorum mussitationem respondisse uis Dominum, sed ad tuam praesumptionem?

Pud. 9, 4s Et duo utique filii illuc spectabunt, quo et drachma et ouis. Quibus enim cohaerent, eandem habent causam eandemque utique mussitationem Pharisaeorum erga commercium Domini et ethnicorum. Aut si quis dubitat ethnicos fuisse publicanos apud Iudaeam usurpatam iam pridem Pompeii manu atque Luculli, legat Deuteronomium: Non erit uectigal pendens ex filiis Israel.

Pud. 9, 6s Peccatores autem cum adiungit publicanis, non statim Iudaeos ostendit, etsi aliqui fuisse potuerunt. Sed unum genus ethnicorum alios ex officio peccatores id est publicanos, alios ex natura id est non publicanos, pariter ponendo distinxit.

C'è da aggiungere ancora che, se da un lato Tertulliano riferiva le parabole ai pagani, dall'altro escludeva che si potessero riferire ai peccatori di adulterio e di fornicazione, perché questi, a differenza di quando si legge nel testo evangelico, non potevano essere in alcun modo riabilitati con la penitenza né riammessi nella comunità¹⁴.

Ora tra i gruppi scismatici che costellavano la Roma di fine IV secolo si distinguevano i novaziani che sostenevano l'impossibilità della remissione dei peccati più gravi dopo il battesimo, in particolare l'apostasia, l'idola-

¹⁴ Tert. *Pud.* 7, 13 *Con dico Christianum iam peccatorem in parabola utraque portendi, non tamen ideo eum adfirmandum, qui de facinore moechiae et fornicationis restitui per paenitentiam possit; 17 Moechum uero et fornicatorem quis non mortuum statim admissio pronuntiabit? 21s Moechiae uero et fornicationis non drachma, sed talentum, quibus exquirendis non lucernae spiculo [lumine], sed totius solis lancea opus est. Simul apparuit, statim homo de ecclesia expellitur nec illic manet nec gaudium confert repertrici ecclesiae, sed luctum nec congratulationem aduocat uicinarum sed contristationem proximarum fraternitatum; 9, 9 Nam si Christianus est qui acceptam a Deo patre substantiam utique baptismatis, utique Spiritus Sancti et exinde spei aeternae longe euagatus a patre prodigit ethnice uiuens, si exutus bonis mentis etiam principi saeculi (cui alii quam diabolo?) seruitium suum tradidit et ab eo porcis alendis, immundis scilicet spiritibus curandis praepositus resipuit ad patrem reuertit, iam non moechi et fornicarii, sed idololatrae et blasphemae et negatores et omne apostatarum genus hac parabola patri satisfacient, et elisa est uerissime hoc magis modo tota substantia sacramenti; 9, 20 Ceterum si in hoc gestit diuersa pars ouem et drachmam et filii luxuriam Christiano peccatori configurare, ut moechiam et fornicationem paenitentia donent, aut et cetera delicta pariter capitalia concedi oportebit aut paria quoque eorum moechiam et fornicationem inconcessibilia seruari.*

tria e la fornicazione¹⁵. A questa posizione rigorista si opponevano nella Roma damasiana sia l'Ambrosiaster, che rivendicava alla Chiesa la facoltà di rimettere i peccati e di accogliere i peccatori dopo la penitenza¹⁶, sia Gerolamo, che nell'*ep.* 42 del 385 precisa che la bestemmia irremissibile contro lo Spirito non riguarda coloro che sotto tortura hanno apostatato, ma quanti attribuiscono i miracoli divini alla potenza demoniaca¹⁷.

Quella dei novaziani appare dunque, lo si nota facilmente, come una posizione intransigente che ha notevoli punti di contatto con la prospettiva di Tertulliano montanista. In questo senso dunque la risposta di Gerolamo, confutando l'interpretazione tertulliana del passo lucano, può essere meglio compresa proprio alla luce della polemica antinovaziana ben attestata nella Roma di papa Damaso.

Chiarito pertanto il contesto socio-culturale nel quale si collocano la richiesta di Damaso e la risposta di Gerolamo, è opportuno entrare nel dettaglio della spiegazione della parabola, articolando l'esposizione sulla base delle domande poste da Damaso (il padre, il figlio minore e il figlio maggiore) e cercando di rintracciare di volta in volta le fonti dell'esegesi geronimiana e gli eventuali referenti polemici.

4. Il padre

Per Gerolamo il padre della parabola, presentato semplicemente come un uomo, rappresenta Dio, com'è dimostrato dal fatto che Dio è chiamato uomo in *Io.* 8, 17-18 e in altri passi, in cui è detto pastore (*Matth.* 18,

¹⁵ Cf. Ambrosiaster, *Quaest. Vet. Nov. Test.* 102, 16 *Sed Nouatianus: «maiora», inquit, «crimina nominatim remitti probentur, id est idolatria et fornicatio post lauacrum. Idcirco enim in baptismo», ait, «simul omnia remittuntur peccata, ut de cetero si quid graue commiserint, nullo modo ueniam consequantur, quia post acceptum spiritum sanctum quod contra spiritum sanctum est admitti non debet».*

¹⁶ Cf. DI SANTO, *L'apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster*, p. 75-77.

¹⁷ Hier. *ep.* 42, 1 *Unde et de toto ipsius scripturae ordine conuincendi sunt, non his irre-missibilem dictam blasphemiam qui tormentis compulsi et uariis euiscerati cruciatibus dominum denegassent, sed his qui cum uideant in uirtutibus opera Dei, calumnientur et clamitent daemone esse uirtutem, et omnia signa, quae facta sunt non ad diuinam magnificentiam, sed ad diabolum pertinere. Unde et saluator toto responsionis suae hoc agit argumento ut doceat non posse a satana eici satanan, et regnum eius inter se non esse diuisum. Cf. anche Hier. *Trac. ps.* 95, 1 *Cantate Domino omnis terra. Nouatianus occiditur. Quomodo? Dicit enim Nouatianus: Sunt aliqua peccata, pro quibus debemus agere paenitentiam, uerbi causa, de mendacio, de periurio, de furto; ceterum qui fornicatus fuerit, qui homicidium fecerit, iste agere non potest paenitentiam. Audi quid dicat: Cantate Domino omnis terra. Omnis autem terra, et adulter est, et homicida, et omnia peccata terrena sunt. Si autem uniuersa peccata terrena sunt, qualecumque peccatum habueris, age paenitentiam, et in omnia saluus eris.**

12-14; *Luc.* 15, 4-6), padre di famiglia (*Matth.* 20, 1-16; 21, 28-32), padrone che dà in affitto una vigna (*Matth.* 21, 33-41), re che invita a nozze (*Matth.* 22, 2-14), e in cui sempre si condanna la superbia dei giudei e si approva la penitenza dei peccatori, sia pagani sia giudei¹⁸. Pertanto fin dall'inizio Gerolamo dimostra che l'interpretazione della parabola in riferimento a tutti i peccatori trova conferma nel fatto che in tutte le altre parabole citate Dio è chiamato uomo e che esse, pur suscitate, almeno in parte, dall'ostilità dei giudei, non sono una risposta diretta esclusivamente contro di loro, ma un invito alla conversione di tutti.

In secondo luogo l'attenzione di Gerolamo è attratta dal testo greco, in cui vengono utilizzate due parole differenti per indicare il patrimonio del padre: οὐσία (*Luc.* 15, 12) e βίος (*Luc.* 15, 13), laddove invece il latino ha sempre il termine *substantia*. Nel primo passo Gerolamo afferma che il patrimonio paterno è tutto ciò che noi viviamo, sappiamo, pensiamo ed esprimiamo con le parole¹⁹; nel secondo passo, in cui Gerolamo cita direttamente il testo greco (διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον), lo intende nel senso del libero arbitrio e quindi nel senso che il padre lasciò ai figli l'uso cosciente della propria responsabilità, perché ciascuno potesse vivere secondo le proprie decisioni²⁰. Il passaggio logico, basato su una sottile riflessione sui termini latini e greci, è dunque questo: il padre dà il patrimonio (οὐσία-

¹⁸ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 4 *Hominem Deum dici multis testimoniis adprobatur, ut ibi: duorum hominum testimonium uerum est. ego de me testimonium dico et pater, qui me misit. In alia parabola pastor, in alia pater familias nuncupatur, in alia uineam locat, in alia inuitat ad nuptias et diuersis similitudinibus rem significat eandem, ut Iudaeorum superbiam reprobet et in commune omnium peccatorum, siue gentilium siue Israhel, paenitentiam probet.*

¹⁹ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 5 *Substantia Dei est omne quod uiuimus, sapimus, cogitamus, in uerba prorumpimus.* Di seguito, spiegando ancora il concetto di *substantia Dei* donata a tutti in modo eguale e comune, Gerolamo richiama *Io.* 1, 9; *Matth.* 5, 29; 6, 22; *Luc.* 19, 20; *Matth.* 25, 25-30: *Hoc Deus aequaliter uniuersis et in commune largitus est euangelista dicente: erat lux uera, quae inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum. Iste est dexter oculus, qui ab scandalis obseruandus est; haec lucerna corporis; hoc talentum, quod non est in sudario conligandum, id est delicate otioseque tractandum, nec in terra defodiendum, terrenis scilicet cogitationibus obscurandum.* Il passo ha evidenti punti di contatto con Novat. *Trin.* 7, 38 ed è un ulteriore elemento che porta alla luce la polemica antinovaziana dell'interpretazione geronimiana della parabola: *Inuenimus enim scriptum esse quod deus caritas dictus sit, nec ex hoc tamen dei substantia caritas expressa est, et quod lux dictus est, nec tamen in hoc substantia dei est, sed totum hoc de deo dictum est quantum dici potest, ut merito et quando spiritus dictus est, non omne id quod est dictus sit, sed ut, dum mens hominum intellegendo usque ad ipsum proficit spiritum, conuersa iam ipsa in spiritu aliud quid amplius per spiritum conicere deum esse possit; cf. Novaziano. La Trinità, ed. V. Loi, Torino, 1975, p. 226.*

²⁰ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 6 *Significantius in Graeco legitur διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον, id est, dedit liberum arbitrium, dedit mentis propriae uoluntatem, ut uiueret unusquisque non ex imperio Dei, sed ex obsequio suo, id est non ex necessitate, sed ex uoluntate, ut uirtus haberet locum, ut a ceteris animantibus distaremus, dum ad exemplum Dei permissum est nobis facere, quod uelimus; cf. Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques », p. 251.*

substantia), cioè la vita (*βίος-substantia*), ovvero la possibilità di fare ciò che vogliamo (*liberum arbitrium*). Questo ragionamento consente quindi a Gerolamo di trarre ancora una volta una conclusione a favore di quanto intende dimostrare: se è equo giudicare i peccatori e altrettanto equo premiare i santi e i giusti²¹, in base all'orientamento che hanno dato alla loro volontà²².

Inoltre il parallelo uomo-Dio torna utile a Gerolamo anche in seguito, quando alla fine della parabola interpreta la clemenza del padre che precede la penitenza del figlio alla luce dell'incarnazione del Verbo: il padre che vede da lontano il figlio ed è mosso da misericordia (*Luc. 15, 20*) è simbolo di Dio che per mezzo del Verbo anticipa il ritorno del figlio più giovane²³; il padre che si getta al collo del figlio è inteso nel senso che Dio prese un corpo umano e le braccia del padre sono paragonate al giogo leggero dei suoi comandamenti²⁴; infine il bacio del padre al figlio richiama quello che nel *Cantico* la donna, interpretata come figura della Chiesa, desidera dallo sposo. Quest'ultimo passo merita un'attenzione più particolare:

Et osculatus est eum, iuxta illud, quod in Cantico Canticorum ecclesia de sponsi precatur aduentu: osculetur me ab osculis oris sui, « nolo mihi », dicens, « per Moysen, nolo per prophetas loquatur; ipse meum corpus adsumat, ipse me osculetur in carne », ut et illud quoque quod in Esaia scriptum est huic sententiae coaptemus: si quaeris, quaere et ad me habita in saltu. Et ibi quippe flens ecclesia clamare iubetur ex Seir quia Seir « pilosus » et « hispidus » interpretatur, ut antiquum gentilium significet horrorem, illa pariter similitudine respondente: nigra sum et speciosa filia Hierusalem²⁵.

²¹ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 6 *Unde et in peccatores aequum iudicium et in sanctos aut in iustos praemium retribuetur.*

²² Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 40 [...] *cetera, cum sint liberi arbitrii, iuxta quod et homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est, in utramque partem possunt suam flectere uoluntatem.*

²³ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 19 *Antequam dignis operibus et uera paenitentia ad patrem rediret antiquum, Deus, apud quem cuncta futura iam facta sunt et qui omnium est praescius futurorum, ad eius praecurrit aduentum et per uerbum suum, quod carnem sumpsit ex uirgine, reditum filii iunioris anticipat; cf. Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques », p. 245; B. JEANJEAN, « La virginité de Marie selon saint Jérôme, polémiste et exégète », in *La virginité de Marie. Communications présentées à la 53^e session de la Société française d'Études Mariales*, Issoudun, 1997, Paris, 1998, p. 86.*

²⁴ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 20 *Ante uenit ad terras, quam ille domum confessionis intraret, incubuit super collum ipsius, id est corpus sumpsit humanum, et sicuti super pectus Iohannes recubuit, qui secretorum eius effectus est particeps, ita et iugum suum leue, id est mandatorum suorum facilia praecepta, ex gratia magis quam ex merito super iuniorem filium conlocauit.*

²⁵ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 21 « *E lo baciò. Appunto come prega la Chiesa nel Cantico dei Cantici per la venuta dello sposo: Mi baci coi baci della sua bocca. In altre parole non voglio che mi parli per mezzo di Mosè, o dei Profeti. Egli in persona assuma il mio corpo, e mi baci nella mia carne. Possiamo adattare a questo pensiero un passo d'Isaia: Se tu vuoi cercarmi, cercami,*

Il bacio del padre richiama alla mente dello Stridonense l'inizio del *Cantico dei Cantici*, in cui la sposa era intesa come figura della Chiesa già da Origene, che in questo passaggio sembra essere fonte diretta di Gerolamo, il quale intorno al 383 dell'Alessandrino aveva tradotto e dedicato a papa Damaso due omelie sul *Cantico*²⁶, di cui è utile citare due passaggi:

Verum iam ipsa verba ponenda sunt, in quibus primum vox sponsae deprecantis auditur: *osculetur me ab osculis oris sui*. Quorum iste sensus est: quousque mihi sponsus meus mittit oscula per Moysen, mittit oscula per prophetas? Iam ipsius cupio ora contingere, ipse veniat, ipse descendat²⁷.

Speciosa quidem est et possum invenire, quomodo speciosa sit sponsa; quaerimus autem, quomodo nigra et sine candore sit pulchra. Paenitentiam egit a peccatis, speciem ei est largita conversio et ideo speciosa cantatur. Quia vero necdum omni peccatorum sorde purgata, necdum lota est in salutem, nigra dicitur, sed in atro colore non permanet: fit et candida²⁸.

e abita con me nella foresta. Nello stesso brano la Chiesa, in lacrime, riceve l'ordine di gridare da Seir; Seir infatti significa 'peloso', 'ispido', per simboleggiare l'antico orrore che mettevano i pagani. La Chiesa stessa, usando una similitudine del genere, risponde: *Io sono bruna, ma avvenente, o figlia di Gerusalemme* ».

²⁶ In questo passaggio si intersecano tecnica esegetica e strategia letteraria: da un lato Gerolamo riprende l'interpretazione origeniana del *Cantico* senza citare l'Alessandrino, dall'altro provoca Damaso all'agnizione della sua fonte, che di certo era nota al papa, cui poco prima era stata dedicata la traduzione delle due omelie origeniane.

²⁷ Orig. *Hom. Cant.* 1, 2 « Ma ormai è tempo di riportare proprio le parole con le quale sentiamo la sposa esprimere, all'inizio del cantico, la sua preghiera: *Mi baci con i baci della sua bocca*; ed ecco che cosa significano: fin quando il mio sposo mi manda i suoi baci per tramite di Mosè e dei profeti? Ormai desidero toccare proprio le sue labbra: venga lui, discenda a me » (qui e in seguito la traduzione di M. Simonetti). Sul passo cf. la nota *ad l.* in Origene. *Il Cantico dei Cantici*, ed. M. SIMONETTI, Milano, 2003, p. 114-115. Cf. anche Orig. *Com. Cant.* 1, 2 e il frammento greco pubblicato in Origene. *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici*, ed. M. A. BARBÀRA, Bologna, 2005, p. 150 e la nota *ad l.* alle p. 301-303. Si osservi ancora che il Targum interpretava la Legge data a Mosè come i baci di Dio a Israele: cf. U. NERI, *Il Cantico dei Cantici. Targum e antiche interpretazioni ebraiche*, Roma, 1976, p. 81-82.

²⁸ Orig. *Hom. Cant.* 1, 6 « Certo la sposa è bella e posso capire perché lo sia: ci chiediamo invece come mai sia nera e, pur senza essere candida, tuttavia sia bella. Si è pentita dei suoi peccati, la conversione le ha dato la bellezza e perciò di lei si canta che è bella. In quanto però non si è ancora del tutto purificata da ogni sozzura di peccato e non si è ancora lavata per conseguire la salvezza, viene detta nera, ma non resta di questo colore oscuro e diventa anche candida »: cf. la nota *ad l.* in M. SIMONETTI, *Cantico*, p. 120-121; Cf. anche Orig. *Com. Cant.* 1, 6 e anche il frammento greco (la sposa è interpretata come la Chiesa formata di gentili) in M. A. BARBÀRA, *Commentario*, p. 316-317. Cf. ancora U. NERI, *Il Cantico dei Cantici*, p. 84-85.

Nella spiegazione della parabola Gerolamo, il quale utilizza in maniera piuttosto libera e non dichiarata, come gli è abituale, la fonte origeniana ed è forse il primo ad accostare il bacio del padre a quello della sposa del *Cantico*, passa quindi da un'interpretazione di tipo cristologico a una di tipo ecclesiologico che è confacente alle domande di Damaso e alla polemica antinovaziana che pervade tutta la spiegazione della parabola. Tale interpretazione è rafforzata anche dalla citazione del passo di Isaia, in cui al grido che si leva da Seir, in questo caso assunto a simboli dei pagani, risponde la Chiesa che invita a dimorare con lei, pur essendo nella foresta, che è simbolo del peccato²⁹.

5. Il figlio minore

Fin dall'inizio Gerolamo accetta l'interpretazione che vedeva nei due figli il mistero della vocazione dei due popoli³⁰, quello dei giudei (figlio maggiore) e quello dei pagani (figlio minore). In questo senso il figlio minore viene accostato a Caino, che, allontanatosi da Dio, va ad abitare nel paese di Naid, che significa « agitazione », e a quegli uomini, che, allontanandosi

²⁹ Il passo di Isaia (21, 11-13) è uno dei più enigmatici del libro: cf. a titolo di esempio *Antico Testamento. Isaia* (capp. 13-39), ed. O. KAISER, ed. it., Brescia, 2002, p. 165-169. Per meglio comprendere il passo geronimiano può essere utile tenere presente il seppur successivo *Commento a Isaia* (7, 21, 11-12) dello Stridonense: *Deus qui est custos meus, die ac nocte me ad paenitentiam uocat, ut relinquens Seir, quod interpretatur hispidus ac pilosus, reuertar, et habitem apud eum. Duma uel similitudinem uel silentium sonat. Idumaea autem in terrenam uertitur. Dominus ergo loquitur ad apostolorum chorum, et praecipit ei: Ad me uoca eos qui sunt de Seir, ut mihi seruiat gentium multitudo, quae in similitudinem Esau nihil in se habet molle et lene ac nitidum, sed est hispida, fera, intractabilis [...] Hoc iuxta LXX dixerimus, qui uisionem Idumaeae, hoc est terrenae, ponunt in titulo, ut eos ostendant uocari, qui prius terrenis operibus seruiebant. Porro iuxta Aquilam, qui Duma, hoc est silentium, posuit, uel similitudinem, sic possumus intellegere, ut ad similitudinem populi Israel prouocetur gentium multitudo et ubi prius silentium fuerat legis Dei, ibi confessionis clamor sit; et oleaster inseratur in bonam oliuam [...] Potest et Ecclesia narrare quod Dominus de Seir, hoc est de terrenis locis, ad se uociferetur, se que prouocet ad salutem, et dicat ad ipsum Dominum: O custos, quid de nocte consurgens uersaris in tenebris? Quid absque peccato in carne es peccatrice? Qua causa uoluisti humanum corpus assumere? 7, 21, 13 Qui in malitia esse coeperunt, et peccatorum ingrediuntur uiam, non dormiunt, nec morantur in agris consitis et noualibus, nec in pratis et segetibus, quas ad metendum esse candentes Saluator docet, nec inter arbores pomiferas; sed in infructuosis salitibus, ubi uepres et spinae sunt, et bestiae commorantur. Sulla possibile derivazione da Origene dell'interpretazione dei capitoli 13-23 di Isaia cf. M. SIMONETTI, « Sulle fonti del Commento a Isaia di Gerolamo », *Augustinianum*, 24/3 (1984), p. 461.*

³⁰ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 4 *Quod autem ait « duos filios », omnes paene scripturae de duorum uocatione populorum plenae sunt sacramentis*; cf. Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques », p. 253. Di questa interpretazione si ha traccia già in Ireneo: cf. P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia*, p. 81-82.

dalla vera luce e mossi da una curiosità illecita, edificarono contro Dio una torre a Babele, che significa « confusione »³¹.

Il fatto che durante la carestia, intesa come la condizione di vita conseguente alla lontananza del Padre³², il figlio si metta a servizio di uno dei principi della regione è facilmente interpretato come la schiavitù nei confronti del diavolo, il principe di questo mondo³³, che lo manda ad allevare i maiali, animali immondi³⁴, qui intesi alla stregua dei demoni, che attraverso idoli realizzati da mano umana si nutrono del sangue degli animali e delle vittime, fino a quando non si saziano della vittima più grassa, che è l'uomo³⁵.

A questo punto è interessante considerare la doppia interpretazione di *Luc. 15, 16* (*Et cupiebat saturare uentrem suum de siliquis porcorum, et nemo illi dabat*):

³¹ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 8 *Et Cain egressus a facie Dei habitauit in terra Naid, quod interpretatur « fluctuatio ». Quicumque a Deo recedit, statim saeculi fluctibus quatitur et mouentur pedes eius. Nam postquam moti sunt homines ab oriente et a uero lumine recesserunt, tunc aduersum Deum impietatis suae aedificauere turrem, tunc dogmatum superbiae confinxerunt uolentes curiositate non licita in ipsius caeli alta penetrare. Et uocatus est locus ille Babel, id est « confusio ».* Su Caino e Naid cf. Orig. Hom. Ier. 2, 10 *Interponamus aliquid mysterii, quid de peccatore dicatur Cain, quod « egressus a facie Dei habitauit in terra Naid contra Edem ».* « Naid » in Graeca lingua interpretatur commotio. Qui enim derelinquit Deum, qui deserit sensum de eo iugiter cogitandi, iste « in terra Naid » hodie quoque « habitat », id est in turbatione mali cordis et in mentis commotione consistit. Sul significato di Babilonia cf. e.g. Hier. Quaest. Haeb. Gen. 10, 10 *Nemrod filius Chus arripuit insuetam primus in populo tyrannidem regnauitque in Babilone, quae ab eo, quod ibi confusae sunt linguae turrim aedificantium, Babel appellata est. Babel enim interpretatur confusio.*

³² Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 10 *Omnis locus, quem patre incolimus absente, famis, penuriae, egestatis est.*

³³ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 11 *Deserto nutricao, qui ad primam uocem bona ei fuerat cuncta largitus, iunxit se principi mundi huius, id est diabolo, rectori tenebrarum istarum, quem nunc inimicum hominem, nunc iudicem iniquitatis, nunc draconem, nunc satan, nunc malleum, nunc perdicem, nunc Belial, nunc rugientem leonem, nunc Leuiathan, nunc tenninim et multis aliis uocabulis scriptura cognominat.* Cf. anche Hier. Com. Is. 8, 27, 1. Cf. J. DOCHHORN, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie. Der eschatologische Teufelsfall in Apc Job 12 und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis der Johannesoffenbarung*, Tübingen, 2010, p. 236.

³⁴ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 12 *Porcus animal immundum, quod caeno et sordibus delectatur.* Sull'interpretazione del maiale nella letteratura patristica cf. *Animali simbolici. Alle origini del bestiaro cristiano II (leone-zanzara)*, ed. M. P. CICCARESE, Bologna, 2007, p. 221-235.

³⁵ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 12 *Talis est daemonum multitudo, quae per idola manu facta cruore pecudum et uictimis pascitur et nouissime saginatiore quadam hostia, ipsius hominis morte, saturatur.* Nel passo è stata giustamente notata (*Chronica tertulliana et ciprianea*, in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 40 [1994], p. 496) una ripresa di Ter. Idol. 6, 3 *Negas te quod facis colere? Sed illi non negant, quibus hanc saginatiorem et auratiorem et maiorem hostiam caedis, salutem tuam tota die.*

Daemonum cibus est ebrietas, luxuria, fornicatio et uniuersa uitia. Haec blanda sunt et lasciuia et sensus uoluntate demulcent, statimque ut appa-
ruerint, ad usum sui prouocant. Quibus ideo luxuriosus adulescens non poterat saturari, quia semper uoluptas famem sui habet et transacta non satiat. Et satanas, cum aliquem sua arte deceperit et proprium ei iugum inposuerit, ultra ad uitiorum abundantiam non procurat sciens esse iam mortuum, sicuti multos idolatras uidemus pannis, miseria, egestate confectos. Hi sunt, in quibus propheticus sermo conpletur: *omnibus meretricibus dantur mercedes, tu autem dedisti mercedes omnibus amatoribus tuis et non accepisti mercedes*³⁶.

Con queste parole Gerolamo risponde alla richiesta di Damaso di spiegare in che senso il giovane dissipa il patrimonio con le meretrici e si nutre di carrube: si tratta di quei peccati³⁷, in particolare la fornicazione e l'idolatria, che erano considerati irremissibili dai rigoristi contemporanei di Damaso e Gerolamo e che secondo una corretta interpretazione del testo lucano potevano essere perdonati da Dio e dalla Chiesa.

Lo Stridonense però non è soddisfatto di questa interpretazione ecclesio-
logica e ne propone una seconda di carattere più austero e autobiografico:

Possumus autem et aliter siliquas interpretari. Daemonum cibus est carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia, rhetoricorum pompa uerborum³⁸. Haec sua omnes suauitate delectant et, dum aures uersibus dulci modulatione currentibus capiunt, animam quoque penetrant et pecto-

³⁶ Hier. *Epist.* 21, 13 «Il nutrimento dei demoni è l'ubriachezza, la lussuria, la fornicazione e tutti i vizi, insomma. Questi sono pieni di lusinghe e lascivie, allettano i sensi con l'attrattiva del piacere. Non si sono ancora presentati che già provocano a farne uso. Questo giovane dissoluto non poteva mai essere sazio, appunto perché la voluttà è sempre affamata di altra voluttà, ed anche soddisfatta non dà mai sazietà. Quando Satana ha ingannato qualcuno con la sua astuzia e gli ha imposto il proprio gioco, non pensa più a provvedere con abbondanza ai suoi vizi: sa infatti che ormai è morto; per questo vediamo molti adoratori degli idoli ridotti a brandelli, miserabili, piombati nella miseria. In loro si attua l'oracolo del Profeta: *Ad ogni meretrice si dà una mercede, ma tu hai dato soldi ai tuoi amanti, e non hai ricevuto alcuna paga*». Un'interpretazione di carattere morale delle *siliquae* è attestata in Orig. *Frg. Luc.* 216 (Rauer, p. 321): cf. P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia*, p. 181-183.

³⁷ Cf. S. VISINTAINER, *La dottrina del peccato in s. Girolamo*, Roma, 1962, p. 108.

³⁸ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 42 *Itaque ignosce dolentibus oculis, id est ignosce dictanti, maxime cum in ecclesiasticis rebus non quaerentur uerba, sed sensus, id est panibus sit uita sustentanda, non siliquis*: cf. B. CONRING, *Hieronymus* (n. 11), p. 109 e 238-239. Sulla critica dello stile oratorio cf. P. LAURENCE, *Jérôme et le nouveau modèle féminin* (n. 3), p. 429. L'*ep.* 21 si chiude con una ripresa oraziana (*ep.* 2, 1, 123): sulle reminiscenze oraziane in Gerolamo cf. A. V. NAZZARO, «La presenza di Orazio in Girolamo», in *Lettere oraziane*, ed. M. GIGANTE – S. CERASUOLO, Napoli, 1995, p. 305-323, dove però non si prende in considerazione la ripresa in questione. Cf. anche il riferimento alle carrube e alla cultura pagana in polemica con i manichei in Aug. *Conf.* 3, 6, 11: cf. P. ROUSSEAU, «Christian Culture and the Swine's Husks: Jerome, Augustine, and Paulinus», in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique*

ris interna deuinciunt. Verum ubi cum summo studio fuerint ac labore perlecta, nihil aliud nisi inanem sonum et sermonum strepitum suis lectoribus tribuunt³⁹; nulla ibi saturitas ueritatis, nulla iustitiae refectio repperitur. Studiosi earum in fame ueri, in uirtutum penuria persequerant⁴⁰. Huius sapientiae typus et in Deuteronomio sub mulieris captivae figura describitur, de qua diuina uox praecipit ut, si Israhelites eam habere uoluerit uxorem, caluitium ei faciat, ungues praeseceat, pilos auferat et, cum munda fuerit effecta, tunc transeat in uictoris amplexus. Haec si secundum litteram intellegimus, nonne ridicula sunt? Itaque et nos hoc facere solemus, quando philosophos legimus, quando in manus nostras libri ueniunt sapientia saecularis: si quid in eis utile repperimus, ad nostrum dogma conuertimus, si quid uero superfluum, de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum, haec radimus, his caluitium indicimus, haec in unguium morem ferro acutissimo desecamus⁴¹. Unde et apostolus prohibet ne in idolo quis recumbat, dicens: *uidete autem*

Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus, ed. W. E. KLINGSHIRN – M. VESSEY, Ann Arbor, 1999, p. 173.

³⁹ Probabile eco di Verg. *Aen.* 8, 305 *Consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant*: cf. E. J. HUTCHINSON, «And Zeus Shall Have No Dominion, or, How, When, Where, and Why to 'Plunder to Egyptians': The Case of Jerome», in *For the Healing of the Nations: Essays on Creation, Redemption, and Neo-Calvinism*, ed. P. ESCALANTE – W. BRADFORD LITTLEJOHN, [s. l.], 2014, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Cf. B. BLUMENKRANZ, «*Siliquae porcorum*» (cf. Luc, XV, 16). L'exégèse médiévale et les sciences profanes», in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, p. 13; P. LAURENCE, *Jérôme et le nouveau modèle féminin* (n. 3), p. 425 e 428; U. EIGLER, «La missione di trasmissione. Girolamo come mediatore di culture differenti», in *Integrazione mescolanza rifiuto. Incontri di popoli, lingue e culture in Europa dall'antichità all'Umanesimo. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cividale del Friuli, 21-23 settembre 2000*, ed. G. URSO, Roma, 2001, p. 191s; P. GEMEINHARDT, *Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung*, Tübingen, 2007, p. 473.

⁴¹ Questa interpretazione di *Deut.* 21, 10-13, che Gerolamo riprende anche altrove (*ep.* 66, 8; 70, 2; cf. P. LAURENCE, *Jérôme et le nouveau modèle féminin*, p. 437-438; A. MOHR, «Jerome, Virgil, and the Captive Maiden: the Attitude of Jerome to Classical Literature», in *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority, and Change*, ed. J. H. D. SCOURFIELD, Swansea, 2007, p. 310-312), risale a Origene *Hom. Lev.* 7, 6: *Verum tamen et ego frequenter exivi ad bellum contra inimicos meos et vidi ibi in praedam mulierem decora specie. Quaecumque enim bene et rationabiliter dicta inuenimus apud inimicos nostros, si quid apud illos sapienter et scienter dictum legimus, oportet nos mundare id et ab scientia, quae apud illos est, auferre et resecare omne quod emortuum et inane est – hoc enim sunt omnes capilli capitis et ungulae mulieris ex inimicorum spoliis adsumptae – et ita demum facere eam nobis uxorem, cum iam nihil ex illis, quae per infidelitatem mortua dicuntur, habuerit, nihil in capite habeat mortuum, nihil in manibus, ut neque sensibus neque actibus immundum aliquid aut mortuum gerat. Nihil enim mundum habent mulieres hostium nostrorum, quia nulla est apud illos sapientia, cui immunditia aliqua non sit admixta.* Sul passo cf. H. CROUZEL, *Origène et la philosophie*, Paris, 1962, p. 144-145; P. JAY, *L'exégèse de Saint Jérôme d'après son «Commentaire sur Isaïe»*, Paris, 1985, p. 23-25; H. DE LUBAC, *Esegesi medievale. I quattro sensi della Scrittura*, trad. it., par. I, vol. I, Milano, 1986, p. 312-327 (sulla tradizione successiva); U. EIGLER, «La

ne haec licentia uestra offendiculum fiat infirmibus. Si enim quis uiderit eum qui habet scientiam in idolio recubentem, nonne conscientia eius, cum sit infirma, aedificabitur ad manducandum idolothyta, et peribit qui infirmus est in tua scientia, frater propter quem Christus mortuus est? Nonne tibi uidetur sub aliis uerbis dicere, ne legas philosophos, oratores, poetas, ne in eorum lectione requiescas⁴²? Nec nobis blandiamur, si his quae sunt scripta non credimus, cum aliorum conscientia uulneretur, et putemur probare quae dum legimus non reprobamus. Alioquin quale erit, ut aestimemus apostolum eius, qui uescebatur in idolio scientiam conprobasse, et eum dixisse perfectum quem sciret de idolothytis manducare? Absit, ut de ore Christiano sonet « Iuppiter omnipotens » et « mehercule » et « mecator », et cetera magis portenta quam numina. At nunc etiam sacerdotes Dei omissis euangelis et prophetis uidemus comoedias legere, amatoria bucolicorum uersuum uerba cantare, tenere Vergilium, et id quod in pueris necessitatis est crimen in se facere uoluntatis. Cauendum igitur, ne captiuam habere uelimus uxorem, ne in idolio recubamus; aut, si certe fuerimus eius amore decepti, mundemus eam et omni sordium horrore purgemus, ne scandalum patiatur frater pro quo Christus est mortuus, cum ex uoce Christiani carmina in idolorum laudes conposita audierit personare⁴³.

missione di trasmissione », p. 192; E. J. HUTCHINSON, « And Zeus Shall Have No Dominion », p. 55-56.

⁴² A. MOHR, « Jerome, Virgil, and the captive maiden », p. 307-310.

⁴³ Hier. *Epist.* 21, 13 « Possiamo interpretare le carrube in un altro senso. Cibo offerto dai demoni sono pure i canti dei poeti, la filosofia profana, la pomposità verbosa dei retori. Queste conoscenze diletano per la loro delicatezza, ma mentre incantano per la dolcezza della loro modulazione, penetrano dentro l'anima e avvinghiano profondamente il cuore. Se però tali testi vengono letti e riletti con serio impegno e profonda applicazione, non offrono al lettore nient'altro che un'armonia vuota e uno scroscio di chiacchiere. Non si può trovare né la verità che sazia, né la giustizia che ristora. Coloro che studiano tali discipline restano sempre affamati di verità e poveri di virtù. Il tipo di questa sapienza è presentato nel Deuteronomio sotto la figura di una donna prigioniera. La voce di Dio ordina che, se un Israelita vuol prenderla in moglie, deve raderle la testa, mozzarle le unghie e depilarla. Solo purificata così potrà offrirsi agli amplessi del vincitore. Simili prescrizioni, se prese alla lettera, non sono ridicole? Eppure noi siamo soliti fare altrettanto quando leggiamo i filosofi, o quando ci capitano in mano i testi della cultura profana: se vi scopriamo delle nozioni utili, le adattiamo ai nostri dogmi. Quello che vi è di superfluo invece: le fantasie, l'amore, la preoccupazione degli affari terreni, lo radiamo, lo riduciamo a calvizie, o lo mozziamo con una lama affilatissima come si fa con le unghie. L'Apostolo interdice a chiunque di andare a pranzo in un tempio pagano con queste parole: *Attenzione che questa libertà non sia di scandalo ai deboli! Se qualcuno vede una persona istruita che pranza nel tempio degli idoli, non si sentirà forse incoraggiato dalla sua coscienza non ancora salda a mangiare le carni immolate agli idoli? Così, a causa della tua condotta, andrà in perdizione un fratello debole, un fratello per il quale è morto Cristo.* Non ti accorgi come, sotto altri termini, san Paolo ti raccomanda di non leggere i filosofi, gli oratori, i poeti, di non cercare il riposo nella loro lettura? Non lasciamoci attirare, col pretesto che tanto non crediamo a quello che scrivono, perché ne resta

Quest'ultima interpretazione, tutt'altro che estemporanea, è espressione del clima culturale della Roma di fine IV secolo: da un lato richiama molto da vicino quanto in quello stesso torno di anni Gerolamo scrive nella famosa lettera sulla verginità indirizzata a Eustochio⁴⁴, dall'altro riporta alla mente la ben nota tensione tra cultura profana e cultura sacra in cui vari scrittori cristiani si trovarono coinvolti e che toccava direttamente anche Damaso, il quale era accusato dagli scismatici di essere troppo indulgente con gli aristocratici pagani di Roma e allo stesso tempo coltivava velleità letterarie, in cui emerge il tentativo di nutrire la scrittura cristiana con il linguaggio della letteratura classica⁴⁵.

Tornando alla parabola, Gerolamo pone l'accento sul fatto che il figlio, tornato in sé, si alza, lasciando quindi la posizione del peccatore prostrato, abbandona il cibo dei porci e pentito torna dal padre, il cui nome sta bene anche sulla sua bocca indegna e non solo, come vogliono alcuni, sulla bocca dei santi⁴⁶.

In questo senso avviene la riconciliazione e la riabilitazione del figlio, cui viene data la veste più bella, cioè quella dello Spirito Santo⁴⁷, viene posto

ferita la coscienza dei fratelli! Essi crederanno certamente che noi approviamo quei testi: se li leggiamo, vuol dire che non li disapproviamo. Altrimenti come sarebbe possibile pensare che l'Apostolo approvasse la condotta di uno che si cibava nel tempio idolatrico, dichiarandolo perfetto, quando sapeva che mangiava le carni offerte agli idoli? Dio non voglia che dalla bocca di un cristiano esca l'invocazione: 'Giovè onnipotente' o 'per Ercole' o 'per Castore' o per altre divinità, piuttosto mostri che dèi. Purtroppo, ancora al giorno d'oggi, troviamo dei sacerdoti di Dio che trascurano i Vangeli e i Profeti per darsi alla lettura delle commedie, cantano versi pastorali d'amore, tengono in mano Virgilio, e compromettono di loro spontanea volontà quel peccato che i fanciulli fanno perché costretti. Attenzione, dunque, a non desiderare d'aver come moglie la prigioniera o di banchettare nel tempio degli idoli. Se poi siamo caduti davvero nei lacci del suo amore, purifichiamola almeno, mondiamola da ogni orribile sozzura, affinché un fratello, per il quale è morto Cristo, non soffra scandalo, sentendo risuonare in bocca d'un cristiano una poesia composta in lode degli idoli». Cf. P. GEMEINHARDT, *Das lateinische Christentum*, p. 473-476; E. J. HUTCHINSON, «And Zeus Shall Have No Dominion», p. 56-58.

⁴⁴ In questa lettera Gerolamo racconta il ben noto sogno del tribunale in cui è accusato di essere ciceroniano e non cristiano (*ep.* 22, 30): cf. e.g. N. ADKIN, «Some Notes on the Dream of Saint Jerome», *Philologus*, 128 (1984), p. 119-126; *Jérôme. La lettre 22 à Eustochium. De uirginitate seruanda*, ed. Y.-M. DUVAL – P. LAURENCE, suivis de P. LAURENCE «L'épître 22 de Jérôme et son temps», Bégrolles en Mauges, 2011, p. 244-251.

⁴⁵ Cf. U. REUTTER, *Damasus*, p. 57-98.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ep.* 21, 22 *Frustra igitur quidam argumentantur nomen patris in sanctos tantummodo conuenire, cum etiam hic Deum patrem uocet qui se filii nomine confitetur indignum; nisi forte ideo patrem audet uocare, quia plena mente conuersus est.* Si può cogliere anche qui un'allusione polemica al rigorismo degli avversari intransigenti.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ep.* 21, 23 [...] *stolam, quam Adam peccando perdiderat, stolam, quae in alia parabola indumentum dicitur nuptiale, id est uestem Spiritus sancti, quam qui non habuerit, non potest regis interesse conuiuio.* Appare evidente la polemica con l'interpretazione di Tertulliano, che

l'anello al dito, sigillo della somiglianza con Cristo⁴⁸, vengono messi i calzari ai piedi, perché possa riacquistare la dignità dello sposo e celebrare la Pasqua⁴⁹, e per il quale infine viene ammazzato il vitello più grasso, simbolo del sacrificio del Salvatore⁵⁰.

nel particolare della veste scorgeva uno dei motivi per cui la figura del figlio minore dovesse essere riferita al popolo giudaico e non al cristiano (*Pud.* 9, 10-12): *Quis enim timebit prodigere, quod habebit postea recuperare? Quis curabit perpetuo conseruare, quod non perpetuo poterit amittere? Securitas delicti etiam libido est eius. Recuperabit igitur et apostata uestem priorem, indumentum Spiritus Sancti, et anulum denuo, signaculum lauacri, et rursus illi mactabitur Christus, et recumbet eo in toro, de quo indigne uestiti a tortoribus solent tolli et abici in tenebras, nedum spoliati. Plus est igitur, si nec expedit in Christianum conuenire ordinem filii prodigi.* Cf. P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia*, p. 87-94 e 150; A. ORBE, *Parabolas evangelicas*, p. 194-197; Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques », p. 263.

⁴⁸ Cf. *ep.* 21, 24 Et date anulum in manu illius, signaculum similitudinis Christi secundum illud: credentes signati estis spiritu repromissionis sancto. Et ad principem dicitur Tyri, qui similitudinem conditoris amiserat: tu es resignaculum [preferisco qui la variante accolta da Hilberg, in luogo di quella (signaculum) accettata da Labourt] similitudinis et corona decoris, in deliciis paradisi Dei natus es. Su resignaculum cf. Hier. *Com. Ez.* 9, 28, 11-19 Et quia in latinis codicibus pro « signaculo » « resignaculum » legitur – dum κακοζήλως, uerbum e uerbo exprimens, qui interpretatus est, iuxta Septuaginta translationem ἀποσφράγισμα, « resignaculum » posuit –, unde quidem sic intellegunt: quod signaculum Dei et figuram quae uelut in cera mollissima expressa sit, rex Tyri resignauerit atque perdiderit, ut pro signaculo fecerit resignaculum, nequaquam habens imaginem et similitudinem Dei, iuxta quam et primus homo conditus est, dicente Deo: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et notandum quod imago tunc facta sit tantum, similitudo in Christi baptismo compleatur; Tract. ps. 81, 7 Iste est, cui dicitur in Iezechiel: Tu es resignaculum similitudinis. Videte quid dicat: Resignaculum similitudinis. Non dixit: tu es signaculum similitudinis, sed: resignaculum similitudinis. Signauerat te Deus, et similem sibi fecerat; tu uero postea resignasti. Ad similitudinem et imaginem Dei et tu conditus es. Sul termine aveva fermato l'attenzione anche Tertulliano *Adv. Marc.* 2, 10, 2-3 Et si euoluas Ezechielis prophetiam, facile animaduertes tam institutione bonum angelum illum quam sponte corruptum. In persona enim principis Sor ad diabolum pronuntiatur: Et factus est sermo Domini ad me dicens: fili hominis, sume plancum super principem Sor et dices: haec dicit Dominus: tu es resignaculum similitudinis, qui scilicet integritatem imaginis et similitudinis resignaueris, corona decoris (hoc ut eminentissimo angelorum, ut archangelo, ut sapientissimo omnium); in deliciis paradisi Dei tui natus es: illic enim, ubi Deus in secunda animalium figurae formatione angelos fecerat; cf. H. M. PATMORE, « Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre: the interpretation of Ezekiel 28: 11-19 in Late Antiquity », Leiden, Boston, 2012, p. 43-46 e 68-69. Cf. anche Hier. *Com. Is.* 2, 3, 19-21.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 25 Sponsi quippe perdiderat dignitatem. Nudis pedibus pascha celebrare non poterat. Haec sunt calciamenta de quibus Dominus ait: et calceau te hyacinthum. Su *Ez.* 16, 10 cf. il commento ad l. di Gerolamo (4, 16, 10): *Aquila et Symmachus « ianthina », Septuaginta et Theodotio « hyacinthina » transtulerunt, pro quo in hebraeo scriptum est « thas ». Et pulchre, quia ad Hierusalem sermo dirigitur et, sub persona feminae, omnis eius ornatus exponitur, ὀακλῖθινα siue ἰὸνθῖνα calceamenta narrantur, quae uirorum personae non conueniunt – denique facturis pascha praecipitur, absque ulla coloris uarietate, ut accinctis lumbis et pedibus calceatis sint.*

⁵⁰ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 26 Vitulus saginatus qui ad paenitentium immolatur salutem, ipse saluator est, cuius cotidie carne pascimur, cruore potamur. Fidelis mecum lector intellegis, qua pingue-

Tuttavia Gerolamo propone anche un'altra interpretazione più generale del figlio minore quale figura del peccatore e di conseguenza del figlio maggiore quale figura del giusto⁵¹. A questa spiegazione si oppone però una perplessità che lo stesso Damaso aveva già avanzato nella sua lettera: come è possibile che un giusto provi tristezza, gelosia, invidia, ira, tanto da non lasciarsi commuovere dalla compassione per il fratello, dalle preghiere del padre e dalla gioia di tutta la famiglia⁵²?

Gerolamo risponde che tutta la giustizia di questo mondo non è giustizia a confronto con quella di Dio, che è il solo a possedere la giustizia perfetta⁵³, e, per spiegare il concetto, dopo aver citato alcuni passi paolini, richiama l'episodio dei figli di Zebedeo (*Matth.* 20, 20-28), per i quali la madre aveva chiesto dei privilegi eccessivi, suscitando lo sdegno degli altri discepoli, e la parabola dei vignaioli (*Matth.* 20, 1-16), in cui gli operai sono chiamati a lavorare a ogni ora del giorno (gli ultimi per altro sono interpretati in riferimento ai pagani)⁵⁴.

dine saturati in ructum laudum eius erumpimus dicentes: eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi, licet quidam superstitiose magis quam uere, non considerantes textum psalmi, ex patris persona hoc arbitrentur intellegi: cf. P. SINISCALCO, Mito e storia, p. 84-86 e 176-179; A. ORBE, Parabolas evangelicas, p. 178-180; E. GRÜNBECK, Christologische Schriftargumentation und Bildersprache. Zum Konflikt zwischen Metapherninterpretation und dogmatischen Schriftbeweistraditionen in der patristischen Auslegung des 44. (45.) Psalms, Leiden, New York, Köln, 1994, p. 401-402.

⁵¹ Cf. anche Hier. ep. 21, 28 *Hucusque de persona iunioris filii disputatum est, quem secundum praesentem parabolam in publicanis et peccatoribus qui a Domino ad paenitentiam prouocabantur debemus accipere, secundum mysticos autem intellectus de futura quoque uocatione gentium prophetari. Cf. Y. TISSOT, « Allégories patristiques », p. 251-252.*

⁵² Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 39 [...] *illud est in quo legenti scrupulus commouetur, cur iustus saluti peccatoris inuideat et in tantum iracundia repleatur, ut nec fratris misericordia nec patris precibus nec totius domus iocunditate superetur; cf. il già citato 21, 1 « Si autem », ais, « de iusto et peccatore uoluerimus esse parabolam, iusto non poterit conuenire ut de salute alterius, et fratris maxime, contristetur. Si enim inuidia diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum et imitantur eum qui sunt ex parte ipsius, numquam personae iusti tam inmanis inuidia poterit coaptari, ut foris steterit et clementissimo patri rigidus obstiterit solusque liuore cruciatus laetitiae domus interesse noluerit ».*

⁵³ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 39 [...] *omnem mundi istius iustitiam ad Dei comparisonem non esse iustitiam [...] Dei solius perfectam esse iustitiam...*

⁵⁴ Cf. Hier. ep. 21, 41 *Verum ipsi inter se ob non aequalem laborem et uocationis spatia diuersa aequale praemium libenter accipiunt; in nouissimo tantum operario, id est in gentium salute, discordant, et Domino iniuriam faciunt et sub omnibus parabolis arguuntur inuidiae. Cf. anche Hier. Com. Matth. 3, 20, 12 Omnis itaque retro uocatio gentilibus inuidet et in euangelii torquetur gratia; Hil. Com. Matth. 20, 7 ...nouissimis uero dicitur: Quid hic statis? Quia, quamuis ad Israel data lex fuerat, uoluntas tamen gentium non excludebatur a lege. Qui responderunt: Nemo nos conduxit. Debitum namque erat per orbem terrarum euangelium praedicari et gentes fidei iustificatione saluari. Hi igitur mittuntur ad uineam. Si legge un accenno a Luc. 15, 12 anche nella spiegazione della parabola dei vignaioli proposta da Origene in Com. Matth. 15, 37: cf. P. SINISCALCO, Mito e storia, p. 180.*

Questa spiegazione pone però la necessità di considerare dall'inizio l'interpretazione che del figlio maggiore Gerolamo offre nel corso della lettera.

6. Il figlio maggiore

Damaso, come s'è detto, chiedeva chiarimenti a Gerolamo (*ep.* 21, 1) su come potessero essere riferiti al popolo giudaico due versetti della parabola: *Ecce tot annis serui tibi et numquam mandatum tuum praeteriui, et numquam dedisti mihi haedum, ut cum amicis meis epularer* (*Luc.* 15, 29) e *Fili, tu mecum es semper et omnia mea tua sunt* (*Luc.* 15, 31).

Gerolamo dà spazio a una spiegazione dettagliata e, dopo aver accennato a *Prov.* 20, 2 (*Quis enim laetabitur castum se habere cor, nec si unius quidem fuerit diei?*) e a *Rom.* 9, 30-32 (*Quia gentes, quae non sectabantur iustitiam, adprehenderunt iustitiam, iustitiam autem, quae ex fide est; Israhel uero sectando legem iustitiae ad legem iustitiae non peruenit. Quare? Quia non ex fide, sed quasi ex operibus legis*), paragona il fratello maggiore al fariseo che si vantava più del vero (*Luc.* 18, 11)⁵⁵. D'altro canto la risposta del padre non conferma la veridicità del figlio maggiore, ma si limita a dire semplicemente *tu mecum es semper*, che per Gerolamo è da intendere in riferimento alla Legge che vincola il popolo giudeo a Dio⁵⁶, il quale non ha mai smesso di essere misericordioso⁵⁷.

Ancora, per spiegare l'espressione *omnia mea tua sunt*, che è da riferire alla Legge, ai Profeti e alle parole divine, Gerolamo sembra ricorrere a una regola ermeneutica per cui nella Scrittura il termine « tutto » non indica la totalità, ma la massima parte, come, a suo dire, si può intendere in alcuni paralleli (*Ps.* 13, 3; *Io.* 10, 8; *I Cor.* 9, 22; *Phil.* 2, 21)⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 34 [...] *licet mihi uideatur magis se iactare iudaeus quam uera dicere, ad exemplum illius pharisaei: Deus, gratias ago tibi, quia non sum sicut ceteri homines, raptores, iniusti, adulteri, et sicut hic publicanus. Oro te, nonne tibi uidetur ea quae ille de publicano dixerat, dicere iste de fratre: hic, qui comedit omnem substantiam suam uiuens cum meretricibus?*

⁵⁶ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 34 *Mecum es lege, qua stringeris; mecum es, dum mihi et in captiuitatibus erudiris; mecum es, non quia mea praecepta compleueris, sed quod te in longam regionem abire non passus sim; mecum es ad extremum secundum illud, quod locutus sum ad Dauid: si dereliquerint filii eius legem meam et in iudiciis meis non ambulauerint, si iustificationes meas profanauerint et mandata mea non custodierint, uisitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in flagellis iniustitias eorum; misericordiam autem meam non auferam ab eo.*

⁵⁷ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 34 *Et quomodo ista non faciens cum patre semper fuerit edocemur: dum peccans uisitat in uirga et uisitatio misericordia non negatur.*

⁵⁸ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 37 [...] *secundum illum canonem, quem saepe exposuimus, scripturarum « omnia » non ad totum referenda esse, sed ad partem maximam. Ut ibi: omnes declinaue-*

Quindi Gerolamo conclude l'interpretazione dei due figli in relazione ai due popoli, richiamando le due parabole immediatamente precedenti, che, terminando allo stesso modo, lasciano intendere la medesima accoglienza dei peccatori⁵⁹. Da qui (*ep.* 21, 39) Gerolamo propone una spiegazione di tipo etico della parabola, di cui s'è già detto in precedenza.

A questo punto è interessante rilevare che i dubbi di Damaso e l'insistenza di Gerolamo sulla stessa interpretazione delle tre parabole richiamano alla mente di nuovo Tertulliano, il quale osservava che non erano confacenti al giudeo le frasi « Ecco da quanti anni ti servo e mai ho trascurato un tuo comando » e « Tu sei sempre con me e tutto ciò che è mio è tuo », poiché nel primo caso il popolo giudaico è noto come trasgressore della Legge, nel secondo caso i giudei sono noti come figli apostati, perché hanno abbandonato il Signore⁶⁰.

Si tratta, come si vede, delle stesse perplessità presentate da Damaso a Gerolamo, evidentemente tutt'altro che sopite nella Roma di fine IV secolo. Si osservi ancora che le considerazioni di Tertulliano hanno due conseguenze: la prima consiste nell'incertezza dell'interpretazione del figlio maggiore, per il quale in primo luogo esclude possa riferirsi al giudeo, salvo poi ammetterlo in parte in seguito⁶¹, e nel riferimento del figlio minore al

runt, simul inutiles facti sunt, *et alibi*: omnes, qui uenerunt ante me, fures fuerunt et latrones, *et Paulus ad Corinthios*: omnibus, *inquit*, omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucrificerem, *et ad Philippenses*: omnes enim, quae sua sunt, quaerunt, non ea, quae sunt Christi Iesu. Questo passo suscita qualche perplessità, poiché sia da un punto di vista lessicale sia da un punto di vista contenutistico non sembra avere paralleli in Gerolamo, tanto far nascere il dubbio che non sia autentico.

⁵⁹ Cf. Hier. *ep.* 21, 38 *Et simili tres parabolaefine clauduntur, dum et in ista ponitur*: perierat et inuentus est, *ut intellegamus diuersis similitudinibus de eadem peccatorum susceptione signatum*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Tert. *Pud.* 8, 5-6 *Licet enim filius audiat et Iudaeus et maior, quia prior in adoptione, licet et Christiano reconciliationem Dei Patris inuideat, quod uel maxime diuersa pars carpit, sed non erit Iudaei dictum ad patrem*: Ecce quot annis tibi serui et praeceptum tuum numquam praeteriui. *Quando enim non transgressor legis Iudaeus, aure audiens et non audiens, odio habens traduentem in portis et aspernamento sermonem sanctum? Sic nec patris ad Iudaeum erit uox*: Tu semper mecum es, et omnia mea tua sunt. *Iudaei enim apostatae filii pronuntiantur, generati quidem et in altum elati, sed qui non computauerint Deum et qui dereliquerint Dominum et in iram prouocauerint sanctum Israelis*. Cf. A. ORBE, *Parabolas evangelicas*, p. 164-165.

⁶¹ In *Pud.* 8, 8 Tertulliano esclude in prima battuta che il figlio maggiore si possa riferire ai giudei: *Iudaeum enim parabola non recipit*; in seconda battuta prende in considerazione la possibilità di riferire il figlio maggiore al cristiano e il minore al giudeo: *Multo aptius Christianum maiori et Iudaeum minori filio adaequassent secundum fidei comparationem, si ordo utriusque populi ab utero Rebeccae designatus permitteret demutationem. Nisi quod et clausula refragaretur*; cf. la nota *ad l.* in *Tertulliano. Opere montaniste*, ed. A. CAPONE – S. ISETTA – S. MATTEOLI – A. PERŠIČ – R. UGLIONE, Roma, 2012, p. 286-287. Successivamente (*Pud.* 9, 18) però ammette che il fratello maggiore possa essere interpretato almeno in parte in

pagano, di certo, come s'è visto, non al cristiano; la seconda è una certa incoerenza nella spiegazione complessiva delle tre parabole lucane, che il Cartaginese riferisce nel complesso ai pagani, ma per le novantanove pecore ai giudei, non in quanto già giusti, ma così come avrebbero dovuto essere idealmente⁶².

Tuttavia è evidente come l'intento principale di Tertulliano sia di escludere l'interpretazione del figlio minore in riferimento al peccatore cristiano e di conseguenza di adattare la spiegazione del figlio maggiore a tale fine⁶³. Se, come si è tentato di dimostrare, l'interpretazione rigorista del Cartaginese supportava la posizione intransigente dei novaziani romani della fine del IV secolo, apparirà più chiaro come i dubbi dello stesso Damaso a proposito della spiegazione del figlio maggiore siano meglio comprensibili alla luce dell'interpretazione che Tertulliano aveva proposto nel *De pudicitia*. Anche in questo caso, dunque, la preoccupazione del papa non è provocata da motivazioni di carattere semplicemente esegetico, ma dalle sollecitazioni della comunità romana.

7. Conclusioni

L'analisi fin qui condotta ha messo in luce almeno tre livelli di lettura dell'*ep.* 21: il primo è legato alla contestualizzazione della lettera all'interno del clima culturale, sociale ed ecclesiale della Roma alla fine del IV secolo e alla conseguente agnizione dei riferimenti polemici all'interpretazione che del testo lucano potevano dare le frange rigoriste dei novaziani; il secondo riguarda la ripresa polemica più o meno velata dell'interpretazione che Tertulliano aveva offerto nel *De pudicitia*, che rimane un termine di confronto costante e sotterraneo a tutta l'epistola; il terzo emerge in una prospettiva più personale e autobiografica in relazione alla tensione che lo Stridonense ha avvertito, in particolare negli anni romani, tra la compresenza nel suo animo dell'amore per le lettere profane e quello per le lettere sacre.

riferimento ai giudei: *Et ideo ad hoc solum maioris fratris adcommodatus est liuor, non quia innocentes et Deo obsequentes Iudaei, sed quia inuidentes nationibus salutem, plane quos semper apud patrem esse oportuerat.*

⁶² Cf. Tert. *Pud.* 7, 9 *Posuit igitur illos in parabola, etsi non quales erant, sed quales esse debuerant, quo magis suffunderentur, aliis et non sibi poenitentiam audientes necessariam.* Cf. P. SINISCALCO, *Mito e storia*, p. 135-136.

⁶³ L'approccio di Tertulliano si comprende chiaramente a partire dall'accusa che rivolge ai suoi avversari in *Pud.* 8, 3: *Duos enim populos in duobus filiis collocant, Iudaicum maiorem, Christianum minorem. Nec enim possunt exinde Christianum peccatorem in filio minore disporre ueniam consecuturum, nisi in maiore Iudaicum expresserint.*

Una chiave di lettura articolata, dunque, in cui è possibile cogliere la stretta interdipendenza di esegesi, polemica e arrovelamento personale, che non apre solo a uno spaccato sull'uomo e i suoi scritti, ma offre anche un saggio della temperie culturale in cui personaggi come Damaso e Gerolamo erano inseriti: un'atmosfera in cui la circolazione delle idee, il dibattito culturale e religioso, l'aspirazione a valori profondi e trascendenti conosceva forme, espressioni e intersezioni assai diverse e anche opposte, ma comunque accomunate da un forte movimento personale e comunitario; uno scenario che, anche grazie a questa epistola, solo in apparenza dedicata esclusivamente a problemi di carattere ermeneutico, può prendere respiro ed essere ricostruito con maggiori dettagli⁶⁴.

Summary

Jerome's epistle 21, in which the parable of the merciful father (Lk 15:11-32) is commented in detail, is part of the correspondence which took place in 383-384 between Pope Damasus and Jerome about the interpretation of certain scriptural passages. This article attempts to reconstruct the historical, social and cultural environment in which the epistle is placed and to highlight the features of Jerome's interpretation of the Lucan passage, where strictly exegetical motifs are interwoven with polemical cutting remarks and allusions, which are only recognizable thanks to an investigation which considers a variety of reading levels. The analysis is conducted on a double track: on the one hand the starting point is represented by the explanations requested by Pope Damasus, on the other hand attention is paid to the three figures of the parable. These two tracks tend to cross one another repeatedly, thereby enabling a better understanding of the richness of the text.

Alessandro CAPONE

Università del Salento

<alessandro.capone@unisalento.it>

⁶⁴ Cf. A. GIARDINA, « Esplosione di Tardoantico », *Studi storici*, 40 (1999), p. 177.

A Widespread Set of Late-Antique Annotations to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram**

Jesse KESKIAHO

(Helsinki)

Annotations and other paratexts in patristic manuscripts, and especially in early manuscripts of Augustine's works, have recently received well deserved attention.¹ Annotations, from technical signs to marginal commentaries, can tell us how a work was read – perhaps even how someone wished others to read it.² However, they are also difficult sources. They mostly survive as copies, without information about their creators and

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¹ G. CAVALLO, "I fondamenti materiali della trasmissione dei testi patristici nella tarda antichità: libri, scritture, contesti", in *La trasmissione dei testi patristici latini: problemi e prospettive*, ed. by E. COLOMBI, Turnhout, 2012, p. 51-73; O. PECERE, F. RONCONI, "Le opere dei padri della chiesa tra produzione e ricezione: la testimonianza di alcuni manoscritti tardo antichi di Agostino e Girolamo", *Antiquité Tardive*, 18 (2010), p. 75-113; M. GORMAN, "The oldest annotations on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*", *Augustinianum*, 46 (2006), p. 457-461; P.-I. FRANSEN, "Notes antiques au *De civitate Dei* de Saint Augustin dans un manuscrit de Reims", *Revue Bénédictine*, 124 (2014), p. 254-260; P.-I. FRANSEN, "Un commentaire marginal du *De civitate Dei* dans deux manuscrits (Lyon 607 et 606)", *Revue Bénédictine*, 125 (2015), p. 125-131. See also F. TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium. I libri, il destino*, Steenbrugge – Turnhout, 1998, and, if not exactly on annotations to a patristic text, R. M. POLLARD, "Reading Josephus at Vivarium? Annotations and Exegesis in Early Copies of the Antiquities", *Florilegium*, 30 (2013), p. 103-142.

² For an exploration of these questions see J. KESKIAHO, "The Annotation of Patristic Texts as Curatorial Activity? The Case of Marginalia to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", forthcoming in *The Annotated Book. Early Medieval Practices of Reading and Writing*, ed. by M. TEEUWEN, I. VAN RENSWOUDE. On technical signs see now E. STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui. The Use of Technical Signs in the Early Middle Ages*, unpublished PhD-thesis, Utrecht University, 2016.

their purposes.³ Moreover, their textual integrity is problematic: a series of annotations may contain materials copied from an earlier set and mixed with new observations – and marginalia copied with the main text by the scribes may conceal behind a unitary visual appearance several different annotations made at different times in the exemplar.⁴ Only a thorough study of surviving annotations allows their use for investigating different readings of the work annotated.

In this article I examine a set of annotations that survives in more early manuscripts of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* (henceforth *De Genesi*) than any other early set of annotations to that work, and print the text of the annotations in the Appendix. The existence of these annotations was first signalled by Michael Gorman.⁵ However, besides a few remarks he did not offer a study of them, bypassing problems of textual stability in the series. In this article, after briefly introducing Augustine's *De Genesi* and the manuscripts carrying these annotations, I shall examine the problem of the origin of this series and then examine issues in its textual tradition, especially through an examination of the annotations in their oldest extant manuscript copy. I shall then look at the themes and interests reflected in the annotations. The investigation highlights some of the known challenges posed by annotations, suggests methods for analysing them, provides an edition of a particularly widespread set of annotations to *De Genesi*, and offers notes towards their contextualisation.

1. The Tradition and Formal Characteristics of the Annotations

De Genesi is, after *De Genesi adversus Manichaeos* and *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*, Augustine's third treatise on the *hexameron*, the six days of creation. He attempts a reading of the biblical creation accounts as describing historical events, an undertaking he considers very challenging. On some of the most difficult issues he simply discusses alternative explanations, without necessarily concluding for any of the alternatives. In

³ On the challenging nature of annotations see e.g. D. GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Sigmaringen, 1990, p. 69.

⁴ See J. E. G. ZETZEL, *Marginal Scholarship and Textual Deviance. The Commentum Cornuti and the Early Scholia on Persius*, London, 2005, p. 7, 87-88, 126, 154-155.

⁵ Already in M. GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts of St Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*", in *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St Augustine*, Florence, 2001, p. [1-43], at p. [9], and in more detail in M. GORMAN, "Marginalia in the Oldest Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*", in *The Manuscript Traditions*, p. [249-257], at p. [253-254], and Pls. 3.d-c and 4.a-b. Cf. J. KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages. Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 155-159.

addition to the creation accounts Augustine also, in the later books, considers tangential theological and philosophical issues, such as the nature and origin of the soul, the origin of evil, and the nature of vision and visions.⁶ Karla Pollmann has characterised its early reception as a process where authoritative opinions were distilled from Augustine's open-ended discussions.⁷ Early annotations to the work appear a part of this process, as most of them focus on tracking not only what Augustine discusses but also what he teaches on individual issues. In the following I shall introduce the annotations examined in this article and the manuscripts they survive in, review what can be said of their origin, and examine their problematic textual tradition.

The most widespread series of copied annotations to *De Genesi* in the early middle ages, and the subject of this article, is found in most pre-ninth-century manuscripts of Gorman's β -family of *De Genesi* texts:⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), lat. 2706 (Gorman's P); Paris, BnF, lat. 1804 (Gorman's R); Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1572 (Q); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 234 (V); and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1651 (B), which has this series to book one only. These are the manuscripts on which the present investigation focuses, as a part of a larger study of pre-tenth-century annotations in *De Genesi*. In addition, the series was in the eleventh century copied into Novara, Biblioteca capitolare, LXXXIII (Gorman's N), a ninth-century copy of *De Genesi* that does not belong in the β -family, and of the eleventh-century copies of the work at least Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale (henceforth BM), 45 (Gorman's X) and Orléans, BM, 163 (Gorman's W) also carry (partial) copies of this series.⁹ Finally, one ninth-century witness

⁶ See P. AGAËSSE, "Introduction", in *La Genèse au sens littéral en douze livres*, ed. by P. AGAËSSE, S. SOLIGNAC, Œuvres de Saint Augustin, 48-49, [Paris], 1972, v. 48, p. 11-50; L. FLADERER, *Augustinus als Exeget. Zu seinen Kommentaren des Galaterbriefes und der Genesis*, Vienna, 2010, p. 171-177, 178-186, 187-192. References to *De Genesi* in this article are to the edition by J. ZYCHA, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1894 (CSEL, 28).

⁷ K. POLLMANN, "Von der Aporie zum Code. Aspekte der Rezeption von Augustins *De Genesi ad litteram* bis auf Remigius von Auxerre († 908)", in *Augustinus – Spuren und Spiegelungen seines Denkens*, ed. by N. FISCHER, 1, Stuttgart, 2009, p. 19-36.

⁸ See GORMAN, "The oldest manuscripts", p. [8-12], on which the following description of the relations of the β -family manuscripts is based.

⁹ On these manuscripts, see GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts", p. [4-5, 19-23]. X changes some of the annotations, omits some (increasingly from book five onwards) and copies only a few after book six (it has not been possible to determine the exact locus where the copying of the annotations has stopped, and therefore also, which annotations are omitted, from a microfilm copy where the inner margins are obscured).

to the β -family text of *De Genesi* does not have any of these annotations; it is Le Mans, BM, 213 (Gorman's K).¹⁰

Manuscript P, 353 folia long and measuring 26 × 21.5 cm, is the second oldest largely whole manuscript of *De Genesi*, copied in the early eighth century in an unidentified Continental centre with English connections.¹¹ Q, measuring 29 × 23.5 cm with 213 folia, is a direct copy of P, made in the early ninth century probably at St Denis.¹² The other three manuscripts are more closely related to each other than to P and Q, and together form Gorman's subgroup π : R (31.5 × 22 cm, 237 folia) is a Southern Frankish manuscript from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, V (27 × 21.5 cm, 159 folia) was copied for Gerward, librarian to Louis the Pious, who bequeathed it to Lorsch in the third quarter of the ninth century; and B (30.5 × 25.8 cm, 210 folia) belongs to Bischoff's "Bamberg Pliny"-group that he attributed to scribes that produced manuscripts for Louis himself.¹³

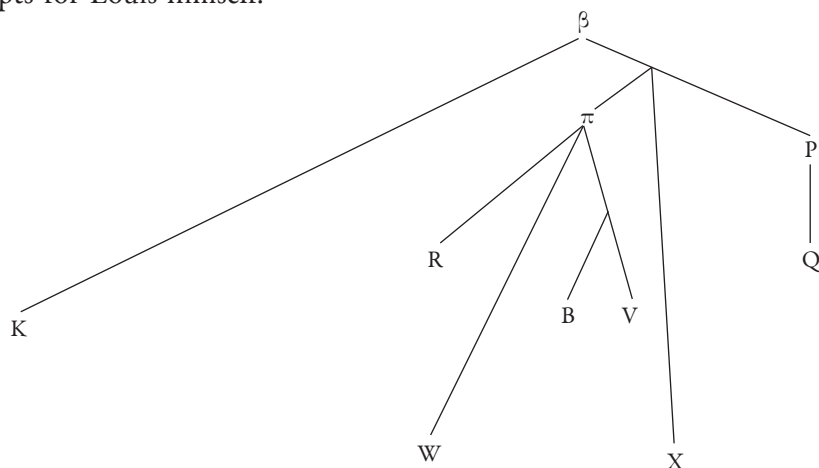


Fig. 1. The relationships of the relevant β -family witnesses after Gorman.¹⁴

¹⁰ For the date of this manuscript see B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden, 1998-2014, no. 2289.

¹¹ *Codices Latini antiquiores* (henceforth CLA and item number), ed. by E. A. LOWE, Oxford, 1934-1971, no. 547; for more literature on this manuscript see KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions*, 223. An Anglo-Saxon hand corrects e.g. on fols 27r, 23v, 77r. There is a short annotation in Tironian shorthand on fol. 309v, and the Maurists, who used the manuscript for their edition of the work have underlined and annotated passages in red throughout.

¹² See BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, no. 5090.

¹³ See BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, nos 4074; 6495 and 398, respectively; see also M. GORMAN, "Augustine manuscripts from the library of Louis the Pious. Berlin Phillipps 1651 & Munich Clm 3824", in *The Manuscript Traditions*, p. [348-355].

¹⁴ Drawn after GORMAN, "Augustine Manuscripts", [355] and GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts", [24].

As a direct copy of P, Q is necessary for establishing the text of annotations lost due to *lacunae* or trimming in P.¹⁵ The annotations in V are especially badly affected by trimming. R, on the other hand, has extensive water damage, and the annotations are often either faded or intentionally erased, in the latter case probably by the saec. XI scribe who has added another series of annotations, some of them shared with N.¹⁶

The layout and decoration of the annotations varies a little between the extant witnesses. In P the annotations are mostly arranged in blocks with a rectangular or a slightly triangular aspect, achieved through leaving at least the last line(s) somewhat shorter, although there is a fair amount of variation. In Q the annotations are set simply in the margins, usually without any decoration or framing. In R and V the annotations are mostly set off with brackets, at times placed in boxes.

These annotations must predate the early eighth century, when the earliest manuscript, P, was copied. A terminus *post quem* in the early sixth century is provided by Gorman's observation that they include the headings of all of the excerpts from the *De Genesi* that are included in the *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini* (henceforth *Excerpta*), prepared by Eugippius of Lucullanum in the early sixth century (before 511).¹⁷ The *Excerpta* was referenced also by some of the users of the surviving manuscripts: in Q one of the passages excerpted by Eugippius (and to which its heading has been added as an annotation) has been furnished with its chapter number in the *Excerpta*.¹⁸

Largely based on the Anglo-Saxon scribal influence apparent in the oldest manuscript (Pl. 1), Gorman initially judged the whole series an English

¹⁵ P is currently missing *De Genesi*, 4:19 *formata* – 6:1 *dei*, and 11:2 *subiciatur* – 12:8 *caeli nomi-*, and ends at 435:5 *rite pro [modulo] nostro [disputauimus] a|ut*. Some of the folia are moreover bound in the wrong order: fol. 4 belongs between fols 1 and 2, fol. 3 between 5 and 6, fols 347-353 between fols 6 and 7 and fol. 228 between 230 and 231; cf. ZYCHA in *De Genesi*, viii.

¹⁶ On these annotations see KESKIAHO, "Late-Antique or Early Medieval Annotations to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* in Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXIII and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1804", forthcoming in *Studi Medievali* (2016).

¹⁷ GORMAN, "Marginalia", at p. [253-254]; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini*, ed. by P. KNÖLL, Vienna, 1885 (CSEL, 9). On the date of the *Excerpta* see P. HAMMOND Bammel, "A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions Used by Rufinus of Aquileia", *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 29, (1978), p. 366-391; 30, (1979), p. 430-462; 35, (1984), p. 347-393, at 30, 447; A. K. GOMETZ, *Eugippius of Lucullanum: A Biography*, PhD-thesis, University of Leeds, 2008, available at <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/654>, at p. 85-95.

¹⁸ Q, fol. 131vb (at *De Genesi*, 258:12: "eu(gippii) k(apitulum) xliiii"; see already GORMAN, "Marginalia", p. 75. Annotations of this type can also be found in early manuscripts of Augustine's other works, see e.g. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 134 (BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, no. 540; *De ciuitate Dei*), fols 134r, 141r, 148v, 149v, 150r, 150v, 155r, 156r, 158v, 159r, 160r.

creation.¹⁹ More information on the circulation and possible origin of these annotations could be gained if quotations from *De Genesi* in other texts could be shown to stem from the textual family (β) that carries these annotations. So far Gorman has signalled only one text with such quotations, the Ps.-Isidorean *De ordine creaturarum*, which quotes a passage with an error unique to subfamily π (BRV).²⁰ Unfortunately, *De ordine* is in many ways as difficult to date and localise as the annotations themselves: the prevailing view is that it is an Irish text, while Gorman suggests that it was more probably produced in Spain.²¹

Best evidence for the Irish origin of *De ordine* is its supposed dependence from *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, commonly considered a mid-seventh-century treatise securely attributable to an Irish milieu. But Lucia Castaldi's recent work seriously undermines these received convictions: she shows that what has previously been understood as an epitome of *De mirabilibus* is its earlier version, which was amplified using *De ordine* to create the longer version previously considered the original one.²² If so, *De mirabilibus* cannot be used to provide a *terminus post quem* or a probable place of origin for *De ordine*. Bede's use of *De ordine* in the beginning of the eighth century certainly provides a *terminus ante quem*.²³ Bede's knowledge of the work, and its manuscript tradition, with two of the three earliest manuscripts possibly copied in Anglo-Saxon England, offer circumstantial support for localising the production of *De ordine* in either Ireland or

¹⁹ See M. GORMAN, "Eugippius and the Origins of the Manuscript Tradition of St Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*", in *The Manuscript Traditions*, p. [191-214], at p. [207-208]; GORMAN, "Marginalia", p. [253].

²⁰ GORMAN, "Augustine Manuscripts", p. [349]; see also GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts", p. [19], n. 1.

²¹ GORMAN, "Augustine Manuscripts", p. [350]. For the established view of *De ordine* see M. SMYTH, "The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. A Translation", *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21 (2011), p. 137-222, at p. 139-156, with references to further literature. See also KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions*, p. 155-156.

²² The shorter version does not contain the material that has been used to date and localise the treatise; all that is known of its date is that it is quoted in the early-eighth-century *Cosmography* of Aethicus Ister; L. CASTALDI, "La trasmissione e rielaborazione dell'esegesi patristica nella letteratura ibernica delle origini", in *L'Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 2010, p. 393-428, at p. 412-427; cf. SMYTH, "The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise", p. 140-145; M. W. HERREN, *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister. Edition, Translation, and Commentary*, Turnhout, 2011, p. xxxvii-xxxviii. On *De mirabilibus* see also L. CASTALDI, "A scuola da Manichaeus. Il *De mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae* di Agostino Ibernico e i riflessi manoscritti dell'attività didattica nell'Irlanda del secolo VII", *Filologia Mediolatina*, 18 (2012), p. 45-74.

²³ For Bede and *De ordine* see SMYTH, "The Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Treatise", p. 146-149.

England.²⁴ However, the present state of knowledge does not seem to permit ruling out an earlier Continental origin of *De ordine*. Finally, it must be pointed out that dating and localising the composition of *De ordine* would indicate where subfamily π circulated but not necessarily where the whole β -family was used nor where the annotations common to these manuscripts were created. As will be seen, the annotations differ between the main textual family and the subfamily.

As will also be seen, there is reason to think that these annotations are not necessarily much older than the sixth century. Since they use the *Excerpta*, a more detailed understanding of the early reception of this compilation might help in attempting to determine where the annotations could have been made. Dedicated to the Roman virgin Proba, the *Excerpta* was commissioned by a *Marinus abbas*, who is not among the known predecessors of Eugippius as the abbot of St Severin at Lucullanum. It has been suggested that Eugippius may have been working at the behest of an abbot of one of the monasteries connected with Proba, perhaps even at such a monastery.²⁵ Others speculate that Marinus is the abbot of Lérins of that name, and that Eugippius spent some time there before his abbacy.²⁶ However that may be, it seems that the transmission of the work began at least in Italy: Proba would naturally have received a copy, Cassiodorus knew of and recommended the collection, and the earliest manuscripts of the work (as well as the earliest manuscripts of other works that may retain signs of Eugippius' work on his collection) are Italian. In any case, for our purposes, the collection spread too quickly and the surviving copies of the annotations are too late for the known reception of the *Excerpta* to be of much use. By the time P was copied the *Excerpta* was known, in addition to Italy, at least in Northumbria and Francia.²⁷ We do not know enough of the early reception of that work in Spain to rule it out as a possibility, and it would seem likely that the *Excerpta* was known also there by the eighth century.

Gorman discussed these annotations as if their present form was unified. But while all of these manuscripts have in common a number of annota-

²⁴ M. C. DIAZ Y DIAZ, "Isidoriana I. Sobre el *Liber de ordine creaturarum*", *Sacris erudiri* 5 (1953), p. 147-166, at p. 152; on these manuscripts see CLA 590, 844; H. GNEUSS, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. A list of manuscripts and manuscript fragments written or owned in England up to 1100*, Tempe, AZ, 2001, p. 117, 137.

²⁵ HAMMOND BAMMEL, "A Product", 30, p. 447-451, with special attention to where Eugippius sourced his copy of *Contra Faustum*.

²⁶ GOMETZ, *Eugippius*, p. 93-95.

²⁷ See GORMAN, "The Manuscript Tradition", p. 20-26; KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions*, p. 84, 230-232.

tions (c. 292),²⁸ there are 113 annotations that are only found in P and its direct copy Q. As can be seen in Fig. 2, for many of the books these annotations exclusive to PQ form only a minority in comparison with the common ones, but for book eleven the relationship is reversed.

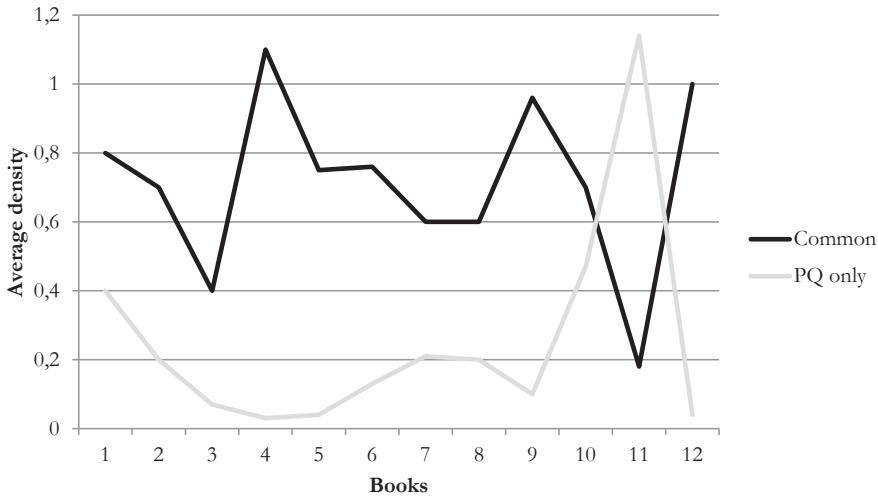


Fig. 2. The average density²⁹ of the related series of annotations per book of *De Genesi*.

As already noted, Gorman found that the annotations quote the headings of the excerpts from *De Genesi* in Eugippius' *Excerpta*. There are 14 excerpts from *De Genesi* in Eugippius' compilation, and the headings of 13 of these occur as annotations in the β -family manuscripts beside the beginnings of the passages excerpted. Many of these are common to all of the annotated β -family manuscripts. However, the headings of all six chapters excerpted from book eleven and of one of the five from book eight are not found in the π manuscripts, only in P and Q.³⁰ This observation would

²⁸ The number of copied annotations varies somewhat between the manuscripts, mostly due to their various *lacunae* and trimmed and torn margins.

²⁹ Calculated by dividing the number of annotations by the number of pages per book in the edited *De Genesi*. Thus a density of one means an average of one annotation per printed page.

³⁰ The title of *Excerpta* 38.53, p. 225, is found as annotation 6.6 (see the Appendix, where common annotations are numbered by the book in Arabic numerals and those found only in PQ in Roman ones); the title of *Excerpta* 26.41, p. 196, as 8.11; the title of *Excerpta* 28.43, p. 203, as 8.13; the title of *Excerpta* 27.42, p. 197, as 8.15; the title of *Excerpta* 29.44, p. 204, as 8.17; the title of *Excerpta* 30.45, p. 210, as 8.V; the title of *Excerpta* 25.40, p. 193, as 10.20; the title of *Excerpta* 24.39, p. 182, as 11.III; the title of *Excerpta* 22.37, p. 178, as 11.XXIV; the title of *Excerpta* 23.38, p. 179, 11.XXXIV; the title of *Excerpta* 35.50, p. 218,

seem to suggest that PQ are nearest to the original state of the annotations, and the π manuscripts only present a selection of these annotations. However, it is hard to see what the logic of such a selection would have been, or what kind of accident could produce the result: it could be that hypothetical π was missing some of its margins, and with them the annotations, but in that case the damage would have been most extensive in book eleven (and minimal in book twelve, see Fig. 2), not the most likely pattern to arise accidentally.

However, it is also possible that somebody only transcribed some of the headings of excerpts, producing the annotations as found in the π manuscripts, and that person or someone else later finished the task, with the result reflected in manuscripts PQ.³¹ If another person, this hypothetical continuator would have needed to recognise that Eugippius' collection was used as a source in the original series of annotations, and to choose to employ the same methodology.

In general, unity of methodology and approach characterise the two versions of these annotations: aside from being on average slightly shorter, the annotations only found in PQ (henceforth "additional" annotations) are very similar in style to the annotations common to all annotated β -manuscripts (henceforth common annotations). The common annotations are on average 34.3 (median 30) characters long, while the "additional" ones are even shorter, on average 28.2 (median 21) characters (the length of all the annotations in PQ is on average 32.5, median 28 characters). The longest annotation is 135 characters long (and the longest annotation only in PQ 123 characters) while there are two annotations only four characters long.³²

These annotations clearly survive as copies even in the oldest manuscript that has them, P. That the annotations are old, or at least several copies distant from their archetype, is suggested by the fact that they are frequently heavily corrupt, often in ways that render them nonsensical. The

as 11.XXXVIII; the title of *Excerpta* 36.51, p. 221, as 11.XLIX; and the title of *Excerpta* 37.52, p. 223, as 11.LII. *Excerpta* 27 begins at *De Genesi* 1.1 and has no obvious parallel in the β -annotations (which could of course be explained through the possibility that the beginning of the series is lost).

³¹ As M. GORMAN, "The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*", in *The Manuscript Traditions*, p. [105-167], at p. [165-166], argues, Pius Knöll's edition of the *Excerpta* is problematic. I have not examined enough copies of the *Excerpta* to be able to determine if the use of a faulty or differently structured copy of it might explain the spread of excerpt titles between the common annotations and those exclusive to PQ.

³² The longest annotations are 8.17 and 8.V, for the shortest see 5.2, 8.VII (for the text of the annotations see Appendix; annotations are referred to by book number and a running number within that book, Arabic for the common annotations and Roman for those unique to PQ). The lengths have been counted before emendations.

whole surviving tradition seems to descend from a copy that was already corrupt: the first annotation in the whole series signals a *tertia questio*, implying that once also a first and a second question were marked.³³ More seriously, many annotations common to the whole tradition are corrupt in all witnesses, if at times in different ways in PQ and in the π -subfamily manuscripts.³⁴ The errors common to the whole tradition suggest that the archetypes (whether the same or different copy) of the common and “additional” annotations were written in script(s) that allowed confusion between *l* and *b*, *a* and *x*, as well as *t* and *x*. The traits which could cause such confusion point generally towards (cursive) Half-Uncial.³⁵ Overall, the π witnesses give what appears to be a better text of the annotations they share with PQ,³⁶ against just a couple of instances of the reverse.³⁷ This suggests that the π -subfamily has fewer intervening copies between it and the hypothetical β than there are between β and P. It does not, how-

³³ 1.1, extant only in QV, cf. X, where (fols Av-1r) this and the next annotation (*quarta questio* in other MSS) read simply *questio*, a likely scribal intervention.

³⁴ e.g. 2.12 *priusquam**] *postquam* NPQRVW; 5.10 *natatilia**] *natantia* NPQRV; 5.13 *formabilitate**] *formitate* NPQRV; 6.6 *non victurum Excerpta*] *non tuturam P non turam NR non turum V non auturum Q* om. W; 6.22 *quaesiuit**] *quaesunt* NPQRVW; 8.5 *lignum**] *ze-zunium PQ ieiunium NRV*; 9.24 *potestatibus**] *prophetis* NPQRV; 10.6, *assertores**] *assertiores* PQRV om. N; 12.27 al. *nubiloso**] *ab nubiloso NPQV nubilolo R*.

³⁵ Confusion of *l* and *b*: *ab nubiloso* for probably *al nubiloso*; confusing *a* for *x*: *post ex* for likely *postea*; *t* for *x*: 10.3 *ex sexto* for *et sexto*. The first error might follow from an *l* where the tip of the “foot” of the letter curves upwards, likely facilitated by a stroke through its stem signifying an *alius/aliter* -contraction (on which see W. M. LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae. An account of abbreviation in Latin mss. of the early minuscule period, c. 700-850*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 6; for an *l* with an upwards curved foot in half uncial see, in addition to this manuscript, e.g. P. CHERUBINI, A. PRATESI, *Paleografia Latina. L'Avventura grafica del mondo occidentale*, Vatican City, 2010, p. 117; and in Insular Half-uncial, p. 174). The last error possibly arose from the common form of *et*-ligature (in New Roman Cursive and regional variants up to and including Caroline minuscule, see e.g. M. B. PARKES, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes. The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford 1999*, Aldershot-Burlington, VT 2008, p. 77 and pl. 7), with a *t* stood on its head when following *e*, which might possibly be read erroneously as *x* (similarly the different type of *et*-ligature in Visigothic minuscule, e.g. CHERUBINI, PRATESI, *Paleografia Latina*, p. 237). Reading *ex* for *ea* is more difficult to explain, but could have been prompted by an Uncial-type (or cursive majuscule) *a* with a very compressed bow; see e.g. in a reproduction of a sixth-century annotation in CHERUBINI, PRATESI, *Paleografia Latina*, p. 128, 53.

³⁶ Annotation 1.23 *mundanas ignorare* BNRV *et undanas ignorarae* PQ; 2.6 *nubes* NRV *intra nubes* PX (Q cannot be checked from microfilm); 2.9 *aquas super caelos esse* NRV *aquas super caelorum esse* PQ *aqui bonum est* X; 3.7 *sint* NRV *sunt* PQX;

4.6 *senarii**] *senario* NRW *senare* PQX; 4.10 *requie* NRVX *requiem* PQ; 4.20 *hic quae deest* NRV *hic deest* PQ om. X; 8.9 *ligno* RV *lignum* PQ (the whole annotation) om. N; 9.15 *opere* NRV *opus* PQ; 11.2 *casuri* RV *casusus P casus* Q (the whole annotation) om. N.

³⁷ Annotation 1.13 *inpressas rationes* PQX *inpresse rationes* BV *inpressa elationes* N (R mutilated here); 9.8 *homines* PQ *hominis* NRV.

ever, help to decide if the annotations only found in PQ are additions or if they have been omitted in the π witnesses.

According to Gorman the text of *De Genesi* in manuscript X is a (contaminated) copy of a common ancestor of P and the π -subfamily, and in places it seems to transmit a better text of the annotations.³⁸ However, as in many cases the original text of the annotations derives from Augustine's text, it is also possible that the scribe of X has emended the text of the annotations using the main text. This may be the case also with W, which Gorman's collations establish as a (contaminated) copy of an ancestor of the π -subfamily witnesses, but which seems to give a few superior readings in annotations where both P and the π -subfamily otherwise agree on an apparent error.³⁹ However, if the textual evidence is otherwise inconclusive, it does indicate that this series of annotations cannot have been copied into N from R but another π -subfamily witness.⁴⁰

Several features of P may hint at the earlier history of these annotations. For this reason, the manuscript should be examined in detail. In addition to the primary hand at least one and possibly as many as three can be discerned in the manuscript.⁴¹ The annotations appear to be largely copied in the hand that has copied the text they refer to, if often in slightly less formal script (Pls. 1-3).⁴² There are occasional exceptions to this: some of

³⁸ Annotation 1.5 *exsequendum* BX *ex se* NPRVQ; 2.3 *aquas* X *aquam* NPQRV; 4.15 *requiei* X *requies* NPQRV; 5.6 *per* X *pro* NPQRV. Gorman concluded that the text of X and W was influenced by N, if not necessarily directly; see GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts", p. [20-24],

³⁹ Annotation 6.13 *nunc usque* W? *muricus que* PQRV *nulicus que* N om. X; 8.14 *operaretur et custodiret* W? *operaret custodiret* NRV *operaret et custodiret* PQ; 9.14 *formatione* W *formaquod* NPQRV. NB: apart from the last case the readings from W are provisional, as I have only examined a black and white reproduction, where the annotations appear to have been highlighted in coloured ink, making them at times very hard to read. See also GORMAN, "The Oldest Manuscripts", esp. p. [24].

⁴⁰ This is suggested by a few instances where N does not share R's errors: see 9.21, *-ue nature* N *uenature* PQRVW; and 12.19, *sicut est* PN *est* QRV. More conclusive proof is offered by the fact that N includes a handful of annotations that R omits (e.g. 1.20, 1.22, 2.2, 7.2).

⁴¹ What appears to be the primary hand (Pl. 1) writes the main text in P, fols 1r-6v, 347r-353v, 7r-63v, 102r-264v and 304r-346v (there might be another hand at work on fols 13r-17r, 19v, line 1-39v, 102r-126r, line two, and 157r-178v, see the almost exclusively anticlockwise curving feet of *r*'s and the somewhat oblique oval shape of the lobes of *d*'s, whereas the primary hand mostly tends to draw these more squat and quite straight); the hand of fols 40r to 63v is possibly another hand (Pl. 2). Quite probably another (or third or fourth) hand (see the clockwise curve in the final minim of *m* and the greater regularity of letter shapes in comparison with the other hands; Pl. 3) is found on fols 64r-101v and 265r-303v.

⁴² In CLA 547 the script of the annotations is characterized as "a half uncial verging on minuscule", an especially apt description of the marginalia probably copied by the scribe responsible for fols 64r-101v and 265r-303v.

the annotations have been copied by a corrector in cursive half uncial,⁴³ and when the hand responsible for the main text changes at the beginning of the last book, the annotations continue to be written by the hand that copied them in the penultimate book.⁴⁴ The decoration of the annotations varies roughly in accordance with changes in the hands.⁴⁵

The scribes appear to have made other marks or copied them along with the annotations from the exemplar. Three main types of *nota*-monogram are found and their distribution fits the probable division of scribal hands in the manuscript (Pl. 3).⁴⁶ Citations are mostly marked with single s-shaped signs (cursive *diple*) in the sections that appear to be copied in the

⁴³ e.g. P, fol. 77r; this same annotation (4.20, *hic deest in alio libro*) is found in V, fol. 154va; R, fol. 85r, and, misread, in Q, fol. 54Va.

⁴⁴ In P, bk. 12 begins on fol. 304r, copied apparently by the primary scribe (clearly distinct from the scribe who copied fols 265r-303v) while the annotations on fols 265v to 313r (apart from 267v) and 317v-318r appear to be copied by the same hand. The styles of decorating the annotations most clearly associable with passages copied in the primary hand appear on fols 322r-v, 323v and 327r, as well as 333v-334r.

⁴⁵ The first type of decoration or distinction is a vertical line curving slightly at its end, with its top either finished with a horizontal serif or curving, drawn under the last line of the annotation (a very similar flourish can be seen in the contemporary marginalia in the early-seventh-century Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 504, well visible e.g. in M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect. An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, Farnham-Burlington, VT, 1992, Pl. 6; or the recent facsimile of the manuscript, ed. by L. G. G. RICCI & A. PETRUCCI, *Codex Trecentis. La "Regola pastorale" di Gregorio Magno in un codice del VI-VII secolo: Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, 504*, vol. 1, Florence, 2005, *passim*; see also CLA 838); it is found on fols 2v, 5r-v, 3r, 6r, 347r-353v, 16r, 21r, 129r, 133v, 149r, 192r and 333v-334r. On fol. 23v there appears what seems to be a variation of this, with two (or more) short horizontal lines added between the annotation and the serif of the decorative flourish (see Pl. 1); this is found also on fols 212r-v, 213v, 233v, 234v, 235r-v, 322r, 322v, 323v, 327r (on some of these instances the motif surrounds the annotation on two or three sides). A clearly different decoration, possibly corresponding to a change in hands and certainly to a less formal and more cursive script (see also the use of open *a* and ligatures) of the annotations is found on fols 41v-49v, where the common annotations are enclosed with lines on three sides and a wavy vertical line is drawn under the additional ones (Pl. 2; see also the five *ri*-ligature-like glyphs on fol. 49v and affixed to a box for a common annotation on fol. 41v). The boxes are not seen after this but the wavy line – finial is seen on fols 54v, 57r, 60v (while the same hand appears to copy the annotations up to fol. 61v), and again on fols 138r, 141r-v, 159r, 165v, 166v-171v, 174r-178r and 313r-317v. A third type corresponds roughly to what most clearly appear to be sections copied in a hand different from the primary hand: less controlled wavy line – finials where the waves begin with a clockwise stroke are found on fols 64r-65r, 265v to 313r (apart from 267v) and 317v-318r. Alternatively or additionally the annotations are outlined in a roughly triangular or a round shape (e.g. 100v, 273r).

⁴⁶ The main scribe seems to use an N with a dot over it (once also under it), see P, fols 110r, 152r, 185r, 217v and 337v; another, an *N* with a small *o* over it, occurs on fol. 159v, where a possibly other hand is at work; the third, an *NT*-ligature occurs on fol. 248r where a hand clearly distinct from that in most of the manuscript writes.

primary hand,⁴⁷ while in sections copied by a possibly another hand two s-shaped symbols are used.⁴⁸ Another variation, a roughly 3-shaped sign, is found in the latter of the two sections most probably copied in a hand different from the primary hand of the manuscript.⁴⁹

In P there are also two instances of the marginal sign *kaput* (*k*), which was in late antiquity used to mark chapter breaks or, in manuscripts copied *per cola et commata*, omitted or superfluous line breaks. It seems that in P these signs are copied (and they certainly were copied into Q). The first of them coincides with the beginning of chapter six of book seven, according to a series of chapter breaks and corresponding headings found in a few early manuscripts of *De Genesi*⁵⁰ (but not in the β -manuscripts). The other, however, is found very close, and, as the two delimit at most a clause, clearly does not mark another chapter break.⁵¹ The marks may be signs of collating an exemplar of the present manuscript with a copy that had the chapter division, or perhaps corrective marks made into a lost exemplar copied *per cola et commata*. However, in both cases one would expect to see more of the marks. They might also be marks of interest, in this case to a detail of the discussion on the origin of the soul.

The annotations in P include a number of abbreviations that suggest that they may have been composed rather earlier than at the beginning of the eighth century, or at least in a different scribal culture from that of the scribes of P. The marginalia in this manuscript include abbreviation signs called *notae antiquae* (or *notae iuris*), which mainly occur in manuscripts copied before the seventh century.⁵² The scribes of P (or those of a manuscript from which P derives) had trouble understanding some of them,

⁴⁷ P, fols 16r, 29r, 30v, 36v, 45r, 102r, 118v, 119v, 124v, 129v, 130r-v, 131v, 132r, 133v, 134v-135r, 136v, 150r-151r, 152r-v, 154v-155r, 156r, 196v-197r, 238v, 243v-244r, 255v-256r and 284r. On the *diple* see PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, esp. p. 303; now STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui*, esp. p. 274-276.

⁴⁸ P, fols 49r-v, 51v, 57v and 138v; cf. the apparently later additions on fols 30r-31r, 37v (the marks on fol. 30v were clearly originally single).

⁴⁹ P, fols 285r, 292v, 293v-294r, 296r, 297r, 298r, 299r, 300v, 302r-v and 304r-304v.

⁵⁰ On these see M. GORMAN, "Chapter Headings for St Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*", in *The Manuscript Traditions*, p. [44-60].

⁵¹ P, fol. 160r (Q, fol. 105v), at *De Genesi*, p. 204:17 and 19. On the *kaput* or *kappa*, see L. TRAUBE, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, 3, ed. by S. BRANDT, Munich, 1920, p. 235-236, tracing its active use up to eighth-century Fulda, but not beyond; and R. WEBER, "La lettre grecque K employée comme signe de correction dans les manuscrits bibliques latins écrits 'per cola et commata'", *Scriptorium*, 9 (1955), p. 57-63; also PARKES, *Pause and Effect*, p. 12; and n. 73 to p. 27 on p. 125; also on copying manuscripts *per cola et commata*, *idem*, p. 15-17; and now STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui*, p. 280-281.

⁵² On *notae antiquae* see B. BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography. Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by D. Ó CRÓINÍN & D. GANZ, Cambridge, 1990, p. 151; G. CENCETTI, *Lineamenti di storia della scrittura latina*, ed. by G. GUERRINI FERRI, Bologna, 1997, p. 349.

suggesting that these abbreviations did not belong to their own repertory but derived from the exemplar they used. An especially problematic abbreviation was the *nota* for the syllable *-tio*, a glyph roughly similar to the Arabic numeral nine. It is found retained, but also misinterpreted, rendered as *q* with an oblique stroke through the shaft, like the abbreviation for *quod* used in the same manuscript (Pl. 4):

“Quod non per ipsam Dei substantiam sed p⟨er?⟩ \scr/ditam creaturam et lo⟨c⟩o q(uod) diuina ⟨a⟩d Adam et de⟨a⟩mbulatio ⟨i⟩n paradiso ⟨d⟩ebat insunt⟨...⟩anter in⟨t⟩ellegi”.⁵³

This badly corrupt (and later trimmed) annotation, which a corrector has tried in vain to fix, is luckily one of those quoting a heading from the *Excerpta*:

“Quod non per ipsam dei substantiam, sed per subditam creaturam et locutio divina ad adam et deambulatio in paradiso debeat incunctanter intellegi, ex libro de Genesi ad litteram VIII”.⁵⁴

From this it can be seen that the *loco quod* in the corrupt annotation stands for what in the original annotation must have been *locutio*, where the final syllable was abbreviated using the *nota antiqua* for that syllable. From the corruption of *incunctanter* as *insunt⟨...⟩anter* it also seems that the annotation may have originally been written with a “high *c*”, which could be read as *s*.⁵⁵

The annotations in P also include multiple instances of a misinterpreted *nota* for *quaestio*. It should be a *q* with the *-tio* symbol drawn through its shaft, but in this manuscript it occurs at least four times as a glyph indistinguishable from the *quod*-abbreviation and once as a *q* with a horizontal stroke through the shaft.⁵⁶ There are no such abbreviations in the other

⁵³ P, fol. 208v; annotation 8.V. For other cases of misunderstood *-tio* abbreviations see fols 171r (7.III, written out as *que*), 171v (7.IV, written out as *quod*) and 226r (9.14, a misreading common to the whole tradition and thus originating in the common ancestor of all witnesses); possibly also 2.14 (*conditae* pro *conditio*). For *q* with an oblique stroke as *quod*, see fols 208v, 260r, 276v, 288v; for the *nota antiqua* for *-tio* see fols 258r, 259v, 285v (see also the use of the same symbol for *o* on fol. 257r and a corrector using it for *-ti* on fol. 345v). See LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae*, p. 358, listing no instances later than this manuscript.

⁵⁴ Eugippius, *Excerpta*, heading for 30.45, p. 210.

⁵⁵ A *c* as a high letter is found in New Roman Cursive and from there especially in cursive variants of Half-Uncial; see e.g. CHERUBINI, PRATESI, *Paleografia latina*, p. 80; and for a sixth-century example Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Sess. 55 (saec. V², Northern Italy; CLA no. 420a; Augustine, *Confessiones*, etc.), esp. the roughly contemporary cursive Half-Uncial marginalia, where the high *c* appears indeed easy to misread as *s*, e.g. at fol. 34v, 35v.

⁵⁶ For a *q* with an oblique stroke through the descender for *quaestio* see fols 212v, 228r, 268v, 271r, 275r and 279r; for *q* with a horizontal stroke through the descender for *quaestio* see fol. 268v (see also 11.LI, a possible case of a misread *quaestio*-abbreviation in an exem-

manuscripts recognised as having been probably produced in the same (unknown) East Frankish centre as P.⁵⁷ Naturally, in P the abbreviations are most varied precisely in the annotations, and none of these other manuscripts are annotated. Even so, especially given the signs of misunderstanding abbreviations in the exemplar, it seems that they were not a part of the scribal culture of the centre that produced P.

Abbreviations in general and the more rare ones in particular are most frequent in the annotations to books nine, ten and eleven. In fact, a little over half of all the abbreviations in the annotations occur among those not found in subfamily π ,⁵⁸ while the latter make up only slightly less than a third of all the annotations in P. Of the rare abbreviations one of the three instances of the symbol for *-tio* occurs in the common annotations but the (misunderstood) *quaestio*-sign appears exclusive to the “additional” annotations. As the partly misunderstood annotations are divided between sections apparently copied by two different scribes, both of whom also copied extensive sections elsewhere in the manuscript not using any of these abbreviations, it does not seem that this variation in the use of abbreviations could be explicable through variance in the skills and culture of individual scribes of P but rather seems to originate in an exemplar of P.

This may suggest that the common and “additional” annotations were copied in different scripts, perhaps at different times. Another aspect of P that gestures towards this possibility is found on fols 41v-49v (Pl. 2). Here what seems to be a new scribe in respect to the previous sections, has distinguished the two series of annotations: those common to the annotated β -manuscripts are outlined on three sides, while the additional annotations only have a wavy vertical line trailing from the last line of the annotation. While the same hand seems to continue for the rest of the book in question, this treatment of the annotations ends. It is possible that this treat-

plar). For the *nota antiqua* for *quaestio* see LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae*, p. 214, citing this manuscript as the sole example; the cited symbol for *quaestio* does appear e.g. the collection of *notae* found in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1128, fol. 205va; see also *Notarum laterculi*, ed. by T. MOMMSEN, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 4, 2nd ed., Hildesheim, 1960, p. 298, 312; cf. CENCETTI, *Lineamenti*, p. 345. For further likely cases of a misunderstood *quaestio*-abbreviations see fol. 168v (*quo*), 171v (*quod*).

⁵⁷ For these manuscripts and earlier literature on this group see GORMAN, “Augustine Manuscripts”, p. [350]. For the abbreviations in these manuscripts see CLA nos 522, 541, 634, 670 and 1208.

⁵⁸ I count 35 abbreviations (discounting contractions such as *nomina sacra* and nasal suspensions) in the common annotations and 38 in those unique to PQ. Even assuming I have missed a few abbreviations in one or both groups, the result indicates that these abbreviations are more frequent in the latter.

ment arose from the exemplar, even probable, given how consistently the two series of annotations are differentiated.⁵⁹

From this examination it seems clear that while the whole tradition of these annotations is corrupt, neither are those annotations unique to PQ original to P. Both versions of these annotations seem to derive from much older exemplars. From the close examination of the annotations in P it seems possible that in a manuscript from which it derives the annotations unique to PQ were written in a different script, with heavier employment of abbreviations, and perhaps framed differently from the annotations common to the tradition. If so, these “additional” annotations would in fact be additional in respect to those common to all annotated β -manuscripts, if possibly not much younger than them.

2. Methods and Contents

In his study of the manuscript culture of Carolingian Corbie David Ganz classified annotations as diacritical signs or technical signs; the marginal index or summary, reference marks identifying sources, notes of approbation or disapproval, or notes made for assistance in forming an opinion.⁶⁰ The heuristic applied in the following has been developed from Ganz’s scheme after observation of the early annotations to *De Genesi*. In what follows I shall begin with the methods and then move to the thematic foci of the annotations, in both cases considering first the overall distribution into categories before taking a closer look at individual categories.

The majority of both the common annotations (65%)⁶¹ and of those only found in PQ (56%)⁶² consist of signposts of themes (usually with a *de* and

⁵⁹ A possibly similar treatment is found on fols 212r-213v where a number of “additional” annotations are framed on two or three sides (perhaps all on three sides, but the leaves have been trimmed) with stacked lines forming a triangle which ends in a decorative slightly curving line. For this passage, however, there are no common annotations amid the “additional” ones to confirm that the two would be differently treated.

⁶⁰ GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 68.

⁶¹ 192 out of 292, comprising 68 topic markers: 1.22, 2.1, 2.2, 2.8, 2.21, 3.1, 3.3, 3.4, 3.6, 3.10, 3.11, 4.1, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.10, 4.18, 4.45, 4.47, 5.12, 5.13, 6.6, 7.3, 7.7, 7.10, 7.12, 7.15, 8.1, 8.4, 8.6, 8.9, 8.11, 8.12, 8.15, 8.18, 9.2, 9.14, 9.15, 9.16, 9.17, 9.18, 9.25, 10.1, 10.5, 10.9, 10.17, 10.18, 10.24, 11.1, 11.2, 11.3, 11.4, 11.6, 11.9, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.7, 12.17, 12.20, 12.23, 12.26, 12.29, 12.36, 12.40, 12.42, 12.43, 12.44; 52 annotations marking questions: 1.1, 1.2, 1.5, 1.16, 1.21, 2.11, 2.18, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.12, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.16, 4.23, 4.33, 4.34, 4.35, 4.41, 4.43, 5.3, 5.4, 5.15, 5.16, 6.4, 6.5, 6.12, 6.13, 6.16, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.23, 7.2, 7.13, 8.3, 8.7, 8.16, 9.9, 9.11, 9.12, 9.13, 9.21, 10.3, 10.7, 10.8, 11.5, 12.4, 12.5, 12.24; 24 that signal a *definitio*: 2.19, 4.11, 4.15, 4.19, 4.21, 4.22, 4.24, 4.25, 4.28, 4.29, 4.31, 4.32, 4.37, 4.39, 5.19, 6.3, 6.18, 7.4, 8.14, 10.4, 10.19, 12.14, 12.18, 12.19; thirteen marking biblical allusions

a nominal clause), questions (signalled as *quaestio* or with *quaeritur* or *cur*) and conclusions (most often *definitio*). I call these structural annotations, because they track Augustine's often long and meandering arguments and discussions, giving them structure. Some of these consist of a single word but many are longer, describing the topic of a question or a conclusion. However, none of them offer paraphrases of what Augustine says on the topics in question.

Just over a quarter of the common annotations⁶³ but only one seventh of those unique to PQ⁶⁴ are summaries. But over a fifth of this latter series consists of variant readings,⁶⁵ compared to 6% of the common annotations.⁶⁶ In the common annotations there are five approbations, commending individual passages,⁶⁷ (one in the "additional" annotations),⁶⁸ and the function of one common⁶⁹ annotation is not clear, as it appears to be

to Genesis: 1.7, 1.9, 2.3, 2.10, 2.13, 3.5, 3.13, 5.14, 5.17, 7.6, 7.9, 8.10, 12.16; 25 marking allusions to other books of the Bible: 1.15, 2.17, 4.13, 4.14, 4.17, 5.21, 6.17, 7.1, 9.1, 9.5, 9.24, 10.10, 10.11, 10.12, 10.13, 10.14, 10.20, 11.7, 11.8, 12.13, 12.15, 12.21, 12.22, 12.38, 12.39; four internal references: 4.20, 4.36, 4.38, 8.8; two annotations that mark a *demonstratio*: 2.5, 12.6; one *disputatio*, 10.15; one counterargument, 10.6; one parable: 9.7; and one apparently highlighting an interesting concept: 5.24.

⁶² 65 out of 113, comprising 26 questions: 1.I, 1.IV, 1.VI, 1.VII, 1.IX, 1.X, 1.XI, 2.V, 2.VIII, 7.IV, 9.II, 9.III, 10.VII, 10.IX, 11.II, 11.IV, 11.IX, 11.XXIV, 11.XXV, 11.XXXIII, 11.XXXIV, 11.XLI, 11.XLIII, 11.XLVIII, 11.LI, 11.LII; 13 topic indications: 3.II, 7.I, 7.V, 11.X, 11.XVI, 11.XVII, 11.XIX, 11.XXI, 11.XXXVII, 11.XLV, 11.XLVI, 11.XLIX, 11.L; eight notices of allusions to Genesis: 1.V, 2.III, 2.IV, 2.VI, 2.VII, 6.I, 8.III, 11.XLIV; seven notices of allusions to other biblical books: 4.I, 10.I, 10.V, 10.VIII, 10.XIII, 11.XXVIII, 11.XXX; seven *definitiones*: 1.VIII, 5.I, 7.III, 7.VI, 10.XII, 11.XVIII, 11.XXXV; two counterarguments: 10.XIV, 11.III; one *demonstratio*: 2.I; and one internal reference: 3.I.

⁶³ 75 out of 292: 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 1.10, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.14, 1.17, 1.18, 1.19, 1.20, 1.23, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 2.9, 2.12, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.20, 3.2, 4.12, 4.27, 4.40, 4.44, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.18, 5.20, 5.22, 5.23, 6.1, 6.2, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.11, 6.14, 6.15, 6.22, 7.5, 7.8, 7.11, 7.16, 8.2, 8.5, 8.13, 8.17, 9.3, 9.4, 9.6, 9.8, 9.22, 9.23, 10.2, 10.16, 10.21, 10.22, 10.23, 12.9, 12.10, 12.11, 12.12, 12.33, 12.37, 12.41; and two annotations marking biblical allusions paraphrase Augustine's interpretation of the passage in question: 1.3, 4.9.

⁶⁴ 16 out of 113; 14 summaries: 1.II, 1.III, 7.II, 8.V, 10.XI, 11.XI, 11.XII, 11.XIII, 11.XIV, 11.XV, 11.XXVII, 11.XXXI, 11.XXXVI, 11.XXXVIII; and two references to discussions of biblical passages with interpretations: 11.XX, 11.XLII.

⁶⁵ 29 out of 113: 2.II, 6.II, 6.III, 8.I, 8.II, 8.IV, 8.VI, 8.VII, 10.III, 10.II, 10.VI, 10.X, 10.XV, 10.XVI, 11.I, 11.V, 11.VI, 11.VII, 11.VIII, 11.XXII, 11.XXIII, 11.XXVI, 11.XXIX, 11.XXXII, 11.XXXIX, 11.XL, 11.XLVII, 12.I, 12.II.

⁶⁶ 17 out of 292: 4.30, 4.42, 7.14, 8.19, 8.20, 8.21, 8.22, 12.8, 12.25, 12.27, 12.28, 12.30, 12.31, 12.32, 12.34, 12.35, 12.45.

⁶⁷ 4.26, 4.46, 5.1, 5.2, 9.19.

⁶⁸ 6.IV.

⁶⁹ 9.20.

corrupt. In addition, one common annotation is apparently a correction that has been mistaken for an annotation, and accordingly copied in the margin instead of being incorporated in the text.⁷⁰ In the common annotations there is one comment, which might be characterized as an approbation. However, approbations mostly comment on the style or content of an individual passage, but the annotation in question invokes Augustine to commend his whole undertaking in response to a passage where he refers to it.⁷¹ The annotations unique to PQ include one apparent comment, a note commending a passage as an especially good argument for a traducianist view of the origin of human souls.⁷²

The many variant readings are mostly introduced with *al* or *al.* (occasionally *af*), probably for *aliter*.⁷³ For the most part these are not variants that would seem to occur anywhere in the known textual tradition of *De Genesi*, and they may thus represent more or less educated guesses rather than the collation of other exemplars. Such annotations are not easy to tell apart from corrections – and this is a difficulty that already faced copyists of these manuscripts.⁷⁴ I have considered as annotations (counted above and included in the edition in Appendix) such variants that are reported with *al(iter)*, and of the rest such that do not occur in the edited text. The scribes of Q especially had trouble telling corrections, to be incorporated in the text, from variants.⁷⁵ This was exacerbated through the use, by the scribes and contemporary correctors of P, of *obelus* and various similar combinations of a slash and dot(s) as *signes de renvoi* for both variants and obvious corrections.⁷⁶ An annotation unique to PQ seems to signal a

⁷⁰ 6.10.

⁷¹ 9.10.

⁷² 10.IV, see below.

⁷³ On *aliter* as a way of introducing variants see e.g. ZETZEL, *Marginal scholarship*, p. 75; see also, on *aliter* as a way of introducing variant comments, N. G. WILSON, “A Chapter in the History of Scholia”, *Classical Quarterly*, 17 (1967), p. 244-256, at p. 250-251. For *al* as *alius* or *aliter* see LINDSAY, *Notae latinae*, 6. The “proper” abbreviation is found occasionally, see e.g. V, fol. 212v.

⁷⁴ 6.10; also 3.A, exclusive to the π -manuscripts.

⁷⁵ See e.g. P, fol. 277v, “alter amicalis alter inuidus”, missing from the main text (but found in other manuscripts, see *De Genesi*, p. 348:7), reproduced as an annotation in Q, fol. 172Rb. As an example of the opposite, incorporating a variant reading, see 6.III, incorporated in the text of Q (not without reason, as the variant in fact provides a correction to an error in P, not found in e.g. the π -MSS).

⁷⁶ Of the variants 6.III, 8.19, 8.20, 8.21, 8.22, 8.VI, 8.VII, 10.VI, 10.XIV, 10.XV and 12.45 are connected to their places with /. or %; 4.30 is in P connected to the text with +. For a correction utilising % see P. fols 167r, 201r; /, fols 120r; 121r, 167r; -/, fols 78r, 128r, 251v; :/, fol. 295r.

lacuna in the text, although, if so, it is redundant, as there is no *lacuna* at the place in question in P.⁷⁷

Three of the seventeen variants in the common annotations offer a reading found in most other witnesses outside of the β family.⁷⁸ Similarly, five “additional” annotations (of a total 32) seem to reflect collation with another β text (but apparently not a π text),⁷⁹ while two suggest that the annotator also referenced other texts. Gorman concluded that in addition to serving as a source for annotations the *Excerpta* was also used to collate the text of *De Genesi*.⁸⁰ However, of the variants reported as annotations only one, found only in PQ, seems to derive from the *Excerpta*.⁸¹ Another “additional” annotation reports as a variant the “correct” reading in a quotation from Tertullian’s *De anima*. All early manuscripts of the *De Genesi* share an error here, and the annotator may have consulted a copy of *De anima*.⁸² If so, this might also date his activities not much later than the sixth century.⁸³

⁷⁷ 9.I, *Hic minus* <h>abet (see CLA 468a, where this phrase is used to indicate a *lacuna*). The annotation in P is quite precisely placed, using a cluster of four dots, between “bestias agri” and “omnia uolatilia” at *De Genesi*, p. 269:4; P has all of the text of the passage in question.

⁷⁸ 4.30 (not introduced with *aliter*, but incorporated only in Q), 8.21 and 12.25.

⁷⁹ While 2.II, 6.II, 6.III, and 8.II offer variants found in π witnesses, 10.XV offers a reading found in the tradition outside the β -family.

⁸⁰ GORMAN, “Marginalia”, p. 74, only pointing out the variant referred to in the next note. The β text does in places share readings with Eugippius, but it is not clear that this is necessarily due to emending the lost β using the *Excerpta*, rather than a relationship between (exemplars of) β and (exemplars related to the text of) Eugippius working copy, ϵ . For agreements between β and the *Excerpta* – note that the agreement is often also with S – see the following, reported by Zycha in his apparatus (where only PR of the β MSS are represented; note also, as a caveat, Gorman’s criticism of Zycha’s reporting of variants, see his “The Oldest Manuscripts”, p. 39-40), *De Genesi*, p. 183:21, 184:9, 188:18, 191:19, 244:3, 253:1, 254:15, 256:10, 11, 259:3, 260:17, 266:21, 337:15, 338:10, 341:3, 343:6, 345:11, 349:4, 360:13, 377:25.

⁸¹ 8.IV; 8.21 reports a variant that is found in the *Excerpta* but also in the other early manuscripts outside of the β -family.

⁸² 10.XVI, *prouehitur* for *perhibetur* EFNPQRSVZ. Zycha reports his C (Cologne 61), a twelfth-century manuscript, as reading *prouehitur*. See Tertullianus, *De anima*, ed. by J. H. WASZINK, Amsterdam, 1947, c. 37.7, p. 54:5, see also Waszink’s apparatus *ad locum*, quoting Fr. JUNIUS (1597): “alii perhibetur; vitiose”.

⁸³ At least our knowledge of the use of *De anima* between Cassiodorus and the ninth-century *Codex Agobardinus* is scant; see *CCSL*, 1, table 1a-c (partially reproduced by R. PEARSE at <http://www.tertullian.org/witnesses/witnesses.htm>). For another early set of annotations to *De Genesi* indicating familiarity with *De anima* see Keskiaho, “Late-Antique or Early Medieval”.

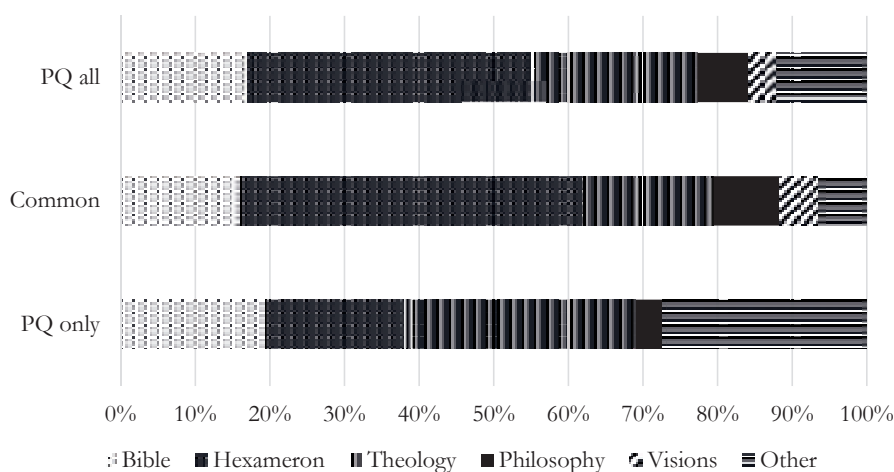


Fig. 3. The interests reflected in the annotations.

16% of the common annotations focus on the Bible and its interpretation,⁸⁴ and almost half of these annotations focus on Augustine's reading of the *hexameron*.⁸⁵ A larger proportion of the annotations only in PQ, 19%, focuses on biblical passages,⁸⁶ but only a similar proportion of these annotations are to hexameral exegesis and theology.⁸⁷ Interestingly, all of the annotations in the "additional" series that in this way focus on the creation narrative centre on discussions about the fall. However, the most notable difference between these related series is in the proportion of annotations

⁸⁴ 47 out of 292; comprising 13 annotations on Genesis and its interpretation: 1.3, 1.9, 2.10, 2.13, 3.5, 3.13, 5.14, 7.6, 7.9, 8.14, 9.10, 11.7, 12.38; and 34 annotations on other biblical passages and events: 1.15, 2.3, 4.9, 4.13, 4.14, 4.17, 5.1, 5.21, 6.17, 7.1, 8.2, 8.6, 8.10, 9.1, 9.5, 9.24, 10.10, 10.11, 10.12, 10.13, 10.14, 10.20, 11.8, 11.9, 12.13, 12.15, 12.16, 12.17, 12.21, 12.22, 12.39, 12.42, 12.43, 12.44.

⁸⁵ 134 out of 292: 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.10, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.14, 1.16, 1.17, 1.18, 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 1.22, 2.5, 2.11, 2.12, 2.14, 2.15, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.10, 3.11, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.15, 4.16, 4.19, 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, 4.24, 4.25, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.34, 4.35, 4.36, 4.37, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41, 4.43, 4.44, 4.45, 4.46, 4.47, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.19, 5.20, 5.22, 5.23, 5.24, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 7.16, 8.1, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.9, 8.11, 8.12, 8.15, 8.16, 9.7, 9.8, 9.9, 9.11, 9.12, 9.13, 9.14, 9.16, 9.17, 9.18, 9.19, 9.21, 9.22, 9.23, 9.25, 10.3, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6.

⁸⁶ 22 out of 113; comprising nine notes on Genesis: 1.V, 2.III, 2.IV, 2.VI, 2.VII, 6.I, 11.XLII, 11.XLIV, 11.XLVIII; and thirteen on other biblical books and events: 4.I, 8.III, 10.I, 10.V, 10.VII, 10.VIII, 10.IX, 10.XIII, 11.XXVIII, 11.XXX, 11.XXXIII, 11.XXXIV, 11.LII.

⁸⁷ 21 out of 113: 1.I, 1.IV, 1.VI, 1.VII, 1.VIII, 1.IX, 1.X, 1.XI, 2.V, 5.I, 6.IV, 9.III, 11.III, 11.IV, 11.IX, 11.XXV, 11.XXXVII, 11.XXXVIII, 11.XLVI, 11.XLIX, 11.L.

related to theological issues other than the creation account. Such “theological” annotations comprise less than a fifth of the common annotations,⁸⁸ but almost a third of the “additional” annotations.⁸⁹ Indeed, as can be seen in Fig. 3, when compared to the thematic spread of the annotations as they are in PQ (i.e. both the common and “additional” annotations), the “additional” annotations represent either a significant removal or addition of annotations on theological issues, depending on whether the original state of the series is seen as closer to what PQ or (B)NRV currently have.

Little over eight per cent of the common annotations,⁹⁰ and only four of the “additional” ones,⁹¹ focus on broadly speaking philosophical issues. Dreams and visions, a theme both theological and philosophical, gather some 5% of the common annotations,⁹² but none of the “additional” ones. In this respect, if truly “additional”, the annotations only found in PQ would represent a proportional strengthening of exegetical interest in the series.

The category *other* consists of annotations which it has not been possible to interpret as belonging in any of the thematic categories. For the most part this means variant readings and the few odd or irretrievably corrupt annotations. In addition, there is one “additional” annotation highlighting an explanation of a word in the text.⁹³

As noted, many of these annotations call attention to a discussion of a given Biblical passage, by either simply rephrasing the passage in question in the margin or prefacing it with an indication of the nature of the discussion, such as, in the eighth book, *definitio ut operaret*⟨ur⟩ *et custodiret*,⁹⁴ “definition ⟨of⟩ to dress it and to keep it”, signalling an explanation of a

⁸⁸ 51 out of 292: 1.8, 2.16, 3.2, 3.4, 3.9, 3.12, 4.18, 4.38, 6.5, 6.22, 6.23, 7.2, 7.4, 7.5, 7.12, 7.13, 7.15, 8.7, 8.8, 8.13, 8.17, 8.18, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.15, 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6, 10.7, 10.8, 10.9, 10.15, 10.16, 10.17, 10.18, 10.19, 10.21, 10.22, 10.23, 10.24, 11.1, 11.2, 12.1, 12.14, 12.19, 12.29, 12.40, 12.41,

⁸⁹ 35 out of 113: 1.II, 1.III, 7.I, 7.II, 7.III, 7.IV, 7.V, 7.VI, 8.V, 9.II, 10.IV, 10.XI, 10.XII, 10.XIV, 11.II, 11.X, 11.XI, 11.XII, 11.XIII, 11.XIV, 11.XV, 11.XVII, 11.XVIII, 11.XIX, 11.XX, 11.XXI, 11.XXIV, 11.XXVII, 11.XXXI, 11.XXXV, 11.XXXVI, 11.XLI, 11.XLIII, 11.XLV, 11.LI.

⁹⁰ 26 out of 292: 1.23, 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.17, 2.18, 3.1, 3.3, 5.18, 7.3, 7.7, 7.8, 7.10, 7.11, 9.6, 11.3, 12.18, 12.26, 12.33; and three annotations on number, measure and weight: 4.6, 4.7, 4.8.

⁹¹ 2.I, 2.VIII, 3.I, 3.II.

⁹² 15 out of 292: 12.2, 12.3, 12.4, 12.5, 12.6, 12.7, 12.9, 12.10, 12.11, 12.12, 12.20, 12.23, 12.24, 12.36, 12.37.

⁹³ 11.XVI.

⁹⁴ 8.14 (to *De Genesi* 8.9, 245:6), corrupt in all witnesses; P, fol. 192r, “definitio ut operet⟨a⟩ret et custodiret”, as also Q, fol. 125; V, fol. 205va, “ut operaret custodiret”; as also R, fol. 149r.

phrase from Genesis 2, 15. Such annotating practice resembles that recommended by Cassiodorus, who in his *Institutiones* notes that when reading patristic works it is advisable to mark discussions of biblical passages that occur as parts of larger arguments. This, he says, is a good method, not only as a way of gaining useful information but also for a better understanding of the arguments themselves.⁹⁵ Perhaps the annotator(s) were influenced by this advice, although more probably Cassiodorus was recommending something practiced also by others.

When lifting biblical passages from the text into the margins the annotators mostly repeated them in the version used in the text.⁹⁶ The few exceptions suggest that while not bothered by Augustine's version they did not use an identical Old Latin version of the biblical text quoted. Unfortunately, these modifications are not distinctive enough, nor is the tradition of the different Old Latin versions of these texts known well enough, to suggest where the annotations might have originated. Once an annotation, quoting John 5, 17, supplants Augustine's *usque nunc* with *usque modo*, a paraphrase for instance found elsewhere in Augustine's works.⁹⁷ However, the annotations twice prefer *spiritus* for *flatus*, on one occasion bringing the verse quoted by Augustine to conformity with an apparently more common Old Latin translation.⁹⁸

In the "theological" annotations the two distinct themes (besides visions and the creation) are the soul and issues of moral theology, reflecting Augustine's concerns in *De Genesi*. Almost half of the "additional" and a little over a half of the common annotations on theological themes focus on Augustine's discussions on the soul, chiefly in books seven and ten.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. by R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxford, 1961, 1.10.4, p. 34-35.

⁹⁶ See e.g. 2.17, which directly quotes Augustine's version, in a version (*suspendit*) that judging by the *Vetus Latina* edition is found mostly in Augustine's works and other texts of African origin; see *Esaias*, ed. Roger GRYSON, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 12:2.2, Freiburg, 1994, verse 40, 22, p. 934.

⁹⁷ 4.17, see the relevant part of Io. 5, 17 as paraphrased e.g. in Augustinus, *De ciuitate Dei* 22.24, ed. by B. DOMBART, A. KALB, Turnhout, 1955 (CCSL, 14), l. 30-31: "opere, quo usque nunc operatur".

⁹⁸ 7.9, quoting Gen. 2, 7, see *Genesis*, ed. by B. FISCHER, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 2, Freiburg, 1951-1954, verse 2, 7, p. 39-41 (form L) "et insufflauit in faciem eius spiritum vitae"; and 7.1, quoting Es. 57, 16, cf. *Esaias*, ed. by R. GRYSON, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 12:2.8, Freiburg, 1996, verse 57, 16, p. 1412. The latter may be explicable through the evident condensing of the verse, which uses *spiritus* and *flatus* as synonyms, but the former also changes the verb (from Augustine's *sufflauit* to *insufflauit*) apparently to conform to a specific Old Latin version.

⁹⁹ 3.2, 6.5, 6.23, 7.2, 7.4, 7.5, 7.12, 7.13, 7.15, 8.7, 8.18, 10.1, 10.2, 10.4, 10.5, 10.6, 10.7, 10.8, 10.9, 10.15, 10.18, 10.19, 10.21, 10.22, 10.23, 10.24, 12.40, 12.41; 7.I, 7.II, 7.III, 7.IV, 7.V, 7.VI, 10.IV, 10.XI, 10.XII, 10.XIV.

Also almost half of the “additional” annotations on theological issues but only ten percent of the common ones focus on questions of moral theology, mainly around Augustine’s discussion of the fall and the devil in book eleven.¹⁰⁰ The rest of the theological annotations scatter among several conceivable themes, with no significant patterns emerging.¹⁰¹

The philosophical annotations focus especially on what could be termed natural philosophy, which is to be expected, given the work’s focus on the creation narratives and especially Augustine’s discussions of these in relation to natural philosophy. A common annotation to book one notes Augustine’s discussion of the importance of profane knowledge.¹⁰² Some of the “philosophical” annotations are individual notes on interesting words or issues, such as the common annotations that signal a mention of the planet Saturn, a discussion on winds and thunder, that Geon means the river Nile, and a discussion of how snakes hear those who charm them.¹⁰³ However, there are two themes, the firmament and the elements, which have attracted more notes. In book two the common annotations signal discussions about the firmament, and waters over it,¹⁰⁴ and register that it is said that there is a fire over (the sphere of) air and that clouds are made of gatherings of water droplets.¹⁰⁵ Likewise the common annotations mark a passage about philosophers’ views on the conversion of elements and another on elements in the human body,¹⁰⁶ while the “additional” annotations signal a reported philosophical view about animals and the elements.¹⁰⁷ Finally there is a series of common annotations regarding the human body and its functions.¹⁰⁸

There is not much in these annotations that could be used to suggest their original context(s). One of the theological notes, to the tenth book, only found in the additional set (10.IV), appears promising. It stands out from the general style and content of these annotations, by remarking on the consequences or potential utility of a passage: *ita ratiocinatio plurimum adiuvat traducianos*, “this reasoning helps traducianists very much”. In the

¹⁰⁰ 6.22, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 10.16, 10.17, 11.8; and 11.II, 11.X, 11.XI, 11.XII, 11.XIII, 11.XIV, 11.XV, 11.XVII, 11.XVIII, 11.XIX, 11.XX, 11.XXXI, 11.XLI, 11.XLIII, 11.LI.

¹⁰¹ Minor themes (of more than one annotation each), common: 1.8, 8.17 (Trinity), 2.16, 3.4, 9.15, 11.2 (angels); “additional”: 1.II, 1.III (Trinity), 8.V, 9.II, 11.XLV (how God speaks with men), 11.XXIV, 11.XXVII, 11.XXXV, 11.XXXVI (the Devil, demons).

¹⁰² 1.23, *de his quos penitet disciplinas mundanas ignorare*

¹⁰³ Respectively, 2.8, 3.3, 5.18, 11.3,

¹⁰⁴ 2.1, 2.2, 2.7, 2.9.

¹⁰⁵ 2.4, 2.6.

¹⁰⁶ 3.1, 7.3,

¹⁰⁷ 3.II.

¹⁰⁸ 7.8, 7.10, 7.11, 9.6, 12.26, 12.33; see also 7.7, on the motions of animals and trees.

tenth book Augustine discusses the origin of the soul in terms of several competing ideas. The two options the annotations to this book are interested in are traducianism, namely that the human soul was only created once and that individual souls are derived from Adam's, and creationism, which holds that all souls are created individually. The way the annotations to the tenth book view the question of the origin of the soul in terms of two main options resembles Eugippius's reading of Augustine here.¹⁰⁹ Augustine does not commit himself to any interpretation. However, in the passage that 10.IV annotates he does note that the way Paul parallels Adam, whose fall brought death to all, with Christ, who brought life to all, gives good support to the traducianist cause. The annotation may thus be simply summarising what Augustine says, although its tone, in comparison with the general tone of these annotations, suggests closer investment in the issue.¹¹⁰

The origin of the soul may have been a currently debated issue in the context(s) in which the annotator(s) wrote. Such an interest could be related to discussions on predestination, through the import of the question on the problem of original sin and its transmission. This link is clear in the annotated passage referred to above. The great controversies over Augustine's teaching on predestination and grace are usually taken as having been resolved in the Council of Orange (529), although it is clear that at least in Gaul differences of opinion on the matter lingered long after.¹¹¹

The annotations also pay attention to what Augustine says about the nature of the soul, noting especially his teaching on its immateriality. While the origin of the soul may have been discussed as a part of controversies over sin and grace, the nature of the soul was subject to other discussions, especially in Gaul where Faustus of Riez provoked Claudianus Mamertus to write a defense of the Augustinian view of the immateriality of the soul. And just as discussions about sin and grace did probably not cease after Orange 529, neither did Claudianus' learned treatise lock views

¹⁰⁹ On which see S. L. H. HAVERKAMP, "Si Adam et Eva peccaverunt, quid nos miseri fecimus?" *The Reception of Augustine's Ontological Discourse on the Soul in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Unpublished PhD-thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013, esp. p. 68-70.

¹¹⁰ *De Genesi* 10.16, p. 317. Compared with the tone of these annotations, 10.IV offers a remarkably strong view of the consequences of the passage. See also a differently worded annotation to this same locus, in another set of copied annotations in Paris, BnF, lat. 2112, fol. 123v (no. 10.30 in the Appendix to J. KESKIAHO, "Chapter Headings and Annotations to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* in Paris BnF lat. 2112", forthcoming): "Hic secundae opinionis adsertores iuuantur".

¹¹¹ R. MATHISEN, "Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange", in *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, ed. by A. Y. HWANG, B. J. MATZ, A. CASIDAY, Washington, DC, 2014, p. 208-234, at p. 225-230, 233; see also R. H. WEAVER at p. xiv in the same volume.

about the soul.¹¹² The question of the continuity of these controversies elsewhere is less clear. When discussing the origin of the soul Cassiodorus kept to Augustine's agnosticism on the issue,¹¹³ which, while suggesting that no discussion had forced a resolution either way, tells little of whether the question was still discussed in Italy or not.

3. Conclusion

This widespread series of annotations may have been created in two stages. Both versions of these annotations must postdate the creation of Eugippius *Excerpta* before 511, and were authored by a person or persons still using late antique *notae antiquae*. This latter observation probably helps us narrow down their possible area of origin to the Mediterranean world,¹¹⁴ and it also suggests that their creator was not chronologically much removed from the creation of the *Excerpta*. While the π -family text may have been known in the British Isles, and P was copied in a centre with Anglo-Saxon connections, this family of *De Genesi* texts also survives in an early Southern Frankish copy (R). Thus it does not seem to have necessarily entered Francia from the Isles but may have come from Spain or Italy. The use of the *Excerpta* in these annotations is of limited help in trying to determine where the annotations could have been written. The earlier in time that one is ready to situate their creation the more probable it may be that

¹¹² On the controversy see fundamentally E. L. FORTIN, *Christianisme et culture philosophique au cinquième siècle. La querelle de l'âme humaine en Occident*, Paris, 1959; recently also L. LOCKETT, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*, Toronto, 2011, p. 191-199; P. BROWN, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA-London, 2015, p. 135-137, who also (at p. 186-187) notes that Faustus' texts, if not necessarily his ideas on the soul, also found later readers; for the tradition of Faustus' letters see R. W. MATHISEN, "The 'Codex Sangallensis' 190 and the Transmission of the Classical Tradition during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 5 (1998), p. 163-194, at p. 173. On divergent views about the materiality of the soul in the early middle ages see also C. CAROZZI, *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine V^e-XIII^e siècle*, Rome, 1994, p. 173-180; also, on the related issue of the materiality of apparitions, KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions*, p. 92, 125, 181.

¹¹³ HAVERKAMP, "Si Adam et Eva peccaverunt", p. 76; Cassiodorus, *De anima*, ed. by J. W. HALPORN, Turnhout, 1973 (CCSL, 96), c. 9, l. 21-24.

¹¹⁴ Unless the fact that the rich and distinct variety of abbreviations in early medieval Insular scripts appears to derive partly from *notae antiquae* is taken as an indication that such *notae* were in use in post-Roman British Isles; cf. J. BROWN, "Tradition, Imitation and Invention in Insular Handwriting of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", *A Palaeographer's View. The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. by J. BATELY, M. P. BROWN and J. ROBERTS, London, 1993, p. 179-200, at p. 186-188.

these annotations would have been composed near to where the *Excerpta* originated.

If the interest of the annotations on questions about the origin and nature of the soul indeed reflects live concerns, it could be that they were created by somebody perhaps in Southern France in the sixth century. However, interest in the soul was widespread in the period and afterwards, so no firm conclusions can be drawn from reflections of it in the annotations.

As problematic as annotations can be, they should be approached with precision. Determining their number, average density and lengths facilitates comparison between series of annotations, providing superior precision in comparison to characterisations such as “rather frequently annotated”. The heuristics of analysis of the functions and thematic contents of the annotations may also be helpful for analysing annotations to patristic texts, especially, as in this article, in comparing different or related series of annotations to the same work.

These notes have the appearance of systematic reading aids to Augustine’s work. However, it is far from clear whether they were created as such, or if they are perhaps the results of private study of the work by two (or possibly more) individuals for their own ends. However, as they index the work fairly closely they could have been useful for other readers besides their creator(s). This may have been a part of the reason they were so widespread and were still copied in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, especially earlier in the tradition the main reason, given their badly corrupt text in most witnesses, seems to have been the bare fact that they were there, in the margins of an exemplar of an authoritative text. As the perhaps most widely spread of the early annotations to *De Genesi*, they may have influenced countless readings of the work,¹¹⁵ and provide a fascinating look at the early reception of this challenging and interesting work of Augustine’s.

¹¹⁵ For one possible case of influence, see KESKIAHO, *Dreams and Visions*, p. 192.

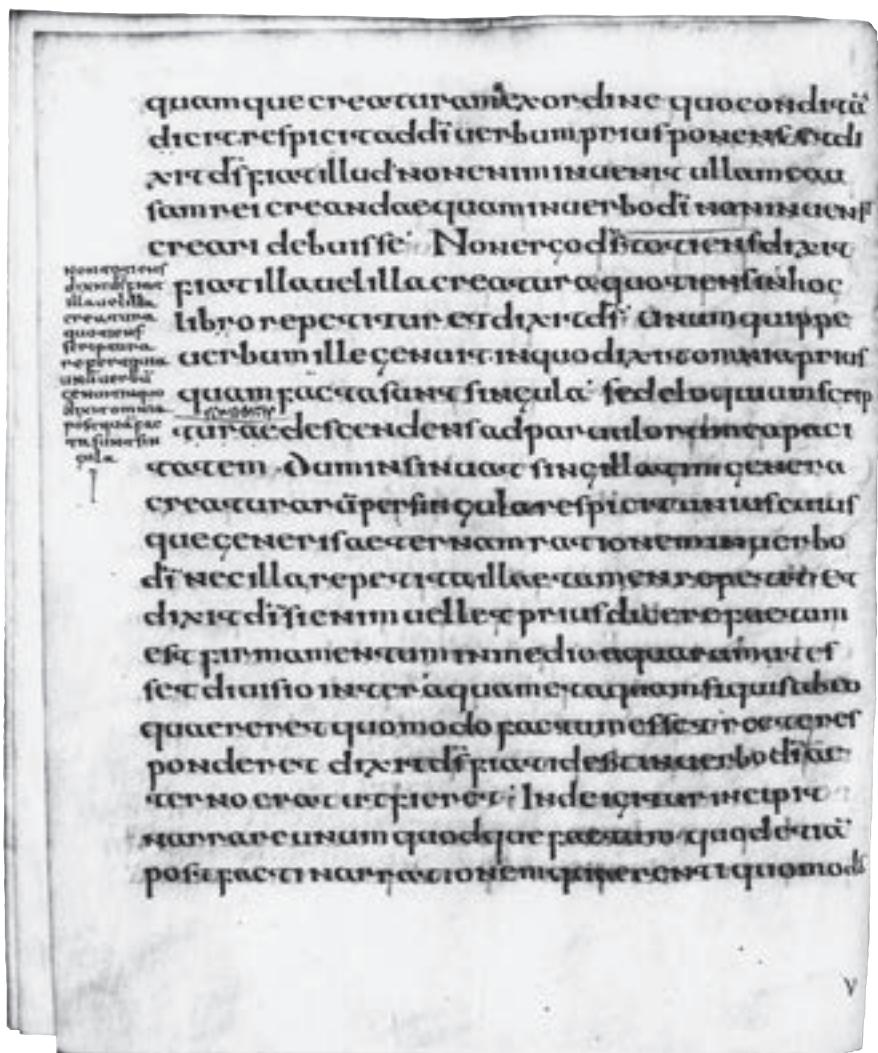


Plate 1. Paris, BnF, lat. 2706, fol. 23v
Text and one annotation (2.12) copied in the main hand;
a correction in Anglo-Saxon minuscule (above line 10)
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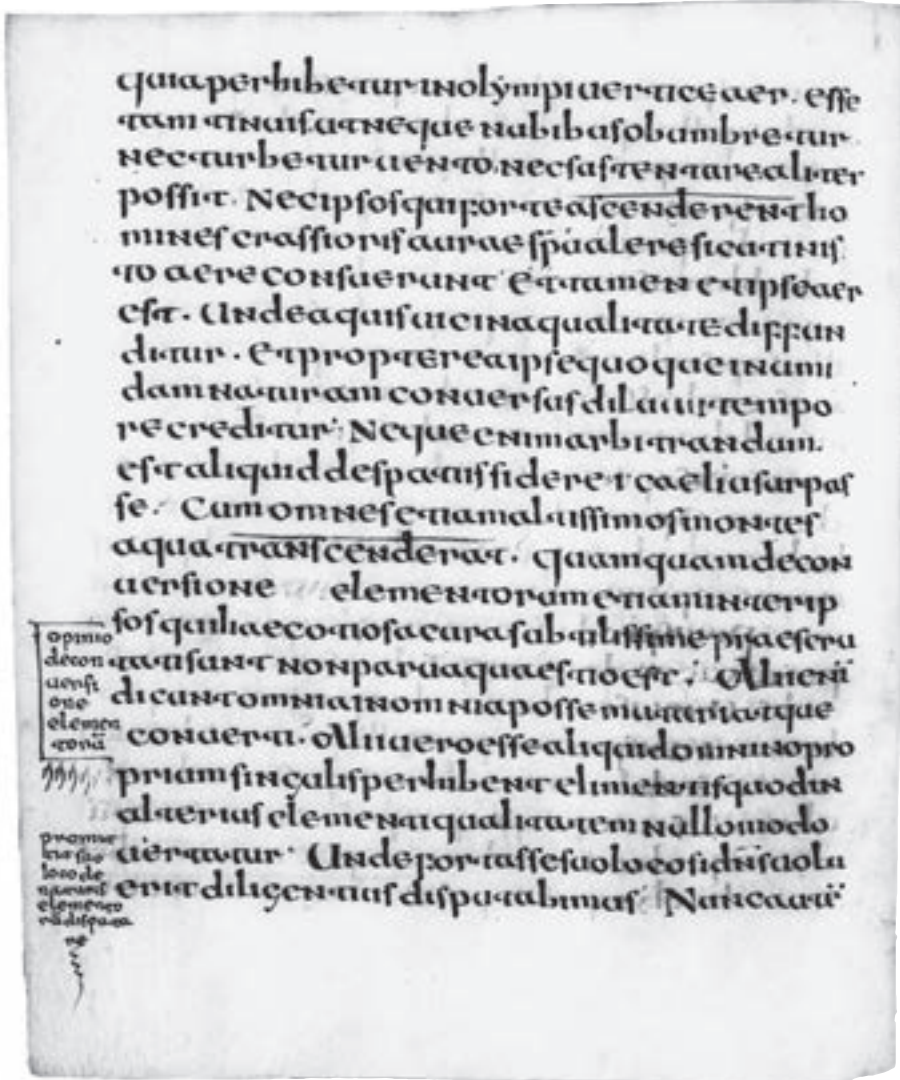


Plate 2. Paris, BnF, lat. 2706, fol. 41v

Possible second hand; two copied annotations (3.1 and 3.I), differently framed

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causam animae et peccatum nullam habere
 et de proprio volente arbitrio quae
 ritur quomodo possit significare per illi
 as unius hominis obedienciam si per al
 terius unius in obedienciam nec non est
 haec vox eorum est. quia animas hominū
 ex hominibus parentibus creatas vo
 lunt. Non quidem nisi a creator edō sed
 sicut etiam corpora non enim et haec
 parentes creant et non ille qui a
 prius quam te format et minuter ono
 aite. quibus respondetur animas qui
 dem corporibus hominum dī nouas
 singillatim dare ad hoc ut in carne pec
 cā de originali peccato. aeniente
 recte uiuendo carnalesque concupis
 centias sub dī gratia subicendo meti
 tum comparent quocum ipso corpore
 in melius transferantur tempore re
 surrectionis. et in xpo in aeternam
 cum angelis uiuant. sed necesse esse
 ut cum membris terrenis atque mor

268
 et de par
 uis
 bapti
 zati
 di

Plate 3. Paris, BnF, lat. 2706, fol. 248r

Possible third hand, one copied annotation (10.17) and a *nota*-monogram

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Summary

This article discusses a set of annotations found in the margins of most of the manuscripts of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* belonging to Michael Gorman's β -family of texts of that work. These annotations survive as copies already in the earliest manuscript (the eighth-century Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2607) and come in two distinct versions. After an analysis of their texts, palaeography (especially in the earliest manuscript), functions and themes of interest, this article argues that the annotations likely represent two stages in annotating Augustine's text. Both versions appear to be considerably older than the first manuscript that transmits them and seem to have been created not much later than the sixth century, by an annotator or annotators employing *notae antiquae*. An edition of the annotations is presented in the Appendix.

Jesse KESKIAHO
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
<Jesse.Keskiaho@helsinki.fi>

APPENDIX

This Appendix presents an edition of the β -annotations. It is based on a collation of BNPQRV and additional consultation of WX.¹ I have added capitalisation and modified and added punctuation to better serve the sense of the text. *E-caudata* (ẹ) has been silently substituted with *ae* where appropriate, as has simple *e* with *ae* (i.e. *quaestio* for *questio*). Otherwise original orthography has been retained, insofar as it does not obscure sense (*ae* for *e* and *loquutio* for *locutio* e.g. in 1.12; *a* for *o* in 4.I, *i* for *e* in 5.I, 9.6 and probably also in 12.18, *c* for *ch* in 5.19, *o* for *u* in 9.III; omission of word-initial *h* in 9.I; *quur* for *cur* in 9.11).

Since the text of the annotations is in places heavily corrupt in all witnesses, I have introduced emendations to produce a better understandable text. Because the annotations refer to and often directly use Augustine's text, most emendations rely on that text for guidance. Likewise the annotations reproducing headings of excerpts from Eugippius' *Excerpta* have been emended against Eugippius' text. I have italicized text directly lifted from Augustine's and Eugippius' texts, and if it is not found (beginning) on the line at which the annotation is situated, I have given the location of the source in the source apparatus. Some annotations have resisted my attempts to emend them (e.g. 7.V, 11.XLVIII). I have also left unemended cases of the preposition *de* followed by a noun in accusative rather than ablative case, since following *de* with specifically a feminine noun in accusative is common and may have occurred already in the archetype (see e.g. 4.1, 4.36, 8.7).²

The annotations have been numbered consecutively by book of *De Genesi*, the common annotations in Arabic and those only found in PQ in Roman numerals. For each annotation their location in respect to the text is indicated in parentheses by chapter number, page and line number in Joseph Zycha's edition.

BOOK 1

1 (1.1, 4:22) III *tertia quaestio*.

2 (1.1, 5:2) IIII *quarta quaestio*.

¹ I have examined these manuscripts in the original, aside from BQ and WX. Especially with the latter two issues of legibility mean that some readings are tentative and are marked as such with the question mark; from book seven onwards the frequent and eventually complete omission of annotations in X has not been marked in the apparatus. Note also that B only has annotations for book one.

² On the use of accusative instead of ablative in Late Latin see e.g. J. HERMAN, *Le latin vulgaire*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1970, pp. 61-62, also 68.

- 3 (1.2, 6:18) Quod dixit Deus 'fiat lux' non sono uocis, sed in aeterno uerbo dicente facta est spiritalis lux.
- 5 4 (1.3, 7:3) Lux quae facta est ipsa est prima creatura, id est angelica.
- 5 (1.3, 7:13) Quaestio, utrum prius uniuersaliter nomine celi et terre comprehendendum erat et deinde per partes exsequendum.
- I (1.4, 7:18) Quaestio.
- 6 (1.5, 9:5) Principium creaturae aeterna sapientia.
- 10 7 (1.5, 9:18) Quomodo accipiat 'spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquas'?
- II (1.6, 10:10) Trinitas.
- 8 (1.6, 10:15) Completam commemorationem trinitatis.
- III (1.6, 10:19) Idem Trinitas.
- IV (1.7, 10:23) Quaeritur, 'spiritus Dei' postea commemoratur?
- 15 9 (1.7, 11:9) Quomodo 'superferebatur spiritus Dei'?
- V (1.8, 11:15) 'Vidit Deus, quia bonum est' exponit.
- 10 (1.9, 12:6) Caeli nomine spiritalis iam facta et formata creatura intellegatur.
- 11 (1.1.8, 12:11) Terrae nomine inpositae ac tenebrosa abyso imperfectio corporalis substantiae significata est.
- 20 12 (1.9, 13:11) De spiritali creatura, cui sine sono et temporali motu a uerbo coaeterno loquutio inpraessa est.
- 13 (1.9, 13:21) Intellectualiter impressas rationes.
- 14 (1.9, 13:24) De prima luce, quia ipsa est intellectualis.
- VI (1.10, 14:11) Quaestio.
- 25 VII (1.10, 14:14) Quaestio.
- VIII (1.10, 14:26) Definitio.
- 15 (1.10, 15:19) Liber Ecclesiastes, quae de sole dicat.
- 16 (1.10, 16:8) Quaestio, si spiritalis lux primo die facta est?

3 Gen. 1, 3 10 Gen. 1, 2 14 Gen. 1, 2 15 Gen. 1, 2 16 Gen. 1, 4
27 Cfr Eccle. 1, 5

3/4 De Genesi, p. 6:17-18, 11, 20-21 5 De Genesi, p. 7:3, 4-5 9 De Genesi, p. 9:5-6
11 De Genesi, p. 10:16-17 14 De Genesi, p. 10:24, 23 17 De Genesi, p. 12:8-9, 8
18/19 De Genesi, p. 12:11-13 20/21 De Genesi, p. 13:10, 13, 15 22 De Genesi,
p. 13:21-22 23 De Genesi, p. 13:26-27

1 III – quaestio] questio X, om. BR, lacuna in P, legibile minime est in N 2 IIII – quaestio] questio X, om. B, lacuna in P, legibile minime est in N IIII] om. R 3 Quod – lux] om. B in aeterno*] interno NPQRVX uerbo] uerbo Deo X 4 om. B
6 nomine] namine P, numine Q 7 exsequendum] ex se NPQV 9 aeterna] aeterne
V sapientia] sapientiae PQ 10 Quomodo – aquas] om. N accipiat] accipiatur quod BR 13 Idem] id est X 14 postea] post ex PQX commemoratur*] commemorata PQ 15/17 lacuna in P 15 lacuna in B 17 intellegatur] om. X
18 om. B Terrae] terra R tenebrosa] tenebrosae R imperfectio*] imperfecti
PQRVX, in perfecto N 19 loquutio] locutio QVX, loquatio R inpraessa] inpressa VR
22 lacuna in R impressas] impressae BV 27 dicat] discat B

- IX (1.10, 16:20) Quaestio.
 30 17 (1.12, 18:5) Non *omnes tenebrae nox*.
 X (1.14, 21:1) Cur factum '*mundum ex materia informi*'?
 18 (1.15, 21:7) *Informis* et formata *materia* non differunt *tempore, sicut uox et uerba*.
 19 (1.15, 22:15) Terra et abyssus *nominibus* materia informis *insinuabatur*.
 35 20 (1.16, 23:20) *Spiritualis lux facta est*.
 21 (1.16, 24:14) Quaestio diuisionis diei et noctis.
 XI (1.16, 24:17) Quaestio.
 22 (1.17, 26:16) De uespere trium dierum *antequam* sol fieret.
 23 (1.20, 30:9) De his quos paenitet disciplinas mundanas ignorare.

BOOK 2

- 40 1 (2.1, 32:14) De firmamento.
 2 (2.1, 32:21) De aquis supra firmamentum.
 3 (2.1, 34:4) '*Fundauit terram super aquam*'.
 I (2.2, 35:7) Demonstratio.
 II (2.2, 35:15) Aliter: uasis.
 45 4 (2.3, 36:14) *Super aerem purus ignis esse dicitur*.
 5 (2.4, 36:26) Quomodo doceatur *aquas super caelos* esse.
 6 (2.4, 37:15) Conglobationes *guttarum* nubes faciunt.
 7 (2.4, 38:7) *Super caelum* aquas esse.
 8 (2.5, 38:21) De stella Saturni.
 50 9 (2.5, 39:15) Confirmat aquas super caelos esse.
 10 (2.6, 41:1) Quaestio, '*fiat firmamentum*', *ipsa dictio uerbum est Patris*?
 11 (2.6, 41:5) Quomodo creaturae in uerbo sint?
 12 (2.6, 41:19) *Non totiens dixit Deus, fiat illa uel illa creatura, quotiens scriptura refert quia unum uerbum genuit, in quo dixit omnia, priusquam facta sunt singula*.
 55

31 Sap. 11, 18 42 Ps. 135, 6 51 Gen. 1, 6

32/33 De Genesi, p. 21:7, 9-10 34 De Genesi, p. 22:23 42 De Genesi, p. 34:6 46 De Genesi, p. 36:27 47 De Genesi, p. 37:17 51 De Genesi, p. 41:2-3 53/55 De Genesi, p. 41:19-22

28 si] *om.* X primo] prima R, promo B 30 *om.* BRQ 32 *om.* B differunt*] differt NRPQVX 34 *om.* B nominibus*] nomen NRPQVX insinuabatur] insinuabitur R 35 Spiritualis] spiritualibus X 36 diuisionis] diuisiones B 38 *om.* X uespere] uespera BPQ 39 paenitet] spe uitet N, spe nitet N² disciplinas] disciplina Q mundanas ignorare] et undanas ignorare PQ 40 *om.* N 42 aquam] aquas X 45 esse] *om.* X 46 aquas] aqua X 47 guttarum] guttarum intra PQX 48 esse] esse per(?) PQ, esse po<sitae?> X 49 lacuna in Q stella] stilla P 50 caelos] caelorum QV aquas super caelos esse] aqui bonum est X 52 Quomodo] Quomodo ergo N 54 priusquam*] postquam NPQRVW, post X

- III (2.6, 42:5) '*Et dixit Deus: fiat*', '*sic est factum*'.
 IV (2.6, 42:8) '*Vidit Deus, quia bonum est*'.
 V (2.7, 42:13) Quaestio.
 13 (2.7, 42:16) Quare dixit, '*et fecit Deus*'?
 60 14 (2.8, 43:9) *Primo die in appellatione lucis conditio creaturae spiritalis et angeli intimatur.*
 15 (2.8, 43:19) De conditione creaturarum: primo *in uerbo Dei, deinde in cognitione angelorum.*
 16 (2.8, 44:22) Tantum sciunt angeli quantum illis ostenditur.
 65 VI (2.8, 45:7) '*Et dixit Deus: fiat*'.
 VII (2.8, 45:15) '*Et uidit Deus, quia bonum est*'.
 VIII (2.9, 45:20) Quaestio, *quaeri*.
 17 (2.9, 46:20) *Caelum dicitur uelut camera esse suspensum.*
 18 (2.10, 47:22) Quaestio *de motu caeli*.
 70 19 (2.10, 48:11) Quare *firmamentum* dicatur?
 20 (2.11, 49:25) *Terrae et aquae nomine informitas quaedam significatur.*
 21 (2.13, 51:9) De conditione luminarium.

BOOK 3

- 1 (3.3, 65:7) *Opinio de conuersione elementorum.*
 I (3.3, 65:12) Promittit suo loco de naturis elementorum disputare.
 75 2 (3.5, 67:16) *Animam dicit incorpoream.*
 II (3.9, 71:25) *Sententia philosophorum de singulis elementis uel animalibus.*
 3 (3.10, 73:20) De uentis et tonitruis.
 4 (3.10, 74:5) De angelis transgressoribus.
 5 (3.11, 74:23) *Educat terra animam uiuam.*
 80 6 (75:10, 9) *Distributio nominum animalium omnium.*
 7 (3.13, 79:14) *Quaestio de minutissimis animalibus, utrum in primis rerum conditionibus creata sint?*
 A (3.14, 80:19) *Initiata.*

56 Gen. 1, 6
78 Gen. 1, 24

57 Gen. 1, 8

59 Gen. 1, 7

65 Gen. 1, 6

66 Gen. 1, 8

59 *De Genesi*, p. 42:5 60 *De Genesi*, p. 43: 10, 11, 12 62/63 *De Genesi*, p. 43:20, 22, 27 68 *De Genesi*, p. 46:20-21 71 *De Genesi*, p. 49:24, 26.

58 *om. X* 60 *lucis] om. X* *conditio**] *condita* NPQRV *creaturae] creatura* NV
 67 *quaeri] om. X* 68 *suspensum] suspensus* PQRV 71 *nomine] nomen* PQ
 76 *singulis elementis**] *singulorum aelementorum* PQ *uel] om. X* 77 *uentis et tonitruis] uentos et tonitrua* PQ 78 *om. N* 79 *animam uiuam] anima uiuam* N, *anima uiuam* X 81 *minutissimis] minutissimis* N *sint] sunt* PQX 83 *initiata* V]
iniciata R

- 8 (3.15, 80:23) Quaestio de uenenosis animalibus, *utrum post peccatum hominis ad uindictam creata sint?*
 85 9 (3.17, 82:23) Quaestio de corporibus, quae in bestiarum cibos cedunt, hominum.
 10 (3.18, 84:11) De conditione hominis.
 11 (3.19, 84:20) De conditione hominum.
 90 12 (3.22, 88:24) *In qua parte ad imaginem Dei factus sit homo?*
 13 (3.22, 90:8) Quomodo dictum est, consumatis omnibus, *'et ecce bona ualde'*?

BOOK 4

- 1 (4.1, 93:8) De conditione sex dierum et requiem septimi diei tractatur.
 2 (4.1, 93:16) Quaestio diei.
 3 (4.1, 93:19) Quaestio, *'nox'* significet?
 95 4 (4.1, 93:2) Quaestio de uespera.
 5 (4.1, 94:1) Quaestio *<de>* mane.
 6 (4.2, 94:11) De senarii numeri perfectione.
 7 (4.2, 94:13) De senario numero exponit.
 8 (4.3, 99:1) De *mensura numero et pondere*.
 100 9 (4.3, 99:21) *'Omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti'*, id est, *in te*.
 I (4.6, 102:19) In Salamone.
 10 (4.6, 103:28) De requie septimi diei.
 11 (4.9, 104:18) Definitio requiei.
 12 (4.9, 105:1) In hoc dicit *Deum* requieuisse *cum nos requiescere facit*.
 105 13 (4.9, 105:12) *'Nolite contristare spiritum sanctum Dei'* et cetera exponit.
 14 (4.9, 106:5) *'Nunc autem cognoscentes Deum, immo cogniti a Deo'*.
 15 (4.10, 106:14) Definitio requiei Dei in die septimo.
 16 (4.10, 107:10) Quaestio de opere Dei.
 17 (4.10, 107:14) Quaestio, *'pater meus usque nunc operatur'*.
 110 18 (4.11, 107:19) De requie Christi in sepulchro.

91 Gen. 1, 31 99 Sap. 11, 31 100 Rom. 11:36 101 cfr Sap. 19:15
 105 Eph. 4:30 106 Gal. 4:9 109 Ioh. 5:17

84/85 De Genesi, p. 80:23-25 90 De Genesi, p. 88: 25-26 91 De Genesi, p. 90:10
 100 De Genesi, p. 99:21-22

86/91 om. N 86 cedunt*] cedit PQRV 92 lacuna in Q septimi] septi P
 94 nox significet] noctis X 96 Quaestio] Quaestio de NX 97 senarii*] senare
 NPQRX numeri*] numero NPQRX perfectione] om. X 98 om. X
 100 disposuisti] disposuiste P 102 requie] requiem PQ 104 facit] facti Q
 105 exponit] esponit P 106 Nunc] Hoc genere locutioni<s> rursus idem Apostolu<s>
 mirabiliter usus est, ubi <ait> Nunc X cogniti] cogniti estis X 107 requiei] requies
 NPQRV

- 19 (4.11, 107:19) Definitio requiei Dei.
 20 (4.12, 109:10) Hic quae deest in alio libro.
 21 (4.12, 110:2) Definitio requiei Dei.
 22 (4.13, 110:15) Definitio requiei.
 115 23 (4.14, 111:14) Quaestio de sanctificatione diei septimi.
 24 (4.15, 112:20) Definitio sanctificationis uel requies diei septimi.
 25 (4.16, 113:7) Definitio requiei.
 26 (4.17, 114:13) Mire dixit.
 27 (4.18, 114:27) *Apud Deum nec mane nec uespera est, sed semper lux est.*
 120 28 (4.18, 116:21) Definitio sex dierum.
 29 (4.18, 117:3) Definitio de mane septimi diei sine uespera.
 30 (4.18, 117:23) *In quiete creatoris.*
 31 (4.18, 117:25) Definitio.
 32 (4.18, 118:8) Definitio.
 125 33 (4.19, 118:11) Item quaestio de mane sine uespera septimi diei.
 34 (4.20, 119:2) Quaestio de die septima in quo requieuit Deus.
 35 (4.20, 119:5) Vtrum ipse creatus sit?
 36 (4.19, 120:16) Quid definierit primo libro de luce condita noctemque eius?
 37 (4.19, 120:23) Definitio diei septimi.
 130 38 (4.24, 124:15) Promittit de diabolo disputare.
 39 (4.25, 124:21) Definitio sex dierum.
 40 (4.26, 125:22) Vnus dies repetitur per omnes sex dies.
 41 (4.33, 131:23) Quaestio si omnia simul condita sunt.
 42 (4.33, 131:28) Aliter: an non potius.
 135 43 (4.33, 133:11) Quomodo et *simul creauerit* Deus *omnia* et *sex dies*?
 44 (4.34, 135:27) *In illa sapientia uidetur quae prius posterius fieri debuerit.*
 45 (4.35, 136:4) De die primo.
 46 (4.35, 136:11) Mirabiliter.
 47 (4.35, 136:20) De requie septimi diei.

BOOK 5

- 140 1 (5.3, 141:24) Optime.
 2 (5.4, 145:6) Mire.
 3 (5.5, 145:23) Quomodo omnia simul Deus condidit docet.

135 *De Genesi*, p. 133:13, 16136 *De Genesi*, p. 136:2, 1

112 quae] *om.* PQ alio] tertio Q 113/114 *om.* X 114 requiei] requiei
 Dei Q 116 bis in R 117 *om.* X requiei] requies N 121 sine] siue X
 122 *om.* Q quiete*] quieti NPRV creatoris*] creatores NPRVX 124 *om.* X
 125 septimi diei] *om.* N 126 die] diei N 129/130 *om.* X 132 repetitur]
 reppetitur N. 133 condita] conditae R 134 *om.* Q 135 *om.* X lacuna in Q
 omnia] omni P 136 posterius] *om.* X 138 bis in P *om.* X 140/141 *om.* NX

- 4 (5.5, 146:6) Qualiter materies prius facta intellegatur?
 5 (5.5, 146:16) Ex materia informi, quae secundum ordinem condidit, docet.
 145 6 (5.5, 146:17) *I creatura angelica, quae per creatorem ceteras agnosceret.*
 7 (5.5, 146:20) *II firmamentum, unde corporeus incipit mundus.*
 8 (5.5, 146:21) *III species maris et terrae et potentialiter uel causaliter omnia,*
quae in terris sunt.
 9 (5.5, 146:27) *IIII quarto die luminaria uel sidera.*
 150 10 (5.5, 146:29) *V ex aquis uolatilia et natatilia potentialiter.*
 11 (5.5, 147:2) *VI terrestria animalia nihilominus potentialiter.*
 12 (5.5, 147:13) De requie septimi diei.
 13 (5.5, 147:18) De formabilitate materiae.
 14 (5.6, 147:28) Quaestio, '*non pluerat super terram, et homo non erat, qui ope-*
 155 *raretur terram*'.
 15 (5.6, 148:7) Quaestio de homine.
 16 (5.6, 149:5) Quaestio.
 17 (5.7, 150:3) Definitio de fonte qui '*ascendebat et irrigabat faciem terrae*'.
 18 (5.7, 151:5) *Geon qui dicitur Nilus.*
 160 I (5.10, 153:25) Difinitio de fonte magno.
 19 (5.11, 155:15) Definitio conditionis potentialiter et incoatio conditionis per
 tempora uel moras.
 20 (5.12, 155:25) Tripertita ratio creaturae.
 21 (5.14, 157:3) Quomodo pronuntiatur '*quod factum est in illo, uita est*'.
 165 22 (5.20, 164:20) *Occulta potentia Dei uniuersam creaturam mouet.*
 23 (5.23, 168:15) Comparatio, *sicut in semine arboris omnia in ipso grano fuer-*
unt, ita et in ipso mundo potentialiter et causaliter fuerant omnia, quae per
 tempora exorta sunt.
 24 (5.23, 169:14) *Sed ea quae constitueris.*

154 Gen. 2, 5 158 Gen. 2, 5 164 Ps. 103, 24

145 *De Genesi*, p. 146:19 150 *De Genesi*, p. 147:1 166/168 cfr *De Genesi*,
 p. 168:15-18

143 Qualiter] Nota qualiter P intellegatur] intelligatur X 144/150 om.?
 X 145 I*] II N, om. PQRVX creatura*] creaturae NPQRV per] pro NPRV
 146 II] IIIus N corporeus] corporius NPQRV 147 III] om. N 149 IIII]
 om. NQV 150 V] om. NRQ natatilia*] natantia NPQRV 151 VI] om.
 NQ 152 septimi diei] septimo die X 153 formabilitate*] formitate NPQRV
 153/154 om. X 154 non] non enim V terram*] terra NPQRV terram] ter-
 ra NPQV erat] om. V 156 om.? X 159/161 om. X 159 per] pro Q
 163 om. X 165 Dei] Deus N 166 omnia*?] semen NPQRV 166/168 om. N
 in ipso grano – exorta sunt] om. X 168 per] pro PRV 169 om. NX

BOOK 6

- 170 I (6.4, 173:21) *'Eiecit adhuc de terra omne lignum pulchrum ad aspectum'*.
 II (6.4, 174:10) Aliter: esse.
 1 (6.5, 176:13) Quomodo Adam et sexto die potentialiter factus sit et postea uisibiliter.
 III (6.6, 176:17) Aliter: ad istos.
- 175 2 (6.6, 177:22) In illis sex diebus primo factus est homo *inuisibiliter, potentialiter, causaliter*, et postea in paradiso uisibiliter et corporaliter.
 3 (6.6, 178:4) Definitio quando factus sit homo.
 4 (6.6, 178:14) Quaestio, si *animae eorum* primo conditae sunt?
 5 (6.6, 178:28) Quaestio.
- 180 IV (6.8, 180:3) Mirabiliter.
 6 (6.9, 182:15) *De creatione primi hominis, et de causalibus rationibus, uel quomodo additi sunt quindecim anni Ezechiae ad uitam, quem praedixerat non uiicturum*.
 7 (6.10, 182:19) Tripertita distributio conditionis creaturae.
- 185 8 (6.10, 182:20) *Aliter* in aeternitate uerbi Dei, *aliter in elementis mundi, ubi omnia simul* creata sunt, *aliter suo quaeque tempore*.
 9 (6.10, 183:4) Est consummata et causaliter omni creatura et inchoata tempora.
 10 (6.11, 183:23) *Et quodam modo*.
 11 (6.12, 186:10) Quod excellat in homine prae ceteris creaturis?
- 190 12 (6.12, 187:8) Hic exponit, ut, *quod* homo recta *statura factus est*, non terrenas sectaturum sed caelestia secuturum.
 13 (6.13, 187:18) Quomodo factus est homo, *utrum repente in aetate perfecta, hoc est uirili et iuuenali*, *<an> sicut nunc usque formatur in uteris matrum*.
 14 (6.13, 188:3) *Ita enim* Deus *certas temporum leges*, quae creaturis attribuit, ut
 195 *uoluntas eius sit super omnia*.

170 Gen. 2, 9 181/183 cfr II Reg. 20, 6

181/183 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 38.53, heading at p. 225. 185/186 *De Genesi*, p. 182:18-21
 192/193 *De Genesi*, p. 187:19-20 194/195 *De Genesi*, p. 188:3-4, 5

170/174 *om.?* X 175/176 *om.* X 177 *om.?* X 178 *om.* X conditae*]
 conditas NPRQV 179 *om.* NX 180/180 *om.?* X 181 primi hominis *Excerpta*]
 prior hominis NPQRV 182 additi sunt *Excerpta*]
 N 182/183 quem praedixerat non uiicturum *Excerpta*]
 quoniam(?) praedixerat non tuturam P, quoniam(?) praedixerat non auturum Q, quoniam(?) praedixerat non turam R, quoniam(?) praedixerat enim non turam N, quoniam(?) praedixerat non turum V
 186 quaeque*] quoque NPQRV 188/189 *om.* N 190/191 *om.* X 192/193 ut-
 rum repente – matrum] *om.* X perfecta*] profecta NPQR *mutilatum* V sicut nunc
 usque*W?] sicut muricus que PQRV, sicut nulicus que N 194/197 *om.* X

- 15 (6.13, 188:15) Numquid Deus *moras temporum quaesiuit*, quando de aqua
uinum fecit.
 16 (6.13, 189:1) Quaestio, *quomodo causales illae rationes, quas mundo, cum om-*
nia simul creauit, indidit, institutae sint?
 200 17 (6.17, 191:20) De morte Ezechiae regis.
 18 (6.18, 192:11) Definitio, quali aetate conditus est primus homo?
 19 (6.18, 192:27) Quaestio, *utrum animale corpus* habuerit primus homo.
 20 (6.19, 193:23) Quaestio.
 21 (6.21, 195:3) Quaestio, utrum primus homo mortalis an immortalis creatus
 205 sit.
 22 (6.27, 198:21) Quaesiuit renouari *secundum* imaginem eius qui creauit nos
 23 (6.29, 200:10) Quaestio de anima.

BOOK 7

- 1 (7.3, 203:15) In Esaïam, 'spiritum', Dominus inquit, '*ego feci*'.
 2 (7.5, 204:12) Quaestio de anima.
 210 3 (7.13, 212:7) Sententia medicorum de corporeis elementis, quae corpori hu-
 mano insint.
 4 (7.15, 213:14) Quid non sit anima?
 5 (7.15, 213:22) Anima res est incorporea.
 6 (7.16, 213:28) Quae sit '*factus est homo in animam uiuam*'?
 215 7 (7.16, 214:2) De motu animalium uel arborum.
 8 (7.17, 214:15) De cerebro dicit *omnes sensus* distribui.
 9 (7.17, 214:21) Quid sit, '*insufflauit Deus spiritum uitae in faciem hominis*'?
 10 (7.18, 215:3) De sensu, motu, et memoria.
 I (7.19, 215:21) Quaestio de anima, unde sit?
 220 II (7.19, 215:22) Anima *luce* et *aere corpus* suum administrat.
 11 (7.19, 216:17) De anima, quomodo per lucem et aerem corpus suum admi-
 nistrat.
 12 (7.21, 217:13) Opinio quorundam de anima.
 13 (7.21, 219:4) Quid anima non sit.

208 Es. 57, 16 214 Gen. 2, 7 217 Gen. 2, 7

196/197 De Genesi, p. 188:15-16, 15, 17 198/199 De Genesi, p. 189:1-3

202 om.? X 200 Ezechiae regis] Aezechielis regi N 201 aetate] aetatis Q
 203/206 om.? X 206 quaesiuit*] quaesunt NPRQVW 207 om. NX 208 Esai-
 am] Esaia N ego] ergo N 209 om. R 210 quae*] quod NPQRV in sint]
 insert N 214 factus] factis V 215 animalium] animalum PQ 216 omnes] om.
 N 220 Quaestio*] quo PQ 220 luce*] lucem PQ administrat*] adminos erat
 PQ 223 quorundam] quorundam NRV 224 om. N

- 225 III (7.21, 219:6) Definitio animae.
 IV (7.21, 219: 27) Quaestio de anima, si illis sex dies an postea creata sit?
 14 (7.22, 221:1) Aliter: natura.
 V (7.24, 222:20) †Solet† alio, unde anima?
 15 (7.25, 223:11) Diuersas opiniones animae.
 230 16 (7.25, 227:18) Definitum senserit de conditione mundi.
 VI (7.24, 228:2) Post tantam disputationem superiorem, quae sit definitio eiusdem de anima?

BOOK 8

- 1 (8.1, 229:3) Tres opiniones de paradiso.
 2 (8.2, 232:13) *Duos libros* de Genesi in allegoria ante istos *conscripsi*.
 235 3 (8.3, 234:7) Quando plantauerat paradysum?
 I (8.3, 235:2) Aliter: uerbum eius.
 4 (8.4, 235:12) De ligno uitae et de ligno scientiae boni et mali.
 II (8.4, 236:2) Aliter: praecessio.
 5 (8.4, 236:4) Erat pro uiro lignum uitae in paradiso.
 240 6 (8.4, 236:21) De parabolis, quae non exigantur etiam *ad litteram* factae monstrari.
 7 (8.5, 237:8) Opinio de animas defunctorum, uel diuitis et Lazari, si locis corporalibus continentur.
 8 (8.5, 238:2) Distulit in alio libro tractandam.
 245 9 (8.5, 238:21) De ligno uitae.
 10 (8.5, 239:1) Mira comparatio de *colliride* panis cum Helias uescebatur.
 11 (8.6, 239: 15) *De ligno scientiae* dinoscendi bonum et malum.
 12 (8.7, 240:15) De flumine paradisi.
 13 (8.9, 243:25) *De bipertito opere prouidentiae Dei et in ipso homine eadem gemina diuini moderaminis operatione*.
 250 14 (8.9, 245:6) Definitio, ‘*ut operaretur et custodiret*’.

251 Gen. 2, 15

246 *De Genesi*, p. 239:2 247 cfr Eugippius, *Excerpta* 26.41, heading at p. 196
 249/250 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 28.43, heading at p. 203 251 *De Genesi*, p. 246:15-16

225 Definitio animae*] Define que anima PQ 226 Quaestio*] Quod PQ si*]
 sit PQ 227 om. N 228 alio*] |lio P, ulio Q 229 Diuersas] Diuersae N
 230 conditione] conditionem V 231 tantam*] ant| P, anta Q 233 om. N
 234 om. R genesi*] genesis NPQV 237 scientiae*] scientis NPQR, iscientis V
 239 om. W lignum*] zezunium PQ, iciunium NRV 240 De] Nota de P quae*]
 quod NPQRV 244/246 om. N 244 tractandum*] tractandam PQRV 245 lig-
 no] lignum PQ 246 comparatio*] consparsio NPQRV colliride] colleride PQRV
 panis cum*?] ponsum NPQRV 237 gemina] geminae RQ operatione *Excerpta*]
 operationem NPQRV 251 operaretur*W?] operaret NPQRV et] om. NRV

- 15 (8.13, 251:5) *De eodem ligno.*
 III (8.14, 253:25) '*Priusquam sciatur puer bonum aut malum contemnet malitiam ut eligat bonum*'.
 255 16 (8.15, 254:25) Quare dicatur lignum dinoscendi boni et mali?
 17 (8.15, 258:12) *Trinitas, quod aeterna diuinitas*, eademque Trinitas, *nec per tempus nec per locum mota moueat creaturam* et ordinem naturarum, quod cui proposuerit, quodque subdiderit.
 18 (8.20, 259:8) De motu animae.
 260 IV (8.20, 259:21) Aliter: non conditus spiritus.
 19 (8.24, 263:11) Aliter: †dissilient†.
 V (8.24, 264:24) *Quod non per ipsam Dei substantiam, sed per subditam creaturam et locutio divina ad Adam et deambulatio in paradiso debeat incunctanter intellegi.*
 265 20 (8.26, 265:7) Aliter: ex.
 21 (8.26, 265:8) Aliter: ex.
 22 (8.26, 265:14) <Aliter:> mutabilem.
 VI (8.26, 265:16) <Aliter:> creaturas.
 VII (8.26, 265:16) Aliter: ex.

BOOK 9

- 270 I (9.1, 269:4) Hic minus abet.
 II (9.1, 269:25) Quaestio, quomodo loquatur Deus prae hominibus?
 III (9.2, 271:10) Quare adiutorium factum sit Adae?
 1 (9.6, 274:6) De Enoch et Helian.
 2 (9.7, 275:25) De tripertita nuptiarum coniunctione.
 275 3 (9.7, 276:4) Quod inordinatae quidem fugientes mala in deterius incurrant.
 4 (9.8, 276:14) Contrarietate uitiorum.
 5 (9.10, 278:13) Testimonium Apostoli, '*condelector legi Dei*' et caetera.
 6 (9.10, 279:6) De animale corpore primi hominis.
 7 (9.10, 280:1) Comparatio de apibus.
 280 8 (9.10, 280:9) Post transgressionem primi homines concupiscentiam in membris senserunt.

253/254 Es. 7, 16 277 Rom. 7, 22

252 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 27.42, heading at p. 197 256/257 cfr Eugippius, *Excerpta* 29.44, heading at p. 204 262/264 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 30.45, heading at 210

256/257 per – per*] pro – pro NPQRV creaturam *Excerpta*] qui ea ora NPQRV
 257 ordinem*] ordine NPQRV 259 om. N 261 om. N dissilient] disfiliant V
 261 per subditam *Excerpta*] | p\scr/ditam P, per scriptam Q 262 locutio *Excerpta*] loco
 quod PQ incunctanter *Excerpta*] insunt tanter PQ 265/267 om. N 271 Qu-
 aestio] om. Q loquatur*] loquar PQ prae*?] per NPQRV 275 Quod] Nota
 quod P 280 homines] hominis NRV

- 9 (9.12, 281:12) Quur *adductae* sint *ad Adam omnes bestiae agri*.
 10 (9.12, 283:12) Bonam rem adsumpsisti, adiuuet te Deus, Sancte Augustine!
 11 (9.13, 284:1) Quur mulier de uiri latere facta sit?
 285 12 (9.13, 285:1) Quomodo adduxerit Deus omnes bestias agri ad Adam?
 13 (9.13, 285:20) Quomodo, iussu Dei, omnia rationalia uel elementa moueant
 adque oboediant?
 14 (9.15, 286:18) De formatione mulieris.
 15 (9.15, 287:4) De angelorum opere.
 290 16 (9.15, 287:14) Opus agricolarum.
 17 (9.15, 287:21) Opus medicorum.
 18 (9.15, 288:6) De bipertito opere.
 19 (9.16, 290:6) Magnum sacramentum.
 20 (9.16, 290:18) Exclamasti.
 295 21 (9.16, 290:21) Quaestio, *quomodo 'masculum et feminam fecit eos'?*
 22 (9.17, 291:20) *Super motum cursumue naturalem* omnium rerum potestas cre-
 atoris *apud se habet de his omnibus aliud facere*.
 23 (9.17, 292:15) *Habet Deus in se ipso absconditas quorundam factorum causas*
quas rebus conditis non inseruit, in quibus est et gratia per quam peccatores
 300 *salui fiunt*.
 24 (9.18, 293:18) Testimonium apostoli, *'ut innotesceret principibus et potestatibus'*.
 25 (9.19, 294:1) De sopore inmisso Adae.

BOOK 10

- 1 (10.1, 295:3) Quaestio de anima.
 2 (10.1, 296:1) Obiectio contra eos, qui dicunt anima *ex anima*.
 305 3 (10.2, 297:3) Quomodo et *sexto die* factus sit homo, et postea ex limo terrae.
 4 (10.2, 297:13) Definitio animae.
 5 (10.3, 298:6) Contra nouas animas.
 6 (10.3, 298:29) Contra animarum nouarum assertores.

295 Gen. 1, 24 301 Eph. 3, 10

295 *De Genesi*, p. 290:12, 24-25 296/297 *De Genesi*, p. 291:20-21 298/300 *De Genesi*, p. 293:15-16, 19 304 *De Genesi*, p. 296:2

282 adductae] id ductae NPRV, id ducti Q 283 Sancte Augustine*] sanctae Augusti-
 nae PQRV, sanctae Augustini N 284 facta] facti N 287 oboediant*] obsediant
 NPQRV 288 formatione W] forma q(uae) NPQRV 289 om. Q opere V] ope-
 rae NR opus PQ 292 bipertito*] bipertita NPQRV 295 om. N 295 Quaes-
 tio*] quod NPQRV 296 cursumue naturalem*] cursumue naturae N, cursum uenatule
 PQVW, cursum uenatule R 299 non inseruit Q] not seruit NPRV per quam*]
 per quae PQRV, pro quae N 301 potestatibus*] prophetis NPQRV 303 Quaestio*]
 Quod NPQRVW 305 et* sexto] ex sexto NPQRV 307 om. N 308 asserto-
 res*] assertiores PQRV, om. N

- 7 (10.4, 300:11) Qua certum de anima teneamus.
 310 8 (10.4, 300:21) Quaestio, unde animae fiant?
 9 (10.6, 302:7) De natura et origine animae.
 10 (10.6, 302:12) In Esaia.
 11 (10.7, 303:16) '*Sortitus sum animam bonam*' et caetera.
 12 (10.7, 304:11) Distulit testimonium '*sortitus sum animam bonam*'.
 315 13 (10.8, 304:20) Item in Psalmo: '*cui auferes spiritum eorum*'.
 I (10.9, 305:25) In Ecclesiasten: '*et conuertatur puluis in terra, et spiritus reuertat ad Deum, qui dedit eum*'.
 II (10.10, 307:15) Aliter: sortita.
 14 (10.11, 307:21) Ad Romanos: '*per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intrauit*'.
 320 15 (10.11, 308:13) Mira disputatio contra eos, qui dicunt animas nouas fieri.
 16 (10.12, 309:8) '*Caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum*'.
 17 (10.14, 312:24) De paruulis baptizandis.
 III (10.14, 313:5) Aliter: eam.
 325 IV (10.16, 317:6) Ita ratiocinatio plurimum adiuuat traducianos.
 V (10.17, 317:12) Sapientia Salomonis '*puer eram ingeniosus*', et caetera.
 VI (10.17, 317:23) Aliter: uel.
 18 (10.18, 320:22) De anima Christi.
 VII (10.18, 321:3) Quid sit '*sortitus sum animam bonam*'?
 330 VIII (10.19, 321:14) Ad Hebraeos, de Melchisedhec.
 19 (10.19, 322:25) Definitio de anima Christi, quam decet *ab origine traducis* non obligari.
 20 (10.20, 323:1) *De decimatione Leui in lumbis Abrahae*.
 IX (10.20, 324:2) Quid decimatio praefigurauerit?
 335 X (10.20, 324:6) Aliter: primum.
 XI (10.20, 324:15) De anima Christi, quae non sit ex traducaae.
 XII (10.21, 325:17) Definitio de anima Christi.
 XIII (10.22, 325:27) In Euangelio, '*quod natum est ex carne, caro, et <...> ex spiritu, spiritus est*'.

312 cfr Es. 57, 16 313 Sap. 8, 19 314 Sap. 8, 19 315 Ps. 103, 29
 316/317 Eccle. 12, 7 319/320 Rom. 5, 12 322 Gal. 5, 17 326 Sap. 8, 19
 329 Sap. 8, 19 330 cfr Hebr. 7, 4-10 338/339 Ioh. 3, 6

311 *De Genesi*, p. 321:5 329 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 25.40, heading at p. 193
 338/339 *De Genesi*, p. 326:1-2

309 Qua] Quia N 311 om. N animae*] animas NPR, anima Q, *mutilatum* V
 fiant*] fiat NPQRV 312 om. N 313 sum] sum in Q 316 conuertatur*] conuertat PQ terram*] terra PQ 319 Romanos] roma⟨n⟩us P 323 om. R
 paruulis] paruolis V 326 sapientia*] sapienti PQ pue⟨r⟩ eram P] puerperam Q
 328 om. N 331 quam*] q^a P (cfr LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae*, p. 245) 334 quid*]
 q̄ P, q Q 335 om. Q

- 340 XIV (10.22, 325:27) Aliter: daeponderat sententiam eorum, qui animas de traducaae adseuerant.
 XV (10.23, 326:17) Aliter: si quam.
 21 (10.24, 327:7) De anima ammonet, ne corporea reddatur, sed magis incorporea.
 345 22 (10.24, 328:5) Animam corpus esse nullus credat aut dicat.
 23 (10.25, 328:11) De Tertulliano, qui animam corpoream definiuit.
 24 (10.26, 330:10) De Tertulliano, quid sentiat.
 XVI (10.26, 331:5) Aliter: prouehitur.

BOOK 11

- I (11.1, 333:14) Aliter: ab eo.
 350 1 (11.2, 335:22) De serpente.
 II (11.3, 337:11) Quaestio, quare permiserat *hominem* temptare, *quem* sciuit *consensurum*?
 III (11.4, 337:13) Ad eos qui dicunt, quur *creauerit Deus hominem, quem peccaturum esse praesciebat*?
 355 IV (11.7, 340:4) Quaestio eorum, qui dicunt: talem faceret hominem, qui nollet peccare.
 V (11.9, 342:6) Aliter: lenitas.
 VI (11.9, 342:14) Aliter: qui mali essent futuri.
 VII (11.11, 344:9) Aliter: praebet.
 360 VIII (11.11, 344:19) Aliter: facto.
 IX (11.12, 344 line 22) Quaestio de serpente.
 X (11.14, 346:12) De diabolo, si fuerit *aliquo tempore* in societate bonorum.
 XI (11.14, 346:16) Prior superbia quam inuidia.
 XII (11.14, 346:18) Initium peccati superbia.
 365 XIII (11.14, 346:24) *Amando quisque propriam excellentiam inferioribus <inuidet>, ne sibi coaequantur.*
 XIV (11.15, 346:25) *Paribus inuidet, quod ei coequantur, superioribus, quod eis non coequantur.*
 XV (11.15, 347:4) *Radix enim malorum est auaritia*, sed generalis auaritia.

353/354 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 24.39, heading at p. 182

340 sententiam*] sententia PQ qui*] quia PQ 343/346 om. N 345 Animam*] anima PQRV 351 Quaestio*] quod PQ 351/352 quem – consensurum*?] quon(niam) sciuit post se suadere PQ 353 creauerit *Excerpta*] cercauerit PQ quem *Excerpta*] qui PQ 353/354 peccaturum *Excerpta*] peccatorem PQ 355 Quaestio*] quod PQ 355/356 dicunt – peccare] di Q 358 mali] male P 361 Quaestio*] quod PQ serpente] serpentem P 362 aliquo X] aliquanto PQ 363 inuidia*] minuad P, minuat Q 365 propriam excellentiam*] propria excellentia PQ 367 inuidet] inludat Q eis*] eius PQ 369 generalis auaritia*] generali auaritia P, generalia uestit Q

- 370 XVI (11.15, 347:8) De nomine, quod dicitur *priuatum*
 XVII (11.15, 347:12) De speciali auaritia.
 XVIII (11.15, 347:15) Definitio ruinae diaboli.
 XIX (11.15, 347:27) De duobus amoribus.
 XX (11.15, 348:1) *Caritas 'non quaerit, quae sua sunt', id est non priuata excel-*
 375 *lentia laetatur.*
 XXI (11.15, 348:8) De duabus ciuitatibus.
 XXII (11.15, 348:14) Aliter: commotione.
 XXIII (11.15, 348:16) Aliter: quo.
 XXIV (11.16, 348:20) *Quando deciderit diabolus? Diabolum ab ipso primordio*
 380 *creaturae a suo creatore per superbiam apostatasse.*
 XXV (11.17, 350:10) Quaestio <de> primo homine, utrum scierit ruinam suam,
 et quomodo beatus fuerit?
 2 (11.19, 351:19) De angelis, si certi incertique fuerunt casuri?
 XXVI (11.19, 352:14) Aliter: considerationis.
 385 XXVII (11.20, 352:18) Mox conditus est angelis cecidit
 XXVIII (11.20, 352:22) In Iob: 'ho<c est> initiu<m> figmenti domini'.
 XXIX (11.20, 353:2) Aliter: in sua.
 XXX (11.21, 353:23) 'Hoc est initium figmenti domini'.
 XXXI (11.21, 353:25) *Nulla modo in eo naturam, quam Deus creauit, sed malam*
 390 *propriam uoluntatem plecti suam.*
 XXXII (11.22, 354:15<354:25>) Aliter: cautela.
 3 (11.22, 355:6) De ruina diaboli.
 XXXIII (11.23, 355:10) *Qualiter intellegendum sit illud Esaiae: 'quomodo cecidit*
de caelo Lucifer' et cetera?
 395 XXXIV (11.24, 356:5) *Quomodo cecidit Lucifer* qui 'mane oriens'?
 XXXV (11.25, 358:16) Definitio de ruina diaboli.
 XXXVI (11.26, 359:9) *Peccatores angelos detrusos in carcerem caliginis huius aerieae.*
 XXXVII (11.27, 359:24) *De locutione serpentis ad Euam et de incantationibus*
marsorum.

374 I Cor. 13, 4-5
 395 Es. 14, 12

386 Iob 40, 14

388 Iob 40, 14

393/394 Es. 14, 12

374/375 De Genesi, p. 347:25-26

379/380 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 22.37, heading at p. 178

393/394 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 23.38, heading at p. 179

397 De Genesi, p. 359:10-11

398 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 35.50, heading at p. 218

371 speciali auaritia*] specialia auaritia (abaritia P) PQ 373 duobus amoribus*] duo
 amorisⁱ <i.e. amoris?> P, amor Q 374 id est*] id PQ 376 duabus*] duobus PQ
 380 creatore *Excerpta*] creature PQ superbiam] suprouiam P apostatasse *Excerpta*
] apostasse PQ 383 om. N casuri] casusus P, casus Q 384/389 lacuna in
 Q 386 figmenti*] figme<n>tum P 388 hoc*] hic P 389 Nullo*] nullu P
 391 bis in Q 393 Definitio*] deriniq P, defini Q diaboli*] diabuli P, diabolo Q
 397 huius aerieae] autem iuus aeria Q 398 serpentis] serpentes P marsorum *Excerpta*
] morsorum PQ

- 400 XXXVIII (11.27, 360:3) Per serpentem diabolus locutus est feminae.
 4 (11.28, 361:3) Quomodo serpentes incantatores audiant?
 XXXIX (11.28, 361:3) Aliter: immunem.
 XL (11.28, 361:11) Aliter: temptatio.
 XLI (11.28, 362:2) Quae sit *stilus mendax*?
 405 5 (11.30, 362:20) De uerbo serpentis ad mulierem.
 XLII (11.31, 364:3) '*Aperti sunt oculi eorum*', id est *ad concupiscendum inuicem*.
 XLIII (11.32, 366:5) Quae amiserit primus homo, et quae senserit in membris?
 6 (11.32, 366:21) Quare de foliis ficulneorum texerunt pudenda.
 XLIV (11.33, 367:1) '*Audierunt uocem domini Dei in paradiso*'.
 410 XLV (11.33, 367:8) De modo locutionis Dei ad homines per Moysi.
 XLVI (11.36, 370:19) De serpentem.
 XLVII (11.36, 371:3-4) Aliter: excogitanda.
 XLVIII (11.39, 374:6) †Putari† *qualiter intellegendum est*: '*ecce Adam factus est unus ex nobis*'.
 415 XLIX (11.40, 374:23) De expulsionem Adae de paradiso.
 L (11.39, 375:5) De ligno uitae.
 7 (11.39, 375:16) De '*cherubin et flammeam romphaeam*'.
 LI (11.42, 376:22) Quaestio: spiritalis erat Adam, quur crediderit diabulo suaderit?
 420 LII (11.42, 376:24) *Quomodo Adam non sit seductus, ut dicit Apostolus, cum idem dicit eum praeuaricatorem?*
 8 (11.42, 377:12) '*Adam non est seductus*'.
 9 (11.42, 377:22) De Salomonis praeuaricatione.

BOOK 12

- 1 (12.1, 379:10) In hoc libro de paradiso uel de tertio caelo disputat.
 425 2 (12.2, 380:26) De somnio suo.
 I (12.2, 381:6) Aliter: qui.
 3 (12.2, 381:15) De uno rusticano, qui in extasi uideat.
 4 (12.2, 381:23) Quomodo Paulus paradysum uiderit.

406 Gen. 3, 7
 I Tim. 2, 14

409 Gen. 3, 8
 422 I Tim. 2, 14

413/414 Gen. 3, 22

317 Gen. 3, 24

420 cfr

406 *De Genesi*, p. 364:3-4

413/414 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 36.51, heading at p. 221

420/421 Eugippius, *Excerpta* 37.52, heading at p. 223

422 *De Genesi*, p. 377:13-14

401 *om.* N 405 uerbo] uerba N serpentis] serpentes P, serpenti N 412 excogitanda] excogitunda P 414 unus *Excerpta*] uno PQ 417 cherubin] cerubin PQ, cerubim R, cer| V 418 Quaestio*?] Quod PQ 422 *om.* N 427 qui] quibus V
 extasi*] ectasis Q, exstasis P, ectasis R, |tasis V, extaxi N

- 5 (12.3, 382:24) Quid dubia, quid certa, de uisione sua habeat Apostolus?
 430 6 (12.5, 386:10) Ostendat quid sit, utrum in corpore an extra corpore.
 7 (12.6, 386:22) De tria genera uisionum.
 8 (12.6, 387:6) Aliter: perspicua.
 9 (12.6, 387:6) Tria genera uisionum.
 10 (12.7, 388:5) Prima uisio corporalis.
 435 11 (12.7, 388:7) Secundum spirituale.
 12 (12.7, 388:10) Tertium intellectuale.
 13 (12.7, 388:16) *'In ipso habitat plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter'*.
 14 (12.7, 389:1) Multis modis spiritus appellatur.
 15 (12.8, 390:5) Ad Corinthios: *'orabo spiritu'* et cetera.
 440 16 (12.9, 391:11) De Ioseph, qui somnium pharaonis interpretauit.
 17 (12.9, 391:22) De *Danahelis excellentia*.
 18 (12.10, 392:8) Differentia de intellegibile et intellectuale.
 19 (12.10, 392:19) Pluribus modis intellectum appellari, sicut est spiritus.
 20 (12.11, 392:25) De tria genera uisionum.
 445 21 (12.11, 393:22) De uisione regis Baltasar.
 22 (12.11, 394:11) De uisione Petri.
 23 (12.12, 395:21) De freneticis uel alicuius spiritus conmixtione, qualiter anima
 in manibus uisorum afficiatur.
 24 (12.12, 396:3) Quid sit extasis?
 450 25 (12.12, 396:28) Aliter: nec.
 26 (12.16, 401:12) De quinquepertito sensu.
 27 (12.16, 401:16) Aliter: nubiloso.
 28 (12.17, 403:4) Aliter: spiritualium similitudines.
 29 (12.17, 403:19) De quodam patiente.
 455 30 (12.17, 404:1) Aliter: ipse.
 31 (12.18, 406:14) Aliter: illa.
 32 (12.18, 406:18) Aliter: obscuracionibus.

437 Coloss. 2, 9 439 I Cor. 14:15

429 Quid] Hic uult <sic> ostendere quod sit spiritalia, per corpus non uidentur, et corporalia, sine corpore uideri non posset; certum esse spiritalem esset, quod apostolus uidit, et non dubitat, quod per corpus aut sine corpore uisum fuerit cum sitit <sic>; et spiritalia per corpus, corporalia extra corpus, uideri omnino non posse; hec dubitat, utrum in corpore fuerit, ut in extasi, an ut mortuum corpus iaceret, quid N quid] quod N 430 utrum] durum PQRV 431/432 om. N 431 uisionum] uisorum RV 432 uisionum] uisorum PQ 435 secundum] secunda NPQRV spirituale] spiritale N 436 Tertium] tertio QRV 437/438 om. N 441 excellentia] excellentiam RQ 442 om. N 443 intellectum] intellecta QRV 447 alicuius] alicuias P, alicuis NQR uisorum] uirorum R, uisa] V afficiatur*] afficiat NPQRV 450 om. N 451 quinquepertito sensu*] quinque pertitos sensus NPQRV 452 Aliter*] ab NPQV, om. R nubiloso] nubilolo R 453 similitudines*] similitudinis NPQRV 454 om. R quodam] codam PQ 455 om. N

- 33 (12.18, 408:12) *Dormire a corpore est homini.*
 34 (12.20, 410:7) Aliter: deducit.
 460 35 (12.20, 410:19) Aliter: uisum.
 II (12.23, 415:20) Aliter: alius.
 36 (12.24, 416:19) De uisione corporali, spiritali, intellectuali.
 37 (12.24, 417:6) Spiritalis diiudicatur.
 38 (12.27, 420:10) Qualiter desiderabat Moyses uidere Deum?
 465 39 (12.28, 422:11) Quid apostolus tertium caelum appellauerit?
 40 (12.32, 426:6) De anima cum de corpore exierit.
 41 (12.33, 428:20) Christi anima aliquos de poena soluisse.
 42 (12.33, 429:5) De Abraham, si in tormentis fuerit.
 43 (12.34, 430:13) De paradiso, quo raptus est Paulus.
 470 44 (12.34, 430:18) De anima latronis.
 45 (12.34, 433:20) Aliter: praestantiora

458/461 om. N 458 a] om. QR 462 uisione] uisioni QRV corporali] corporalis N 461 spiritalis] spiritualis NQR 463 Quid] Quod N, Nota quid P
 469 om. N 471 praestantiora] praestantiores P

Il florilegio *De communi essentia* (CPG 2240), Severiano di Gabala e altri Padri

Sever J. VOICU

(Roma)

Tranne un breve accenno nel classico articolo di Gustave Bardy sulle raccolte di domande e risposte in età patristica¹, l'esteso florilegio *De communi essentia*, edito in *PG* 28, 29-80 sotto il nome di Atanasio di Alessandria, non sembra aver attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi.

Il testo pubblicato è composto da 54 capitoletti i quali, nella maggior parte dei casi, si articolano attorno a una o più citazioni scritturistiche che confermano la perfetta uguaglianza delle tre persone della Trinità. L'identificazione delle fonti del florilegio è particolarmente complicata, poiché il compilatore / autore molto spesso le ha parafrasate, abbreviate o riscritte, non di rado con il risultato di ridurle ai soli passi scritturistici assieme alle loro formule introduttive.

Nonostante questo ostacolo, è stato possibile individuare con sicurezza che l'opera fa riferimento principalmente a due fonti. La prima è in un certo senso scontata, poiché si tratta del celebre trattato *De Spiritu Sancto* di Basilio di Cesarea.

Veramente sorprendente è invece che la maggioranza dei capitoli identificati dipendano palesemente dalle omelie di Severiano di Gabala, il cui corpus è andato perduto in tradizione diretta e ha lasciato scarsissime tracce dopo la metà del VI secolo, data probabile della sua riattribuzione a Giovanni Crisostomo². Fra le opere citate, colpisce il minuzioso spoglio

¹ G. BARDY, « La littérature patristique des 'Quaestiones et Responsiones' sur l'Écriture sainte », *Revue Biblique*, 41 (1932), p. 210-236, 341-336, 515-537; 42 (1933), p. 14-30, 211-229, 328-352, qui 1933, p. 330, nota 2, dove si ricorda che i capitoli 49 e 51-52 sono tratti dalle pseudoatanasiane *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*.

² Vedi S. J. VOICU, « Il nome cancellato: la trasmissione delle omelie di Severiano di Gabala », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s. 1 (2006), p. 317-333. Le ultime, scarse, testimonianze occidentali sulle omelie di Severiano vengono presentate in S. J. VOICU, « Roma e l'ultimo manoscritto del corpus omiletico di Severiano di Gabala », in *Roma e il suo territorio nel medioevo. Le fonti scritte fra tradizione e innovazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Roma, 25-29 settembre 2012)* – ed. C. CARBONETTI – S. LUCA – M. SIGNORINI, Spoleto, 2015 (Studi e ricerche, 6), p. 73-87.

dell'omelia *In sanctam Pentecosten* (CPG 4211)³, di cui ben più della metà del testo è stato riutilizzato, spesso in maniera molto letterale. Inoltre, il florilegio non soltanto tramanda brani di omelie autentiche perdute in greco, che sopravvivono soltanto in traduzioni armene o georgiane, ma anche lezioni migliori di omelie note assieme a una quindicina di frammenti la cui autenticità sembra difendibile per le loro somiglianze con le opere autentiche del vescovo siro⁴.

Le altre fonti identificate sono due passi spuri antichi attribuiti ad Atanasio e uno a Eusebio di Cesara. In definitiva, il florilegio non ricorre a opere composte dopo il primo quarto del V secolo⁵.

Tutte queste caratteristiche concorrono a postulare che il corpus manoscritto utilizzato dal compilatore fosse antico. A conferma di questa affermazione si può invocare l'aspetto tutto sommato arcaizzante del florilegio, che è dedicato esclusivamente a questioni trinitarie, senza soffermarsi esplicitamente sulle controversie cristologiche che prevalgono dopo il concilio efesino del 431.

1. L'analisi del florilegio

Il prospetto che segue ha soltanto carattere preliminare, poiché una valutazione compiuta del testo e della storia del *De communi essentia* presuppone un'edizione critica a partire da tutte le testimonianze manoscritte disponibili, le quali, secondo il sito *Pinakes*, sono relativamente numerose.

³ L'elenco delle opere patristiche citate si trova in appendice all'articolo.

⁴ L'esistenza di un certo numero di frammenti indubbiamente autentici, ma non riconducibili a omelie altrimenti note, conferma che il corpus di Severiano ha subito perdite la cui ampiezza non è determinabile. I dati disponibili sembrano indicare che Severiano ha predicato continuamente a Costantinopoli per almeno quindici mesi (dalla quaresima del 401 fino a giugno del 402). Se tutto fosse stato stenografato e trascritto (non è dimostrabile, ma si tratta di una ipotesi accettabile), dovrebbe aver parlato più di cento volte. Ma attualmente si conoscono soltanto 62 omelie complete...

⁵ La data della morte di Severiano di Gabala è sconosciuta, ma verosimilmente da porre prima del 425. Vedi H. D. ALTENDORF, « Zur Bischofsliste von Gabala », *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 50 (1959), p. 48-61. Comunque, il suo corpus omiletico, ricostruito apparentemente a Costantinopoli da trascrizioni tachigrafiche non riviste dall'autore, era già noto agli autori del florilegio antiocheno preefesino. Vedi S. J. VOICU, « Il nome cancellato: la trasmissione delle omelie di Severiano di Gabala », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, n.s. 1 (2006), p. 317-333, qui p. 320-322. Sulle circostanze della costituzione del corpus omiletico, vedi S. J. VOICU, « 'Furono chiamati giovaniti...'. Un'ipotesi sulla nascita del corpus pseudocrisostomico », in *Philomathestos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday...* – ed. B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN, Leuven..., 2004 (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137), p. 701-711, qui p. 708.

Con tutte le cautele del caso, vengono commentati i passi notevoli per il loro apporto oppure quelli la cui identificazione è dubbia. Poiché per la maggioranza delle omelie di Severiano si può far riferimento soltanto al testo di *PG*, per definizione non critico e in qualche caso notoriamente guasto (per non parlare delle porzioni tuttora inedite), è superfluo ribadire che si tratta di analisi provvisorie, tanto più che relativamente pochi testi sono stati raccolti dal TLG (*Thesaurus linguae graecae*). In pratica, l'unico strumento utilizzabile, con tutti i suoi limiti, è il fondamentale articolo di Robert Carter con la lista delle citazioni bibliche presenti nelle opere attribuite a Severiano⁶.

La punteggiatura, l'ortografia e la presentazione dei passi è stata uniformata per facilitare la comparazione.

Capitolo 1 (*PG* 28, 29-32 A)

Περὶ ἐλευθερίας.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, *PG* 63, 935, 70-ult.

Capitolo 2 (*PG* 28, 32 A)

Περὶ ζωοποιήσεως.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, *PG* 63, 936, 10-15.

Capitolo 3 (*PG* 28, 32 A-B)

Περὶ χειροτονίας.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, *PG* 63, 936, 16-40.

Capitolo 4 (*PG* 28, 32 B)

Περὶ νομοθεσίας.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, *PG* 63, 936, 44-55.

Capitolo 5 (*PG* 28, 32 C-33 A)

Περὶ κυριότητος.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia, il lessico è compatibile con quello Severiano. Si vedano le due occorrenze di Cristo designato come σωτήρ⁷.

⁶ R. E. CARTER, « An Index of Scriptural References in the Homilies of Severian of Gabala », *Traditio*, 54 (1999), p. 323-351. Severiano, il quale su questo punto non si discosta dalla tradizione patristica antica, intenzionalmente presenta citazioni composite e modificate a tal punto che la loro identificazione precisa diventa talvolta problematica.

⁷ Contrariamente ad altri autori antiocheni, i quali preferiscono designare Cristo come δεσπότης, Severiano lo chiama σωτήρ in ben più di 400 occasioni nelle omelie. Sul fatto che

Capitolo 6 (PG 28, 33 A-41 B)

“Ὅτι ὁ πατήρ κύριον τὸν υἱὸν καλεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κύριον καὶ θεὸν λέγει, ὡς καὶ τὸν υἱόν.

Citazione composita, ma i primi cinque passi potrebbero risalire a un'unica fonte non identificata.

1) I primi due versetti biblici (33 A-B 8) si trovano in successione, ma a una certa distanza, soltanto in Severiano di Gabala, *De pascha, deque catharis* – ed. Aucher, p. 212-215.

2) Segue un lungo brano non identificato (33 B 8-C 11), il quale però potrebbe essere stato preso ancora da un'omelia perduta di Severiano, poiché l'associazione tra 2 Cor. 3:17 ed Eph. 4:5 si trova in *In sanctam Pentecosten*, PG 63, 937, 16-21.

3) Il passo successivo (33 C 11-36 A 12), che descrive l'azione dello Spirito Santo su Sansone, presenta notevoli paralleli con Severiano, *De serpente homilia*, PG 56, 515, 10-516, 3. Tuttavia, a meno che il testo pubblicato di *De serpente* sia stato fortemente mutilato oppure che il compilatore abbia aggiunto citazioni, la fonte sembra piuttosto un'omelia perduta.

4) Lo stesso potrebbe valere anche per il lunghissimo brano successivo (36 A 12-37 A 11), il quale insiste sull'azione dello Spirito Santo, ma è quasi soltanto a una lista di citazioni bibliche, che non trova paralleli certi nelle omelie di Severiano di Gabala, né, per inciso, in altri scritti patristici.

5) Anche se il passo che segue (37 A 11-B 9) è ridotto praticamente soltanto alle citazioni bibliche (Io. 7:38; Io. 7:39; Ier. 2:13; Ps. 35:10), proviene quasi sicuramente da un'omelia autentica, poiché presenta notevoli paralleli con *De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 815, 11-19 e *In Psalmum 96*, PG 55, 607, 70-608, 8. Si noti anche l'uso di σωτήρ come designazione di Cristo.

6) A partire da questo punto, la situazione è completamente diversa, poiché il seguito del capitolo (37 B 9-41 B) è costituito da un ampio estratto dall'omelia *In sanctam Pentecosten*, che equivale a più di una colonna di PG (63, 936, 55-938, 9), il cui testo viene citato in maniera molto letterale, come è evidente dal passo che segue, il primo della serie:

οὐχ ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι θεοί· εἷς γὰρ θεὸς καὶ εἷς νόμος, νομοθέτης εἷς καὶ εἷς κύριος. Εἷς γὰρ θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις κηρύττεται. Καὶ πῶς φησι δύνανται λέγεσθαι ὁ πατήρ θεὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς θεὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον θεός, καὶ οὐ τρεῖς εἰσι θεοί; Ὅπου κοινὰ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, κοινὸν καὶ ὄνομα τῆς ἀξίας. Οἶον· ὁ θεὸς τὰ εἰς πλήθη διηρημένα ἀπὸ μιᾶς φύσεως ἐνὶ ὀνόματι καλεῖ (37 B 9-C 3).

il vescovo siro sia, in un certo senso, un antiocheno «anomalo», si veda ora S. J. VOICU, «Due antiocheni periferici: le *Quaestiones et responsiones ad Orthodoxos* (CPG 6285) e Severiano di Gabala», *Augustinianum*, 55 (2015), p. 543-557.

Οὐχ ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσι νομοθέται. Εἷς γὰρ νόμος καὶ εἷς νομοθέτης. Εἷς θεός, καὶ ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις κηρύττεται. Καὶ πῶς φησι δύναιτο πατὴρ λέγεσθαι θεός καὶ θεὸς υἱός καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον θεός καὶ οὐ τρεῖς θεοί; Ὅπου κοινὰ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ ἀξιώματος. Οἶον· ὁ θεὸς τὰ εἰς πλήθῃ διηρημένα ἀπὸ μιᾶς φύσεως ἐνὶ ὀνόματι καλεῖ (PG 63, 936, 55-62).

Ovviamente, in questo caso, la letteralità della citazione solleva un problema che è impossibile risolvere in assenza di un'edizione critica delle due testimonianze: che valore hanno le varianti trasmesse dal florilegio? Comunque, pur semplificando talvolta la sua fonte, il florilegio sembra aver conservato elementi perduti in tradizione diretta.

Poiché il passo citato è sufficiente per rendere evidente la natura del problema, non ci soffermiamo sul resto della citazione, che presenta la stessa alternanza tra lezioni più lunghe o diverse, la cui discussione sarebbe non soltanto interminabile, ma anche poco proficua nelle attuali circostanze.

Capitolo 7 (PG 28, 41 B-C)

Ὅτι ἡ τριάς ἀποστέλλει ἀποστόλους.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia, il capitolo presenta molte analogie con Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, PG 63, 938, 42-57. Da un lato, il florilegio cita, in sequenza, Ioël 3:5; Mt. 10:16 (*Ἴδοὺ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς, ὡς πρόβατα, ἐν μέσῳ λύκων*); Act. 13:4; Act. 13:2 e Ioël 3:5, mentre l'omelia adduce Mt. 28:19 (*Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν κόσμον*); Act. 13:4; Ioël 3:5 e Act. 13:2. Dall'altro, nei pochi elementi non redazionali del florilegio si osservano notevoli analogie con l'omelia. Si comparino infatti ἡ τριάς ἀποστέλλει ἀποστόλους (titolo) e Ἀποστέλλει καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ἀποστόλους· ἀποστέλλει καὶ ὁ υἱός· ἀποστέλλει καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα; e inoltre, per introdurre, in entrambi i passi, Act. 13:2: Εἰ τοίνυν θεοῦ τὸ προσκαλεῖσθαι, διὰ τί τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν λέγει (C 4-5) e Εἰ τοίνυν θεοῦ τὸ προσκαλεῖσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα φθεγγόμενον διὰ τῶν προφητῶν εἶπε. Le differenze tra i due passi possono essere imputate sia a iniziative del redattore del florilegio, sia a accidenti di trasmissione dell'omelia, oppure a una concomitanza di entrambi i fattori. Tuttavia non si può escludere che la fonte utilizzata sia nuovamente un'omelia perduta.

Capitolo 8 (PG 28, 41 C-44 B)

Ὅτι ἡ ἁγία τριάς δέικνυται καθῆσθαι ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ.

Fonte non identificata.

Anche se è ridotto quasi ai soli versetti scritturistici e alle relative formule di introduzione, il brano potrebbe provenire da Severiano di Gabala, per la

presenza della frase: Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος δὲ ὁ Παῦλος διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίοις, εἶπε (43 A 12-14), che ha un parallelo abbastanza preciso nell'omelia *In pretiosam et uiuificam crucem*: Ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν πάλιν ἐκλαμβάνει Παῦλος καλῶς καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος λέγει – ed. Savile 5, 905, 38-39.

Capitolo 9 (PG 28, 44 B-45 B)

Περὶ τοῦ καθῆσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα.

Fonte non identificata.

Il lessico non consente di escludere che si tratti di un brano di Severiano, sia pure molto rimaneggiato, per la presenza di termini come δίκαιτα, non attestati nelle sue omelie. L'espressione ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαλέγεται, ἵνα τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐμφάνῃ πράγματα (45 A 12-14) presenta analogie con ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνάγειν ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς (*Contra Iudaeos, in serpentem aeneum*, PG 61, 793, 43-44); ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσα (*De sigillis sermo*, PG 63, 542, 18-19); Ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς νόει τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς (*In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. Stehouwer, I. 197-198); ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς μαθήσῃ (*ibid.*, I. 247-248).

Capitolo 10 (PG 28, 45 B-C)

Ὅτι ἡ τριάς ἡγείρε τὸν Χριστὸν κατὰ τὴν σάρκα ἐκ νεκρῶν.

Fonte non identificata, perché il passo è ridotto alle sole citazioni bibliche (1 Cor. 6:14; Io. 2:19-20; Rom. 8:11).

Capitolo 11 (PG 28, 45 C-D)

Ὅτι ἡ τριάς ὕψ' ἐαυτῆς δοξάζεται.

Fonte non identificata, per lo stesso motivo.

Capitolo 12 (PG 28, 45 D-48 A)

Περὶ δοξολογίας πνεύματος ἁγίου.

Fonte non identificata, perché il brano è soltanto una citazione di Ps. 49:14-15.

Capitolo 13 (PG 28, 48 A 6-8)

Ὅτι πάρεστι πάντῃ ἡ τριάς. – Περὶ πατρός.

Fonte non identificata, perché il passo si limita a citare Ier. 23:24.

Capitolo 14 (PG 28, 48 A 9-11)

Περὶ υἱοῦ.

Fonte non identificata, perché si tratta soltanto della citazione di Eph. 4:10.

Capitolo 15 (PG 28, 48 A-B)

Περὶ πνεύματος.

Fonte non identificata, perché il brano è ridotto alle sole citazioni bibliche (Ps. 138:7-8; Io. 14:7; Is. 42:5; Sap. 1:7; Hag. 2:5). Si noti tuttavia che tre di questi passi (Sap. 1:7; Ps. 138:7; Hag. 2:5), si trovano insieme in Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 23, 54 – ed. Pruche, p. 444.

Capitolo 16 (PG 28, 48 B)

Ὅτι οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὴν τριάδα.

Fonte non identificata, per lo stesso motivo, ma si noti l'uso di σωτήρ, un indizio favorevole a Severiano.

Capitolo 17 (PG 28, 48 B-49 A)

Ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἡ τριάς τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνδείκνυται.

Fonte non identificata. Tuttavia la maggioranza dei passi biblici sono attestati in Severiano, il quale usa anche l'espressione κατὰ τὸν τύπον (48 C); si vedano *De Christo pastore et oue* (PG 52, 834, 28-29); *De mundi creatione orationes 4-5* (PG 56, 452, 56; 56, 477, 45-47).

Capitolo 18 (PG 28, 49 A-B)

Ὅτι ἡ τριάς παρακαλεῖ. Παράκλητος γὰρ διὰ τὸ παρακαλεῖν καὶ σώζειν λέγεται, ὡς θεὸς καὶ σωτήρ.

Citazione apparentemente composita.

La prima parte (49 A 1-14) semplifica Severiano di Gabala, *In sanctam Pentecosten*, PG 63, 935, 22-33. La seconda parte potrebbe essere redazionale, perché sembra ispirarsi a PG 63, 935, 35-36, ma premettendo la citazione di 1 Io. 2:1-2, che non è attestata dal testo di Severiano.

Capitolo 19 (PG 28, 49 B-C)

Περὶ τῆς τριάδος.

Non identificato, perché ridotto praticamente soltanto alle citazioni bibliche (Ps. 146:5; 1 Cor. 1:24; Ps. 146:5; Is. 11:2 + Io. 16:13; Ps. 32:76; Ps. 66:7-8).

Tuttavia, nella prima parte, il capitolo presenta qualche somiglianza con Severiano di Gabala, *In Psalmum* 96, PG 55, 607, 5-15, che si articola attorno a Ps. 146:5; Is. 40:28; Tit. 2:13; Ps. 146:5; 1 Cor. 1:24. Un passo simile si trova nell'omelia *In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. Stehouwer, l. 586-594, che menziona Is. 26:4; Tit. 2:13; Ps. 146:5; 1 Cor. 1:24; Ps. 146:5.

Capitolo 20 (PG 28, 49 C-52 B)

“Ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ποτὲ ἡ γραφὴ τοῦ πατρὸς καλεῖ, ποτὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ· ποτὲ καθ’ ἑαυτὸ αὐτὸ ὀνομάζει· οὐ γὰρ ἐν συγχύσει, ἀλλ’ ἀδιαιρέτως κηρύσσεται.

Citazione apparentemente composita.

La prima parte del capitolo (C-D 1), è ridotta alle sole citazioni bibliche: 1 Cor. 2:12; Rom. 8:9; Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:9; Mt. 10:19-20, ma presenta qualche somiglianza con due brani discontinui di Severiano di Gabala, *De Spiritu sancto*, che introducono, da un lato, 1 Cor. 2:12 e Mt. 10:19-20 (PG 52, 814, 35-43) e, dall'altro, Gal. 4:6 e Rom. 8:9 (PG 52, 815, 43-61). L'associazione tra Gal. 4:6 e Mt. 10:19-20 si trova anche nell'omelia *In sanctam Pentecosten*, PG 63, 936, 3-9. Quindi il passo potrebbe provenire da un'omelia autentica perduta.

Nulla si può dire sulle due citazioni bibliche che seguono (49 D-52 A 4): Act. 16:6-7 e Eph. 4:30.

Il brano successivo (52 A 4-12) proviene da Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 47 – ed. Pruche, p. 414.

Nulla si può dire circa la provenienza del passo finale.

Capitolo 21 (PG 28, 52 B-C)

“Ὅτι προτάττεται τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός.

Fonte non identificata, perché il passo si riduce alle citazioni di Io. 14:23; Io. 10:30 e 2 Cor. 13:13. Ma l'iniziale designazione di Cristo come σωτήρ è favorevole a un'attribuzione a Severiano di Gabala. Anche la problematica è presente nelle sue omelie; vedi, a proposito di Io. 14:23, Καὶ ποῦ ὁ σωτήρ ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἐμνημόνευσεν, καὶ εἶτα πατρός; (*In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. Stehouwer, l. 190-191).

Sembra invece casuale l'accostamento tra i primi due passi, preceduti a una certa distanza dal terzo, in Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 25, 59 – ed. Pruche, p. 458-462).

Capitolo 22 (PG 28, 52 C-53 B)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας τὸ ἐξ οὗ καὶ δι’ οὗ διαφέρειν, καὶ διδόντας τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὗ τῷ πατρί, τὸ δὲ δι’ οὗ τῷ υἱῷ ὡς ἑλαττον⁸.

⁸ Il problema affrontato in questo capitolo sembra aver avuto una certa rilevanza in età preefesina. Vedi S. J. VOICU, «La pseudocrisostomica *Oratio in Iohannem theologum* (CPG

Citazione composita a partire da tre passi discontinui, ma vicini, di Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*.

I primi quattro brani scritturistici (1 Cor. 1:9; 1 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 4:7 e Rom. 6:4) si trovano nello stesso ordine in 5, 10 (ed. Pruche, p. 280). Il seguito (Rom. 11:36; Eph. 4:15-16; Col. 2:19; Io. 1:16; Io. 16:14; Gal. 6:8; 1 Io. 4:43; Mt. 1:20 e Io. 3:6) proviene da 5, 8-9 (*ibid.*, p. 274-278). La citazione finale (1 Cor. 11:8) è tratta probabilmente da una riscrittura di 5, 12 (*ibid.*, p. 282-284).

Capitolo 23 (PG 28, 53 B-D)

Ὅτι πατὴρ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστὶ τινὰ κοινὰ ὀνόματα, ὥσπερ τὸ Θεός, τὸ Κύριος, Ἅγιος, Ἀγαθός, Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιαῦτα.

= Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 19, 48 – ed. Pruche, p. 416-418.

Capitolo 24 (PG 28, 53 D-56 B)

Ὅτι ὅσα ὁ Χριστὸς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ποιεῖ.

= Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 19, 49 (ed. Pruche, p. 418-420). La citazione finale (Act. 5:3-4) sembra invece tratta da 16, 37 – ed. Pruche, p. 374.

Il passo del florilegio solleva qualche problema, poiché non tutte le differenze rispetto al testo basiliano sembrano redazionali.

Capitolo 25 (PG 28, 56 B-57 A)

Ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡδήγησε τὸν Ἰσραήλ.
Citazione composita.

La prima parte (56 B-C 14) proviene dal trattato pseudoatanasiano, *De incarnatione et contra Arianos*, PG 26, 1012 C-1013 A (CPG 2806)⁹.

La seconda (56 C 14-57 A) è tratta da Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* 19, 50 – ed. Pruche, p. 422-424.

4987; BHG 925g) tramandata dal *Barb. gr.* 517 », in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*. XVII, Città del Vaticano, 2010 (Studi e testi, 462), p. 165-186, qui 174-175, dove, tra l'altro, si propone una data alta per il *De communi essentia*, senza però una consapevolezza della sua dipendenza da Basilio di Cesarea.

⁹ Questa opera è stata attribuita a Marcello d'Ancira con argomentazioni che sfidano il più elementare buonsenso, come è stato convincentemente dimostrato da M. SIMONETTI, « Su alcune opere attribuite di recente a Marcello d'Ancira », *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 9 (1973), p. 313-329.

Capitolo 26 (PG 28, 57 A)

Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς θεός.

Fonte non identificata, poiché consiste esclusivamente nella citazione di 1 Io. 5:20.

Capitolo 27 (PG 28, 57 A-B)

Ὅτι μέγας θεὸς ἐκλήθη ὁ υἱός.

Provenienza non identificata, perché ridotto ai due passi Tit. 2:13-14 e Rom. 9:5. Entrambi vengono usati da Severiano di Gabala, ma non insieme. A proposito di Tit. 2:13-14 si veda Εἰ δὲ μέγας ὁ πατήρ, μέγας καὶ ὁ υἱός (*In Psalmum* 96, PG 55, 606, 63-64).

Capitolo 28 (PG 28, 57 B-D)

Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλαμβάνοντας εἰς ὕβριν τὸ Οὐκ ἦλθον ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In matrem filiorum Zebedaei* – trad. Jordan, p. 152, lin. 106-154, lin. 142.

Assieme al capitolo 32, i capitoli 28-29 risalgono sicuramente all'omelia autentica *In matrem filiorum Zebedaei*. Si tratta di una scoperta notevole, poiché l'opera è totalmente perduta in greco, e se ne conosce soltanto una versione armena. La forma armena pubblicata e tradotta da Hermann Jordan è in realtà soltanto un frammento, al quale mancano almeno l'esordio e la dossologia finale, e che, inoltre, con meno di 300 linee di traduzione, è molto più breve di un'omelia media di Severiano¹⁰.

Il primo brano, che corrisponde alle p. 152, 106-154, 142 della traduzione tedesca di Jordan, commenta Io. 6:38 («Non sono venuto a compiere la mia volontà, ma la volontà di colui che mi ha inviato»), contrastandone l'interpretazione subordinazionista. Si noti anche che il versetto viene citato sotto una forma semplificata, familiare a Severiano di Gabala: Οὐκ ἦλθον ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με¹¹.

Per facilitare la comparazione, il capitolo 28 viene presentato diviso in varie parti. Poiché l'edizione di Jordan si fonda su unico manoscritto, per

¹⁰ *In matrem filiorum Zebedaei* ha avuto una certa diffusione in armeno. Secondo l'omeliario di Muš e il florilegio di Galata è in qualche maniera collegata all'*Encomium in sanctos martyres* (HPC, p. 107-117), un'omelia di Severiano di Gabala che sussiste in greco. I dati in merito sono stati riassunti in S. J. VOICU, «L'*Encomium in sanctos martyres* di Severiano di Gabala (CPG 4950): l'autenticità e altre note», *Prometheus*, 42 (2016), p. 231-248.

¹¹ Vedi Severiano di Gabala, *In illud: Quando ipsi subiciet omnia* – ed. HAIDACHER, p. 156, 2-3; 159, 32-160, 1; 160, 9-12.

giunta molto tardivo, le differenze tra il greco e l'armeno vanno prese *cum grano salis*.

1. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκλαμβάνοντας εἰς ὕβριν τὸ Οὐκ ἦλθον ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός (Io. 6:38).

Es sollen beschämt werden die Kinder der Häretiker, weil zur Schmach des Sohnes sie annehmen, daß (da) *ich nicht gekommen bin, zu tun meinen Willen, sondern den Willen des Vaters* (Io. 6:38) (trad. Jordan, l. 106-109).

La prima sezione comprende il titolo del capitolo, il quale, stando alla testimonianza dell'armeno, ricalca proprio il testo di Severiano, anche se il florilegio semplifica.

2. Εἰ αἰσχύνην φέρει τῷ υἱῷ τὸ πληροῦν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός, αἰσχύνην φέρει καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ πληροῦν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ δικαίου· Θέλημα γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Δαυίδ, τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν ποιήσει ὁ κύριος καὶ τῆς δειξέως αὐτῶν εἰσακούσεται (Ps. 144:19).

(daß) es Schande bringe Gott, zu erfüllen den Willen der Gerechten. *Den Willen derer, die ihn fürchten, tut der Herr und ihre Bitte erhört er und rettet sie* (Ps. 144:19). Wie auch sagt David (trad. Jordan, l. 110-112).

Al paragrafo 2 l'armeno sembra aver perduto una frase per salto da αἰσχύνην¹ a αἰσχύνην².

3. Εἰ θνητῆς φύσεως θέλημα πληροῦν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνεται, ὁ υἱὸς διὰ τὴν ἑνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν σχέσιν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ κατὰστασιν τὴν δουλικὴν τὴν δι' ἡμᾶς γενομένην, λέγων· Οὐκ ἦλθον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἐμὸν θέλημα, τουτέστι τὸ τῆς σαρκός, ἐπειδὴ ἡ σὰρξ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ πατρός (Io. 6:38), τουτέστι τὸ θεϊκόν, μὴ οὖν εἰς εὐτέλειαν ἐκλαμβανέσθω,

daß des Willens der sterblichen Natur Vater zu werden Gott sich nicht schämt. Und nicht schämt sich der Sohn wegen der Ökonomie des Fleisches (wegen des menschlichen Wandels), welche unsertwegen geschah, sagend, daß *Nicht bin ich gekommen zu tun meinen Willen, sondern den meines Vaters* (Io. 6:38). Zum Schande etwas wird dies angenommen (trad. Jordan, l. 113-118).

Qui l'armeno sembra aver semplificato (o perduto) qualche elemento, poiché il greco conserva termini familiari a Severiano, il quale insiste spesso sulla carne di Cristo. Si vedano: κατὰστασις, δουλικός, εὐτέλεια. Tuttavia, il greco potrebbe aver riscritto in qualche misura il brano, poiché Severiano non sembra usare σχέσις.

4. εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐκλύεται αὐτῶν ἡ ἐπίνοια.

Vielmehr auch diese Worte, o Bruder, werden aufgelöst, denn wir finden den Heiland überall seinen Willen vollendet habend (trad. Jordan, l. 119-121).

Al paragrafo 4 il greco ha chiaramente semplificato, poiché il vocativo ἀδελφοί¹² e la designazione di Cristo come σωτήρ vengono usati molto spesso da Severiano.

5. Προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ λεπρὸς γονυπετῶν καὶ λέγων· Κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς, δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι (Mc. 1:40). Μὴ ἀπεσεύσατο αὐτὸν ὁ σωτήρ; Μὴ εἶπε· Τί βλασφημεῖς «ἐὰν ἐγὼ θέλω»; Ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ θεός.

Es trat hinzu zu ihm ein Aussätziger, aufs Knie sinkend, sagte er zu ihm: Herr, wenn du willst, kannst du mich reiningen (Mc. 1:40). Nicht stieß etwa zurück der Heiland, nicht sagte er: Warum lästerst du, daß ich will? Wies er ihn etwa ab als Lästere? Hast du nicht gesehen? Er lobte die Festigkeit seines Glaubens! Hat er doch nicht jenes Wort zurückgegeben. Er hat den Befehl der Erlösung hinzugefügt. Er sollte sagen, daß – obwohl nach den Häretikern, welche [es ebenfalls] sagen – Nicht bin ich gekommen zu tun meinen Willen, sondern den Willen dessen, der mich gesandt hat (Io. 6:38). – er sollte sagen: Es will der Vater, sei gereinigt (Mc. 1:41) (trad. Jordan, l. 122-132).

Il paragrafo 5 è stato notevolmente abbreviato in greco, anche se la terminologia di Severiano rimane riconoscibile.

6. Οὐχὶ δὲ ἐδέξατο τὸ ἀπηρτισμένον τῆς πίστεως; Οὐχὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἀντιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὴν συλλαβὴν, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἤγαγεν αὐτῷ, λέγων· Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι (Mc. 1:41);

Aber weil in vollem Glauben er hinzugetreten war, läßt leuchten er ihm die ganze Hoffnung der Krafft, sagend: *Ich will, sei gereinigt* (Mc. 1:41) (trad. Jordan, l. 132-135).

Al paragrafo 6, pur conservando un andamento simile, le due testimonianze contengono elementi inconciliabili e quindi richiederanno ulteriori analisi. L'armeno sembra aver frainteso συλλαβήν «sillaba, espressione» come λαβή «presa di possesso».

7. Θέλων καθαρίζει λεπρόν· θέλων ζωοποιεῖ νεκρόν· ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἤγειρε Ἀζάρον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστι φωνή· Ὡσπερ ὁ πατήρ ζωὴν ἔχει ἐν

¹² Sulla frequenza del vocativo ἀδελφοί nelle omelie di Severiano, si veda, ad esempio, S. J. VOICU, «L'omelia 'In lotionem pedum' (CPG 4216) di Severiano di Gabala: Due note», *Le Muséon*, 107 (1994), p. 349-365, qui p. 352.

ἐαυτῶ, οὕτως καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἔδωκε ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἐαυτῶ· (Io. 5:26) καὶ πάλιν· Ὡσπερ ὁ πατήρ ζωοποιεῖ τοὺς νεκρούς, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὕς θέλει, ζωοποιεῖ (Io. 5:21). Καὶ τοῦτο Δαυὶδ λέγει· Ὅτι ὁργὴ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ (Ps. 29:6).

Und durch wollen wird gereinigt der Aussätzige. Durch sein Wollen lebt wieder auf der Tote. Er wollte, und es stand auf Lazarus. Sein ist die Stimme: *Wie der Vater das Leben hat in ihm selbst, ebenso auch der Sohn, welche er will, macht lebendig* (Io. 5:26 + Io. 5:21). *Ich will, sei gereinigt* (Mc. 1:41). Durch Wollen weckt er auf und macht lebendig die Toten. Weshalb auch David sagt: *Denn Zorn ist in seinem Gemüt und Leben ist in seinem Willen* (Ps. 29:6) (trad. Jordan, l. 135-142).

Al paragrafo 7 il florilegio ha chiaramente semplificato le transizioni tra le citazioni bibliche.

Capitolo 29 (PG 28, 57 D-60 A)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι εἰπεῖν τὸν σωτῆρα τῇ μητρὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου· *Τί θέλεις;* ὡς ἀγνοοῦντός ἐστιν (57 D-60 A).

= Severiano di Gabala, *In matrem filiorum Zebedaei* – trad. Jordan, p. 154, 143-153.

Nella fonte, questo passo segue immediatamente la citazione precedente. Anche in questo caso il titolo usato dal florilegio è desunto dal testo stesso dell'omelia, ripreso letteralmente.

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι εἰπεῖν τὸν σωτῆρα τῇ μητρὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ζεβεδαίου· *Τί θέλεις;* (Mt. 20:21) ὡς ἀγνοοῦντός ἐστιν. Εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ, λέγοντος τοῦ θεοῦ Σολομῶνι· *Αἰτήσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ποιήσω σοι* (3 Reg. 3:5). Ἄρ' οὖν πρὶν αἰτῆσαι, οὐκ ᾔδει ἃ εἶχε κατὰ ψυχὴν; Ἀλλὰ βούλεται ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ φανεροῦν τὰ αἰτήματα, ὡς φησι Παῦλος· *Καὶ τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν* (Phil. 4:6), ἀντὶ τοῦ· *Γνωρίζετε αὐτῷ τί θέλετε, οὐχ ὡς ἀγνοοῦντι, ἀλλ' ὡς τὴν καλὴν πρόθεσιν ἀποδεχομένῳ.*

Was willst du? (Mt. 20:21). Er wollte üben ihre (der Frau) Liebe und Enthüllen den Vorsatz und Zeigen bereit(willig) die Werke der Menschenliebe. Nicht unwissend fragte er: *Was willst du?* (Mt. 20:21). Denn auch im Alten sagt Gott zu Salomo: *Fordere etwas von mir, und ich werde dir geben* (3 Reg. 3:5). Nicht als ob vor dem Fordern er nicht wußte, was er (!) im Geiste hatte, sondern es will durch das Tun kundmachen Gott ihre Bitten, wie sagt Paulus: *Eure Bitten werden bekannt Gott* (Phil. 4:6). Anstatt dessen: Er (Gott) kannte sie. *Was willst du?* (Mt. 20:21), nicht als unwissend, sondern als den guten Vorsatz annehmend fragte er.

Capitolo 30 (PG 28, 60 A)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ἐν ὑπηρετοῦ τάξει κείσθαι τὸν υἱὸν διὰ τὸ προσφέρειν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.

= Severiano di Gabala, *De sigillis sermo*, PG 63, 535, 14-21.

Identificazione probabile per la presenza dell'espressione ἐν ὑπηρετοῦ τάξει (PG 63, 535, 14-16), nonostante il florilegio abbia fortemente abbreviato. Comunque la stessa problematica, che gira attorno al versetto Io. 6:44, ritorna anche in PG 56, 481, 11-23 (*De mundi creatione oratio* 4).

Capitolo 31 (PG 28, 60 B-61 A)

Πρὸς τοὺς δουλεύοντας λέξεις, καὶ μὴ τοῖς νοήμασι τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ ποιῶντας τὸν πατέρα θεὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia, lo stile è compatibile con quello di Severiano. Infatti, il titolo τοὺς δουλεύοντας λέξεις richiama un'espressione frequente nelle sue omelie. Si vedano τῇ λέξει δουλεύσης (*In illud: Pater, transeat* – ed. Zellinger, p. 10, 26-27); τῇ λέξει δουλεύεις (*De Christo pastore et oue*, PG 52, 832, 4-5; *In illud: In qua potestate*, PG 56, 422, 10-11); τῇ λέξει δουλεύειν (*De serpente homilia*, PG 56, 505, 62-63), ma soprattutto λέξεις δουλεύεις (*In illud: In qua potestate*, PG 56, 421, 46-47).

Il successivo τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ripetuto più lontano, è identico a *In illud: Non quod uolo facio* (PG 59, 671, 33-35). Peraltro, il tema della carne di Cristo ritorna molto spesso in Severiano; vedi ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 821, 11-12; *In incarnationem Domini* – ed. Regtuit, l. 484-485); Ἐν δὲ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 821, 44-46); εἰς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 822, 39-41); τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*Homilia de legislatore*, PG 56, 403, 10-11), ecc. Poi Cristo viene designato come σωτήρ e, subito dopo, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς θεότητος è stato individuato nelle omelie *In Psalmum* 96 (PG 55, 606, 43-44); *De serpente homilia* (PG 56, 500, 39-40); *In illud: Quomodo scit litteras* (PG 59, 649, 53-54), ecc. Segue τῇ γὰρ ἐννοίᾳ οὐ τέμνω, comparabile a τῇ δὲ ἐννοίᾳ τεμνόμενον (*De Christo pastore et oue*: PG 52, 831, 6-8).

È quindi molto probabile che il brano provenga da un'omelia perduta di Severiano.

Capitolo 32 (PG 28, 61 A-B)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μέγαν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν μὴ ἴσον.

Citazione composita.

La provenienza del titolo e del brano iniziale (61 A) non sono state identificate, ma il loro stile è compatibile con quello di Severiano. La pro-

blematica del titolo è presente in Severiano; si veda Εἰ δὲ μέγας ὁ πατήρ, μέγας καὶ ὁ υἱός (*In Psalmum* 96, PG 55, 606, 63-64); Μὴ οὖν νομίσωσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ ὅτι θεῶ χαρίζονται τι, μέγαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες παρὰ τὸν υἱόν (*In sanctam Pentecosten*, PG 63, 937, 40-42); Μέγας ὁ γεννήσας καὶ μέγας ὁ γεννηθεὶς (*In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. Stehouwer, lin. 582); Οὐκ οἶδα μικρὸν καὶ μέγα, ἀλλὰ μέγα οἶδα ἓνα θεόν, τὴν τριάδα (*ibid.*, l. 585-586). Altrettanto si può dire della frase iniziale: τὸ φράζει τὰ στόματα ἐ comparabile a καὶ ἐμφράττων αὐτῶν τὰ στόματα τῶν τολμώντων λέγειν (*In ascensionem D.n.I.C.*, PG 52, 779, 15-16); ἐμφράττει τῶν αἱρετικῶν τὰ στόματα (*De mundi creatione oratio* 3 PG 56, 455, 3-4); ἐμφράττει τῶν αἱρετικῶν τὰ στόματα (*In illud: Pater, transeat* – ed. Zellinger, p. 11, 25-26).

Il seguito (61 A-B) è composto da una serie di passi discontinui di *In matrem filiorum Zebedaei*, spesso fortemente rimaneggiati e abbreviati, come emerge dalla loro analisi.

λέγει γὰρ ὁ Δαβὶδ· Γνωστὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ θεός· ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (Ps. 75:2).

Es zeugt David sagend: *Bekannt ist in Judäa Gott und in Israel groß ist sein Name* (Ps. 75:2) (trad. Jordan, p. 187, l. 237-238).

Ἡ δὲ Ἰουδαία περιώριστο τόπῳ φανερῶ. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ· Κύριε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ (Ps. 8:2).

König ist Gott in Judäa. Denn des Alls König ist er, doch durch das bekannt Wissen wird er begrenzt, aber in Wahrheit ist auf der ganzen Erde sein Name, der durch die Propheten verkündigt wurde. *Bekannt ist in Judäa Gott und in Israel groß ist sein Name* (Ps. 75:2) (trad. Jordan, p. 187, l. 238-243).

L'armeno solleva qualche problema, perché il senso presumibile del passo è che Dio era conosciuto soltanto in Giudea, come Severiano afferma altrove: Τὸ παλαιὸν ἄσμα ἐνὶ περιώριστο λαῶ, καὶ εἰς ἐν περιεγέγραπτο κλίμα, τὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, καὶ οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο τῷ λαῶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ κλίματος ἐκείνου τὸ παλαιὸν ἄσμα προφέρειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαὸς εἷς ἦν καὶ ἔθνος ἓν, ἐνὶ τόπῳ καὶ κλίματι καὶ τὸ ἄσμα καὶ ἡ λατρεία τὸ παλαιὸν περιώριστο (*In Psalmum* 95: PG 55, 621, 15-20).

Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν ἐπλήρωσε τὴν γῆν ἡ Χριστοῦ προσηγορία· Εἰς πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος τῶν ἁγίων καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν (Ps. 18:5), εἰκότως λέγει ὁ ψαλμός· Θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ (Ps. 8:2). Καὶ τί τὸ ἐπαγόμενον; Ὅτι ἐπήροθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν (Ps. 8:2).

Weil die ganze Welt erfüllt hat die Ökonomie Jesu und auf die ganze Welt ausgegangen ist ihr (αὐτῶν) Wort und die Enden der

Welt ihre Reden (Ps. 18:5), mit Recht der Psalmist *Namen des Herrn* sagt: *Wie wunderbar ist dein Name auf der ganzen Erde* (Ps. 8:2). Und was ist hinzufügend? *Denn erhoben wurde deine Pracht über die Himmel* (Ps. 8:2) (trad. Jordan, p. 187, lin. 247-p. 188, lin. 252).

I due testimoni sono molto simili, nonostante il divario tra *προσηγορία* e *Ökonomie*.

Πληροῦται δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτε ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος οἱ μαθηταὶ μετὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος, μέλλοντος ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτούς· *Μείνατε εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους* (Lc. 24:49)· διὰ τὸ ἐπῆρθαι· Ὅτι ἐπῆρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν (Ps. 8:2). Αὐτῷ οὖν Δαυὶδ προσφωνεῖ λέγων· Ὅτι ὄψομαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων σου (Ps. 8:4).

Das ist das Hinaufnehmen des Leibes Christi. Und daß das Erhöhen das Hinaufnehmen bedeutet, wie auch Lukas, der Evangelist, sagt durch unsern Herrn, wir er gesagt hat zu den Jüngern: *Καθίσατε ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους* (Lc. 24:49) (trad. Jordan, p. 189, l. 282-286, con retroversione greca del versetto biblico).

La corrispondenza fra i due passi è molto problematica, perché il loro dettato è molto diverso, nonostante l'uso dello stesso versetto evangelico. A meno che si ipotizzino poco probabili interventi autonomi del compilatore, il florilegio ha conservato due caratteristiche dello stile di Severiano che non compaiono in armeno: da un lato, la designazione di Cristo come σωτήρ; dall'altro la variante *μείνατε* per Lc. 24:49, che, contro l'uso generalizzato in ambito greco di *καθίσατε*¹³, sembra quella preferita da Severiano. Si vedano: Διὸ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀναλαμβανόμενος· Ὑμεῖς δὲ *μείνατε ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ* ... (*In ascensionem D.n.I.C.*, PG 52, 778, 11-15); ὁ σωτήρ λέγει τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· *Μείνατε εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* ... (*De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 826, 25-28); *Μείνατε ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* ... (*In illud: In principio erat uerbum*, PG 63, 545, 50-51); Λέγει γοῦν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὁ κύριος· *Μείνατε εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* ... (*Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* – ed. Savile 5, p. 650, 42-43)¹⁴.

La disparità tra il florilegio e il testo armeno si spiega meglio se la citazione è tratta dal prosiegno dell'omelia, inedito oppure perduto in armeno.

¹³ Secondo il TLG, soltanto Teodoreto di Cirro, un altro autore antiocheno, utilizza *μείνατε* (*Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG 80, 1397 B; *Interpretatio in epistulas sancti Pauli*, PG 82, 52 B) oppure *προσμείνατε* (*Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG 80, 1065 B).

¹⁴ L'unica istanza di *καθίσατε* si trova nell'omelia *In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. STE-HOUWER, l. 596-597).

Capitolo 33 (PG 28, 61 C)

Ὅτι ὡσπερ ὁ πατήρ κύριος σαβαώθ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὁμοίως.

Fonte non identificata, perché il brano si riduce alle citazioni di Is. 8:18 e Ps. 2:6.

Tuttavia Severiano usa Ps. 2:6 in *In Psalmum 96* (PG 55, 605, 5-7), seguita a una certa distanza (55, 605, 66-69) da Is. 6:5 (κύριον σαβαώθ εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου). Quindi anche questo il passo potrebbe provenire da un'omelia perduta.

Capitolo 34 (PG 28, 61 C-D)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ἥττον εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀρραβὼν ἐκλήθη, μέρος, φησὶν, ἐστὶ.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In illud: Pone manum tuam* – ed. Stehouwer, l. 602-604 + 613-622), molto semplificato, ma con identificazione molto probabile. Comunque la provenienza severiana della citazione è sicura.

Capitolo 35 (PG 28, 61 D-64 A)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας τὸν υἱὸν μὴ εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅτι μία ἐξουσία καὶ δύναμις καὶ βασιλεία καὶ θεότης τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ.

= Severiano di Gabala, *In illud: Quomodo scit litteras*, PG 59, 647, 28-33 + 59, 647, 35-42. La parte iniziale riprende letteralmente il dettato dell'omelia, mentre la seconda semplifica.

Capitolo 36 (PG 28, 64 A-65 A)

Ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχει, ὡς θεὸς καὶ κύριος.

Questo è uno dei brani più interessanti del florilegio. La prima parte (64 B-C) utilizza l'espressione ξένην ὠδῖνα, esclusiva, stando al TLG, di Severiano, per designare la nascita di Gesù, ma non corrisponde a nessuna delle istanze finora registrate dell'espressione: *De Spiritu sancto*, PG 52, 821, 20-24; *In illud: In qua potestate*, PG 56, 420, 46-47; *De mundi creatione oratio* 6, PG 56, 497, 41-42 e *Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* – ed. Savile 5, 650, 36-37.

La chiave si trava nella seconda parte del capitolo (64 C-65 A), che proviene da *In illud: Christus est oriens*, un'omelia perduta in tradizione diretta, ma che si conserva in georgiano. Il brano corrisponde letteralmente a una citazione di Fozio, che è l'unico passo finora noto in greco¹⁵.

¹⁵ Una comparazione, molto istruttiva, sul rapporto tra la citazione foziana e la traduzione georgiana si trova ormai in S. KIM, « L'homélie géorgienne CPG 4235 et le cod. 277 de la 'Bibliothèque' de Photius », *Oriens Christianus*, 98 (2015), p. 99-108, qui p. 105-106.

Τί γάρ φησιν οὗτος, τὸν βραχίονα ἐκλαμβάνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος οἰκονομίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα; Πολλά φησι σημεῖα ποιήσαντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ Ἡσαΐου· Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; (Io. 12:37).

Ὅτι ὁ θεὸς λόγος, φησὶν Ἰωάννης, τὸν βραχίονα εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐκλαμβάνων τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα. Ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης Πολλά φησι σημεῖα ποιήσαντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Ἡσαΐου· Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου, τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; (Is. 53:1) (Fozio, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 277 – ed. Henry VIII, p. 133-134¹⁶).

Capitolo 37 (PG 28, 65 A-B)

Ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι υἱοὶ σκοτous ἐκλήθησαν.

= Severiano di Gabala, *De caeco nato*, PG 59, 543, 29-34 + 59, 543, 10-12).

L'identificazione è ragionevolmente sicura. La prima parte (65 A) è composta da tre citazioni consecutive (Os. 4:5; Os. 4:6; Ps. 81:5) che nell'omelia si susseguono nello stesso ordine e le cui formule introduttive rimangono riconoscibili nonostante qualche semplificazione.

Nel secondo brano (65 B), che in *De caeco nato* precede il primo, il florilegio potrebbe aver conservato un elemento autentico perduto in tradizione diretta.

Ὁ τοίνυν ἀπόστολος οὕτως κατ' ἐχθρῶν θρασύνεται, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνίσταται· διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν· Οὐκ ἐσμὲν υἱοὶ νυκτός, οὐδὲ σκοτους, ἀλλὰ υἱοὶ φωτός καὶ ἡμέρας (1 Thess. 5:5).

Διὰ τοῦτό φησι καὶ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος· Οὐκ ἐσμὲν υἱοὶ νυκτός, οὐδὲ σκοτους, ἀλλ' υἱοὶ φωτός καὶ ἡμέρας (1 Thess. 5:5) (PG 59, 543, 10-12).

Infatti, l'espressione ὡς κατ' ἐχθρῶν θρασύνεται viene riecheggiata da ὡς ἐπὶ ἐχθρῶν θρασύνεσθαι (*De caeco et Zacchaeo*, PG 59, 604, 54-55). Vedi anche ἡ μὲν αἰρετικὴ μακρία θρασύνεται (*De sigillis sermo*, PG 63, 535, 7-8).

¹⁶ Fozio ripete, con piccole differenze, lo stesso brano negli *Amphilochia* – ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*. V: *Amphilochiorum pars altera*, Leipzig, 1986 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), p. 209. La citazione scritturistica non è stata individuata correttamente nell'edizione della *Bibliotheca*.

Capitolo 38 (PG 28, 65 B)

Ὅτι τὸ φῶς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀφῆρθέη ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

= Atanasio di Alessandria (?), *Homilia de passione et cruce domini*, PG 28, 241, A-B.

Capitolo 39 (PG 28, 65 B-68 A)

Ὅτι εἰώθασιν οἱ αἵρετικοὶ λέγειν, ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴρηται· ὅθεν νομίζουσι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ποιεῖν ἥττον τοῦ θεοῦ, κακῶς· διὰ τὸ λέγειν τὸν ψαλμὸν· *Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν αὐτῷ* (Ps. 94:6), ὡς ἂν προσκυνοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Fonte non identificata, perché ridotta quasi soltanto alle citazioni bibliche.

Tuttavia la frase iniziale Ἀποκρινόμεθα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀκόλουθα ricorda Ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα (*In temptationem D.n.I.C.* – ed. HPC, p. 60, 58-59). Quindi il passo potrebbe essere stato preso da Severiano di Gabala.

Capitolo 40 (PG 28, 68 A-B)

Ὅτι λέγουσι τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγιαστικὸν εἶναι.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia il passo ha una vaga somiglianza con Severiano. Si veda Εἰ δὲ ἁγιάζει πατήρ, ἁγιάζει υἱός, ἁγιάζει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, διὰ τί μὴ ἕκαστον καλεῖς ἁγιαστικὴν δύναμιν; (*In postremum ieiunium* – ed. HPC p. 171, 284-286).

Capitolo 41 (PG 28, 68 B-69 A)

Πάλιν ὁ αἵρετικός, θέλων δεῖξαι ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα κύριον καλεῖ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγει.

Fonte non identificata.

Qualche elemento fa pensare a Severiano di Gabala. Oltre al triplice σωτήρ come designazione di Cristo si veda τὴν θεότητα τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀρνήσθαι (C 8-9), parallelo ad ἀρνήσασθε τὴν θεότητα (*In pretiosam et uiuificam crucem* – ed. Savile 5, 901, 3-4).

Capitolo 42 (PG 28, 69 A)

Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι αἰτεῖ ὁ υἱός.

Fonte non identificata.

Capitolo 43 (PG 28, 69 A-C)

Περὶ τοῦ ὁμοιοτρόπως δεδῶσθαι τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτε ἐδόθη ὁ νόμος τῇ πεντηκοστῇ, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὅρει Σινᾶ.

Il grosso della citazione proviene da due passi discontinui dell'omelia *In sanctam Pentecosten* di Severiano (PG 63, 935, 53-59 + 63, 934, 16 p. i.-935, 5).

Μαρτυρεῖ Μωσῆς λέγων· Καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ, ὡς πῦρ καιόμενον (Ex. 24:16), ἵνα πληρωθῇ τό· Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (Lc 12:49), πῦρ οὐκ ἀφανιστικόν, ἀλλὰ καθαρτικόν. Διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Ἡσαΐα δίδοται ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσι. Καὶ λέγει· Ἰδοὺ ἀφήκα τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου (Is. 6:7).

Πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (Lc. 12:49), πῦρ οὐκ ἀφανιστικόν. Τὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ οὐ καίει ἀλλ' ἀγιάζει. Διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Ἡσαΐα ἀπεστέλλη ἐν τῶν χειρουβὶμ ἔχον ἄνθρακα πυρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Καὶ ὡς ἐπέθηκε τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτοῦ, φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἰδοὺ ἀφήρηκα τὰς ἁνομίας σου καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου (Zac. 3:4 + Is. 6:7) (PG 63, 935, 53-59).

Il primo paragrafo presenta un curioso problema, poiché introduce una citazione scritturistica che non esiste nel testo greco ed è associata a una diversa sintassi del passo neotestamentario che segue. È impossibile decidere se tratta di un'iniziativa dell'autore del florilegio oppure di un brano perduto nel resto della tradizione.

Οὕτω τότε ἐφάνη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἐν εἵδει πυρός. Ἐμερίσθησαν γὰρ γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν (Act. 2:3). Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ θεοῦ, πολλὰ ἦν τὰ δορυφοροῦντα φόβητρα, γνώφος καὶ θύελλα καὶ σάλπιγξ καὶ βρονταὶ περιηχοῦντα τὸ ὄρος, ἅτινα ἦν προπαρασκευάζοντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς φόβον τοῦ νομοθέτου, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μέλλοντος ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἵνα μάθωσι τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἄξιαν ἐνδόξως ἐπιφοιτῶσαν. Ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ ὄρει γνώφος καὶ θύελλα προέδραμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο· Ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἐγένετο ἡχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας, καὶ τότε ὤφθη τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ συνέσεισε τὸν οἶκον (Act. 2:1-2).

Ὅτε ἐπεφάνη τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, ἐπεφάνη ἐν εἵδει πυρός. Ἐμερίσθησαν γὰρ γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν (Act. 2:3). Καὶ ὥσπερ, ἀδελφοί, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην πολλὰ ἦν τὰ δορυφοροῦντα φόβητρα. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γνώφος καὶ θύελλα καὶ σάλπιγξ καὶ βροντὴ περιεῖχε τὸ ὄρος, ἵνα παρασκευάσῃ τὸν λαὸν εἰς φόβον τοῦ νομοθέτου. Οὕτω καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μέλλοντος ἐπιφοιτᾶν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ αὐθωρον τῆς παρουσίας εἰς ῥαθυμίαν ἐνέγκῃ τοὺς δεχομένους, ἀλλὰ μάθωσι

τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιφοιτῶσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὄρει γνόφος καὶ θύελλα προέδραμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο. Ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐγένετο ἡχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας (Act. 2:1-2) (PG 63, 934, 16 p. i.-935, 5).

Nel secondo paragrafo, che nell'omelia precede il primo, il florilegio cita in maniera piuttosto letterale, con qualche semplificazione.

Capitolo 44 (PG 28, 69 C-72 A)

Ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα δῶρόν ἐστι παρὰ θεοῦ.

Citazione composita.

La prima parte (69 C) proviene da Basilio Magno, *De spiritu sancto* 24, 57 – ed. Pruche, p. 453-454.

La seconda (69 C 15-72 A) è tratta da Eusebio di Cesarea, *Demonstratio evangelica* 9, 14, 2-3 – ed. Heikel, p. 434.

Capitolo 45 (PG 28, 72 A-B)

Ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν συμφωνίαν ἀπολογεῖται ὁ θεὸς λόγος.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia l'espressione ὁ πάντων κύριος si trova anche in Severiano; vedi *In illud: In qua potestate*, PG 56, 414, 10-11. Lo stesso vale per ὁ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων εἰπών, simile a ὁ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων φάσκων (*De paenitentia et compunctione*, PG 49, 334, 51-54); ἵνα δείξῃ ὁ σωτὴρ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων (*In illud: Non quod uolo facio*, PG 59, 669, 58-60); vedi anche βοᾷ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἡ πηγὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν (*De sigillis sermo*, PG 63, 533, 14-15). Quindi siamo probabilmente di fronte a un'omelia perduta.

Capitolo 46 (PG 28, 72 B-C)

Πῶς ἡ ἀγαθότης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνδείκνυται.

Fonte non identificata.

L'espressione πρόσεχε πῶς, fa pensare a Severiano di Gabala. Vedi *De paenitentia et compunctione*, PG 49, 334, 28-30; *De serpente homilia*, PG 56, 514, 62-63; *De centurione et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas* – ed. Aubineau, p. 15, 5-7; *Contra Iudaeos et Graecos et haereticos*, HPC, p. 191, 264-266; 193, 351-352; *In incarnationem Domini* – ed. Regtuit, lin. 700). L'argomento è piccolissimo, ma indica che il brano è almeno compatibile con lo stile delle omelie autentiche.

Capitolo 47 (PG 28, 72 C-D)

Ὅπως πάντες οἱ προφῆται, ὁμοῦ συναχθέντες, τὴν μνήμην οἰκονομίας ἐπλήρωσαν.

Fonte non identificata.

Tuttavia, le due istanze di σωτήρ e l'opposizione fra τύπος e ἀλήθεια non consentono di escludere che il brano possa provenire da Severiano.

Capitolo 48 (PG 28, 72 D-73 A)

Ὅτι ἡ τριάς ὁμοούσιος.

Fonte non identificata¹⁷.

Capitolo 49 (PG 28, 73 A-77 A)

Ὅτι τὸ βλασφημῆσαι εἰς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν τριάδα βλασφημῆσαι ἐστι.

= Pseudo Atanasio, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 72 (PG 28, 640, C-644 C).

Capitolo 50 (PG 28, 77 A 10-14)

Τί ἐστὶν εὐαγγέλιον.

Fonte non identificata.

Capitolo 51 (PG 28, 77 A 15-17)

Περὶ ἀγγέλων.

= Pseudo Atanasio, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 30 (PG 28, 616, B).

Capitolo 52 (PG 28, 77 B-C)

Τί δὲ ἔργον τῶν ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων ὑπάρχει;

= Pseudo Atanasio, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 31 (PG 28, 616, B-C).

Capitolo 53 (PG 28, 77 C)

Τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος.

Fonte non identificata.

Capitolo 54 (PG 28, 77 C-80)

Ὅτι σύνθετος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλοῦς, οὐδὲ ἐξ ὁμοειδῶν μερῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἁσωμάτου νοῦ, καὶ σώματος τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ, ἥτοι ἐμψύχου.

Fonte non identificata.

¹⁷ Questo capitolo è stato usato nelle controversie sullo Spirito santo. Vedi oltre.

2. Consuntivo provvisorio

La struttura stessa del florilegio suggerisce che la redazione pubblicata non è quella primitiva, poiché, a una o più riprese e in epoca non determinabile, sono stati aggiunti almeno i capitoli 49-54, che non si occupano di questioni trinitarie e il cui scopo è quindi estraneo al progetto originale. Una stesura priva di questa appendice è viene citata poco dopo l'anno 1172 da Andronico Camatero¹⁸, e si trova a più riprese nella confutazione di Camatero ad opera del patriarca Giovanni Vekkos († 1282)¹⁹. Da queste testimonianze si evince che il capitolo 48 ha avuto, almeno fin dal XII secolo, un ruolo di un certo rilievo nelle controversie sulla processione dello Spirito Santo.

L'individuazione delle fonti si è scontrata con molti ostacoli. Anzitutto, perché in dieci occasioni il testo è ridotto praticamente alle sole citazioni bibliche (capitoli 10-14, 26-27, 40, 42 e parzialmente 20). Invece, il capitolo 48, di provenienza sconosciuta, rimane misterioso, perché, pur presentando una problematica patristica, potrebbe essere stato aggiunto al servizio della polemica antilatina.

Degli altri 38 capitoli, due (25 e 38) provengono da spuri attribuiti ad Atanasio di Alessandria, mentre il capitolo 44 deriva in parte da Eusebio di Cesarea. Dal canto suo, il trattato *De Spiritu Sancto* di Basilio di Cesarea viene usato almeno sei volte (capitoli 20, 22-25 e 44). Dalla stessa fonte forse deriva anche il capitolo 15. Il fatto che si tratti soltanto di una decina di citazioni sembra la spia di un problema, comunque antico, cioè un ripensamento o interpolazioni successive alla prima stesura del florilegio. Rimane da vedere se la tradizione manoscritta abbia conservato tracce di questa ipotetica riscrittura.

Indubbiamente la fonte privilegiata del florilegio sono le omelie di Severiano di Gabala, che potrebbero essere state usate in trentaquattro occasioni. In sedici casi l'identificazione della fonte appare sicura oppure molto probabile. Otto passi provengono da *In sanctam Pentecosten* (1-4, 6-7?, 18?, 43). Altri otto (28-30, 32 e 34-37) derivano da sei omelie singole. Infine, in diciotto istanze (5-6, 8-10, 16-17, 19-21, 31, 33, 39-41, 45-47), almeno qualche elemento stilistico o contenutistico punta a omelie autentiche altrimenti perdute. Come dimostrano i capitoli 28-29, 32 e 36, i quali restituiscono frammenti di omelie scomparse in greco, ma conservate in

¹⁸ Vedi A. BUCOSSI, *Andronici Camateri Sacrum armamentarium*. Pars prima, Turnhout 2014 (CC SG, 75), p. 142. Il titolo della citazione: Ἐκ τῶν [...] κεφαλαίων τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτώ presuppone una redazione priva dei capitoli 49-54, peraltro attribuita ad Atanasio.

¹⁹ Si vedano, in particolare, le sue *In Camateri animadversiones*, 72 (PG 141, 151 C-D), dove la citazione di Camatero viene ripetuta letteralmente.

armeno o in georgiano, l'autore del florilegio disponeva sicuramente di un corpus delle omelie di Severiano più ampio rispetto a quello tramandato dalla tradizione diretta.

In definitiva, il florilegio *De communi essentia* si è rivelato, con le sue gradevoli sorprese, un'opera meritevole di un'edizione critica e di indagini più approfondite, più consone a un coraggioso lavoro di dottorato che a un semplice articolo...

Appendice: le fonti patristiche citate

Atanasio di Alessandria, pseudo-, *Homilia de passione et cruce domini*, PG 28, 241, 185-250.

Atanasio di Alessandria, pseudo-, *De incarnatione et contra Arianos*, PG 26, 983-1028.

Basilio di Cesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto* – ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit...* 2^e éd., Paris, 1968 (Sources Chrétiennes, 17bis).

Eusebio di Cesarea, *Demonstratio evangelica* – ed. I. A. Heikel, *Die Demonstratio Evangelica*, Leipzig, 1913 (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller. Eusebius Werke, 6).

Severiano di Gabala. Omelie greche pubblicate in PG (34)²⁰

De fide et lege naturae, PG 48, 1081-1086, 46 (CPG 4185).

De paenitentia et compunctione, PG 49, 323-336 (CPG 4186).

In ascensionem D.n.I.C., PG 52, 773-792 (CPG 4187).

De Spiritu sancto, PG 52, 813-826 (CPG 4188).

De Christo pastore et oue, PG 52, 827-836 (CPG 4189).

In Psalmum 96, PG 55, 603-612 (CPG 4190).

In Psalmum 95, PG 55, 619-630 (CPG 4191).

Homilia de legislatore, PG 56, 397-410 (CPG 4192).

In illud: In qua potestate, PG 56, 411-428 (CPG 4193).

De mundi creatione orationes 1-6, PG 56, 429-500 (CPG 4194).

De serpente homilia, PG 56, 499-516 (CPG 4196).

In Genesim sermo 1, PG 56, 519-522 (CPG 4561).

In Genesim sermo 2, PG 56, 522-526 (CPG 4197).

In Iob sermones 2-4, PG 56, 567-582 (CPG 4564).

De tribus pueris sermo, PG 56, 593-600 (CPG 4568).

De caeco nato, PG 59, 543-554 (CPG 4582).

²⁰ In primo luogo vengono elencate le omelie disponibili soltanto in PG. Seguono le omelie pubblicate in altre sedi, nell'ordine alfabetico dei curatori; infine, quelle che si conservano soltanto in altre lingue.

- De caeco et Zacchaeo*, PG 59, 599-610 (CPG 4592).
In filium prodigum, PG 59, 627-636 (CPG 4200).
In illud: Quomodo scit litteras, PG 59, 643-652 (CPG 4201).
In Chananaeam et Pharaonem, PG 59, 653-664 (CPG 4202).
In illud: Non quod uolo facio, PG 59, 663-674 (CPG 4203).
In proditionem seruatoris, PG 59, 713-720 (CPG 4205).
Contra Iudaeos, in serpentem aeneum, PG 61, 793-802 (CPG 4207).
De sigillis sermo, PG 63, 531-544 (CPG 4209).
In illud: In principio erat uerbum, PG 63, 543-550, 27 + 48, 1086, 46-1088 (CPG 4210).
In sanctam Pentecosten, PG 63, 933-938 (CPG 4211 e 4286).
In theophaniam, PG 65, 15-26; con l'aggiunta di A. Wenger, « Notes inédites sur les empereurs Théodose I, Arcadius, Théodose II, Léon I », *Revue des études byzantines*, 10 (1952), p. 48-49; la porzione finale è tuttora inedita; CPG 4212).

Omellie greche pubblicate fuori da PG (18)

- De centurione et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas* (CPG 4230) – ed. M. Aubineau, *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala « in Centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas »*, Genève, 1983 (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 5), p. 108-140.
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In illud: Quando ipsi subiciet omnia (CPG 4761) – S. Haidacher, « Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift. II », *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 31 (1907), p. 150-167.
In temptationem D.n.I.C. (CPG 4906) – ed. *Homiliae Pseudo-Chrysostomicae. Instrumentum studiorum*. I. – ed. K.-H. Uthemann – R. F. Regtuit – J. M. Tevel, [S.l.], 1994, p. 59-65. Questa edizione viene abbreviata come HPC.
In Noe et filios eius, de cherubim et in prophetam Oseam (CPG 4232) – *ibid.*, p. 89-102.
Encomium in sanctos martyres (CPG 4950) – *ibid.*, p. 107-117.
De sacrificiis Caini (CPG 4208) – *ibid.*, p. 124-138.
De Noe et de arca (CPG 4271) – *ibid.*, p. 146-153.
In postremum ieiunium (CPG 4968) – *ibid.*, p. 165-172.
Contra Iudaeos et Graecos et haereticos (CPG 4233 & 5027) – *ibid.*, p. 185-201.

In illud: Genimina uiperarum – ed. J. Kecskeméti, *Sévérien de Gabala. Homélie inédite sur le Saint-Esprit* (CPG 4947), Paris, 1978 [diss.].

In illud: Pater, transeat (CPG 4215), prima parte – ed. Ch. Martin, « Note sur l'homélie de Sévérien de Gabala in illud: Pater, transeat a me calix iste (Mt. 26, 39) », *Le Muséon*, 48 (1935), p. 311-321; seconda parte – ed. J. Zellinger, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, Münster i. W., 1926, p. 10-21 (Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie, 8).

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In pretiosam et uiuificam crucem (CPG 4213) – *ibid.*, p. 898-906.

In illud: Pone manum tuam – ed. A. P. Stehouwer, *Severian von Gabala, In illud: Pone manum tuam, et in diversa testimonia* (CPG 4198). Kritische Edition mit Einleitung und Übersetzung, im Anhang zwei Fallstudien zur Sprache Severian, Amsterdam 1995 [diss.], p. 192-254.

In lotionem pedum (CPG 4216) – ed. A. Wenger, « Une homélie inédite de Sévérien de Gabala sur le lavement des pieds », in *Mélanges V. Grumel*. II (= *Revue des études byzantines*, 25), Paris, 1967, p. 225-229.

Un'omelia greca inedita

In illud: Secundum imaginem et similitudinem (cf. CPG 4234).

Omelia tramandate in traduzione armena (8)

De incarnatione (CPG 4240) – ed. J. B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae...*, Venetiis, 1827, p. 16-55.

De dogmate baptismoque (CPG 4241) – *ibid.*, p. 56-128.

De apostolis (CPG 4242) – *ibid.*, p. 128-177.

De pascha, deque catharis (CPG 4243) – *ibid.*, p. 178-215.

In illud: Libri aperti sunt (CPG 4244) – *ibid.*, p. 216-251.

In sanctum martyrem Acacium (CPG 4245) – *ibid.*, p. 294-321.

De aduentu Domini super pullum (CPG 4246) – ed. N. Akinian, « [L'omelia di Eusebio vescovo di Emesa] », *Handes Amsorya*, 73 (1959), col. 321-360; vedi anche ed. Aucher 1827, p. 402-409.

In uenerabilem trinitatem consubstantialtem (CPG 4248) – *ibid.*, 72 (1958), col. 449-474.

Un'omelia tramandata in georgiano

In illud: Christus est oriens (CPG 4235²¹).

Un'omelia frammentaria tramandata in armeno

In matrem filiorum Zebedaei (CPG 4249) – ed. H. Jordan, *Armenische Irenaeusfragmente...*, Leipzig, 1913 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 36, 3), p. 28-39 [testo] e 178-189 [traduzione tedesca].

Summary

The Greek florilegium *De communi essentia* (or *Testimonia e scriptura*; CPG 2240, published in Migne's *PG* 28, 29-80), consists of 54 questions and answers, mostly about biblical verses aimed at showing the perfect equality of the persons of the Trinity. The analysis of the florilegium faces some problems, since the final part (from question 48 onwards) is an obvious interpolation; moreover, some quotations have been abridged so much that little is left beyond the biblical verses; other passages have been extensively rewritten. However, it has been ascertained that the text uses – unsurprisingly – Basil of Caesarea *De Spiritu Sancto*. Occasionally it also depends on (Pseudo-) Athanasius and Eusebius of Caesarea. But Severian of Gabala's homilies are its main source; they surely were used in 16 occasions and similarities with Severian's oeuvre have been detected in 18 additional cases. Since the florilegium transmits some authentic passages in Greek that are lost elsewhere, it had access to a very early recension of Severian's homilies. The scarcity of Christological matter is arguably evidence that the florilegium predates the Council of Ephesus (431).

Sever J. VOICU
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<voicu@vatlib.it>

²¹ L'edizione del georgiano mi rimane inaccessibile per mancanza di competenze linguistiche. Per una rassegna sul testo, si veda S. KIM, « L'homélie géorgienne CPG 4235 et le cod. 277 de la 'Bibliothèque' de Photius », *Oriens Christianus* 98 (2015), p. 99-108.

The Vulgate Contamination of Leo the Great's Scriptural Quotations

M. J. J. HOSKIN

(*Edinburgh*)

Leo the Great (440-461) wrote at a time shortly after the completion of the revision of the Latin Bible by Jerome and at least one anonymous reviser, the revision we now think of as the Vulgate. Leo's corpus of writings is, therefore, an early opportunity to consider the impact of this revised translation on Latin Christian authors. This fact also makes him, along with other early- to mid-fifth-century Latin Christian authors, a promising figure in the investigation of mediaeval scribal practice in treatment of biblical quotations and how the Vulgate influenced scribal readings. Furthermore, his corpus of writings is relatively small, 97 sermons and 173 letters, but nevertheless contained in an incredibly diverse array of manuscripts, ranging from the sixth through sixteenth centuries. His letters in particular have been gathered at different stages of history into over 45 collections, ranging from 2 or 4 letters to 104. These letter collections exist in close to – and probably more than – 250 manuscripts. The combination of these factors – Leo's early place in the timeline of the Vulgate and his enduring popularity – make him an ideal candidate for observing the scribal treatment of biblical quotations. Nonetheless, such study has always been hampered by our lack of a critical edition of Leo's letters.

In order to assess this phenomenon as it exists in Leo's letters whilst taking into account the lack of an edition, I have chosen to analyse one letter that has been edited very well and another letter the majority of whose manuscripts I have collated myself. First, I shall analyse the scribal treatment of biblical quotations in the *Tome* (*Ep.* 28). Eduard Schwartz provided us with a critical edition of this letter in the 1930s; as a result, we can see how scribes treated Leo's biblical quotations therein from 45 manuscripts, ranging in date from the sixth century to the twelfth:¹

3 from the sixth;

1 from the seventh;

¹ A full account of the manuscripts with sigla is available in the Appendix.

6 from the eighth;
 4 from the eighth or ninth;
 8 from the ninth;
 2 from the ninth or tenth;
 10 from the tenth;
 2 from the eleventh; and
 2 from the twelfth century.

Then I shall analyse such treatment in Leo's letter to Rusticus, Bishop of Narbo (*Ep.* 167), using my own collations of the manuscripts; the survey for *Ep.* 167 has taken into account 44 manuscripts, ranging in date from the eighth century to the twelfth:

11 from the eighth;
 23 from the ninth;
 6 from the tenth;
 1 from the eleventh; and
 1 from the twelfth century.

In this analysis I will test hypotheses that originally developed through the study of the *Tome*, demonstrating how scribes treat Leo's biblical quotations. Overall, when Leo's quotations diverge from the Vulgate, they only "correct" (that is, give the Vulgate reading) the text when the change is strikingly dramatic. When the difference is on the scale of "atque" versus "et", the tendency is to leave Leo's biblical quotations alone. The result of such "Vulgatisation" is a levelling and standardisation of the Latin biblical text in Leo's letters, a trend that exists in other Patristic authors as well.² Such a conclusion is unsurprising; the Vulgate, as the standard, especially from the Carolingians onwards, became the most widespread biblical text in Latin Europe. However, in a sixth-century Verona codex we observe Vulgatisation as well. This fact reminds us of the individuality of scribes and of every manuscript in existence; it also demonstrates the fact that the influence of the revised Latin Bible was felt very early on.

² H. A. G. HOUGHTON, *Augustine's Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts*, Oxford, 2008, 86-87, argues that this is not common in Augustine. However, he does cite P. PETTMENGIN, "Recherches sur Augustin et le livre antique", in *La Tradition vive*, Paris-Turnhout, 2003, 7, arguing for Vulgatisation of Pelagius and Ambrosiaster, as well as H. J. FREDE, "Die Zitate des Neuen Testaments bei den lateinischen Kirchenväter", in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. ALAND, Berlin-New York, 1972, p. 469-470.

In what follows, I am not primarily trying to determine what text of the Latin Bible Leo read, although the question inevitably makes inroads into the discussion. Rather, my interest simply lies in what the text of each quotation actually is, and how scribes treated them in light of their own strong familiarity with the Vulgate Bible. I have chosen to present the full findings for the *Tome* in particular because this provides sufficient evidence for the phenomenon without providing selective results from an idiosyncratic choice of letters and giving a skewed vision. Furthermore, the *Tome* is Leo's most copied letter and, as such, has had more opportunity to be modified and corrupted over time. This, however, means that the *Tome* is possibly a skewed testimony to scribal treatment of Leo overall. Therefore, as a corrective, I give the results of *Ep.* 167. Both discussions will also demonstrate how we can use the relationship between the Vulgate and the scribes to help in the task of redaction. Throughout, my text for the Vulgate has been Weber-Gryson, fifth edition.³ As stated above, for the *Tome*, I have relied on the edition of Eduard Schwartz in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ACO),⁴ whereas for *Ep.* 167 I have used my own collations of the manuscripts.

1. The *Tome*

Schwartz based his text of the *Tome* upon the manuscript Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXX (60), which includes a collection of documents pertinent to Eutyches which he names *Collectio Novariensis de re Eutychis* in his edition.⁵ Schwartz argues that this collection was put together by Leo himself – or at least at Leo's command.⁶ Novara XXX, being a tenth-century

³ R. WEBER and R. GRYSO, eds, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Fifth edition, Stuttgart, 2007. Henceforth "Weber-Gryson". My methodology begins with asking, "Does Leo's quotation correspond to the Vulgate?" In order to answer this, it is wiser to know what the fifth-century Vulgate was, not the eighth-, the ninth-, or beyond. When the answer is, "The text I (and/or Schwartz) believe to be Leo's text does *not* look like the Vulgate", there then is scope to consider later versions of the Vulgate to help us see what influences were acting upon the scribes. Therefore, in certain cases other editions of the Vulgate have been consulted, in particular the "Rome Vulgate" and the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century edition of Wordsworth and White (Wordsworth-White); they will be cited in full when recourse has been made to them.

⁴ E. SCHWARTZ, ed. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ACO), vol. 2.1, Berlin, 1936, p. 24-33. My references will be to page and line number from that volume, and a *conspectus siglorum* is available as an appendix at the end of this article.

⁵ Siglum O in ACO 2.2.1.

⁶ ACO 2.2.1, vi-viii. The argument is essentially as follows: First, it seems to have been compiled within the lifetimes both of Theodosius II and Flavian, since it knows of the deaths of neither, yet includes material from Leo as well as from events in Constantinople in 448.

manuscript, is not, of course, the original direct from the papal archive, so there is the inevitable possibility of later changes to the text. The other manuscript of the *Tome* that scholars have preferred is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540, of *Collectio Ratisbonensis*, a canonical collection containing 76 of Leo's letters.⁷ C. H. Turner preferred it and recommended it to E. H. Blakeney when Blakeney made his student edition of the *Tome* in 1923.⁸ Carlos Silva-Tarouca believed that this collection was made directly from the papal archives,⁹ although its earliest manuscript – the Munich one – is Carolingian, and thus his edition of the *Tome* is that of *Collectio Ratisbonensis* with sparse notes referring to the 1753 *Opera omnia* of Leo's works, which is the last complete edition of the letters, by Pietro and Girolamo Ballerini (henceforth referred to as "the Ballerini") and Novara XXX. I have therefore worked from Schwartz's text because of the fullness of his apparatus.

In the *Tome*, Leo provides 26 biblical quotations. Of these quotations, nine as printed by Schwartz provide the same wording and word order as the Vulgate. As an aid to the reader, I provide the following table of the biblical quotations and their relationship with the Vulgate, include variants in manuscripts of the *Tome*, using Schwartz's sigla listed in the Appendix at the end of this article. The many variants from Vulgate manuscripts and their potential relationship with the readings of certain manuscripts of the *Tome* will be addressed in the discussion below.

Second, the *Tome* ends with the subscription, "ET ALIA MANV: TIBVRTIVS NOTARIVS IVSSV DOMINI MEI VENERABILIS PAPAE LEONIS EDIDI". This, Schwartz maintains, is evidence that *Ep.* 28 is here in the copy Leo circulated in the period after Dioscorus refused to have it read at Second Ephesus. Third, the acts of the 448 Home Synod of Constantinople lack the sessions where Cyril's letters are read out; this, argues Schwartz, is evidence for Leo's editorial hand because Leo wanted his *Tome* to be the sole standard for orthodoxy. I doubt this argument because Leo elsewhere, as in the *Testimonia* he would later append to *Ep.* 165, upholds his orthodoxy precisely through Cyril. Schwartz's fourth argument is the poor translation out of Greek into Latin in some of the documents, pointing to a mid-fifth-century origin for the collection because there were few high-quality Greek interpreters in Rome at the time. The first two arguments are the strongest and certainly seem to point to someone with access to Roman archival material; whether Leo or not, it is ultimately impossible to say. Nonetheless, Leo is an attractive choice.

⁷ Siglum *E* in ACO 2.2.1.

⁸ See the Introduction to E. H. BLAKENEY, *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great: Latin Text with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, London, 1923, p. v.

⁹ C. SILVA-TAROUCA, "Die Quellen der Briefsammlung Papst Leos des Großen", in *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters: P. Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, ed. A. BRACKMANN, Munich, 1926, p. 25-31.

	Leo's <i>Tome</i> (ACO 2.2.1)	Variants in mss of <i>Tome</i>	Vulgate (Weber-Gryson)
1	Noluit intellegere, ut bene ageret; iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili suo (24.21-22; Psalm 35:4-5)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same, following translation from LXX</i>
2	liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid filii Habraham (26.2-3; Matthew 1:1)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
3	Paulus seruus Christi Iesu, uocatus apostolus segregatus in euangelium dei quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis de filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine Dauid secundum carnem (26.4-6; Romans 1:1-3)	ihu xpi $M^c \Phi^a$ [BN + D] ZKXSLHb m Γ euangelio Φ^c [AD] UZK n XP r <i>om. ei UKcXPSmf</i>	Paulus, servus Christi Iesu vocatus apostolus segregatus in euangelium Dei quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis de Filio suo qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem
4	in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes (26.8; Genesis 22:18)	gentes terrae $S^c f$	benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae
5	Habrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius. non dicit: et seminibus, quasi in multis sed quasi in uno: et semini tuo, quod est Christus (26.9-11; Galatians 3:16)	repromissiones M^c qui est Christus $L\gamma^n$	Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius non dicit et seminibus quasi in multis sed quasi in uno et semini tuo qui est Christus
6	ecce uirgo in utero accipiet et pariet filium et uocabunt nomen eius Emmanuhel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus (26.12-14; Isaiah 7:14/Matthew 1:23)	<i>om. in utero X</i> concipiet Φ^c [M], ZK c XL b m uocabitur Φ^c [D mg] K n L r interpretatur K n r	Isaiah 7:14: ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet filium et uocabitis nomen eius Emmanuhel Matthew 1:23: ecce uirgo in utero habebit et pariet filium et uocabunt nomen eius Emmanuhel quod est interpretatum Nobiscum Deus
7	puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, cuius potestas super humeros eius, et uocabunt nomen eius magni consilii angelus, deus fortis, princeps pacis, pater futuri saeculi (26.14-17; Isaiah 9:6)	filius et Φ^r [=I r] et filius ZK c EH g cuius potestas] et factus est principatus M^c humerum P^n uocabitur M^c angelus] angelus ammirabilis consiliarius Φ^c [M] Φ^r [+ D corr] UKS, Q x ex corr., P n ex corr. pater futuri saeculi princeps pacis Φ^c [+ M] LHb	paruulus enim natus est nobis filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus super umerum eius et uocabitur nomen eius Admirabilis consiliarius Deus fortis Pater futuri saeculi Princeps pacis

8	spiritus sanctus superueniet in te et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi ideoque quod nascetur ex te sanctum, uocabitur filius dei (26.20-22; Luke 1:35)	<i>om.</i> in OP^a , <i>corr</i> P^a ideoque et $\Phi^r LHB$ de l	Spiritus Sanctus superueniet in te et uirtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi ideoque et quod nascetur sanctum uocabitur Filius Dei
9	uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis (26.26-27.1; John 1:14)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
10	unus atque idem mediator dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus (27.5-6; 1 Timothy 2:5)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	unus et mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus
11	in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum (28.17-18; John 1:1)	<i>Only errors of omission</i>	<i>Same</i>
12	uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis (28.18-19; John 1:14)	factus Q^e , Q^e ex <i>corr.</i> , n	<i>Same</i>
13	omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil (28.19-20; John 1:3)	<i>None recorded in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
14	factus est ex muliere, factus sub lege (28.20; Galatians 4:4)	factum $O\Phi^e [M]$ $ZS^{out}H^n f$ <i>om.</i> est M^e factus est $K^p l$	factum ex muliere factum sub lege
15	hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene conplacui (28.26-27; Matthew 3:17)	<i>om.</i> est $\Phi^e [M]$ K^n <i>om.</i> meus n <i>om.</i> bene L^{af} conplacuit $OM^e\Phi^e [D]$ $K^n EPS nr$	hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo mihi conplacui
16	ego et pater unum sumus (29.9-10; John 10:30)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
17	pater maior me est (29.10; John 14:28)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
18	si enim cognouissent, numquam dominum maiestatis crucifixissent (29.19-20; 1 Corinthians 2:8)	agnouissent p gloriae $\Phi^e [BN + M]$ Ef	si enim cognovissent numquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent
19	quem me ... dicunt homines esse filium hominis (29.21-30.1; Matthew 16:13)	<i>om.</i> me $T^{orm}K^c P^p Hb$	quem dicunt homines esse Filium hominis
20	uos ... quem me dicitis esse? (30.1-2; Matthew 16:15)	uos autem $\Phi^e [BN + M]$ pS quid U esse dicitis $\Phi^c [M]$ pZb	uos autem quem me esse dicitis

21	tu es ... Christus, filius dei uiui (30.4-5; Matthew 16:16)	<i>None listed in ACO</i>	<i>Same</i>
22	uidete manus meas et pedes quia ego sum; palpate et uidete quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet sicut me uidetis habere (30.17-18; Luke 24:39)	pedes meos $M^c\Phi^c$ [M] $pL^\beta Hbr$ ipse ego P ego ipse K^c ossa et carnem ULH habent Φ^c [A] r	videte manus meas et pedes quia ipse ego sum palpate et videte quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet sicut me uidetis habere
23	omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne uenisse, ex deo est et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum, ex deo non est, et hic est antichristus (30.24-31.2; 1 John 4:2-3)	<i>om.</i> Christum M^c ihm xpm Φ^c [$+ AM$] Φ^r [$+ D^{om}$] $TUKbI^r$ antixpi Φ^a [R] Φ^r [C] l antexpi OEP^p antexps quod audistis uenit f	omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne uenisse ex Deo est et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum ex Deo non est et hoc est antichristi
24	scientes quod non corruptibilibus argento et auro redempti estis de uana uestra conuersatione paternae traditionis, sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni incontaminati et immaculati Iesu Christi (31.14-16; 1 Peter 1:18-19)	inmaculati xpi f	scientes quod non corruptibilibus argento vel auro redempti estis de uana uestra conuersatione paternae traditionis, sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni incontaminati et immaculati Christi
25	et sanguis Iesu filii dei emundat nos ab omni peccato (31.17-18; 1 John 1:7)	sanguinis ihu xpi Φ^c [M] $K^n QpXZSL^{a\beta} Hbb$ mundat $S nf$ emundet r emundans m	et sanguis Iesu Filii eius mundat nos ab omni peccato
26	haec est uictoria quae uincit mundum fides nostra. quis est qui uincit mundum nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est filius dei? hic est qui uenit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus, non in aqua solum, sed in aqua et sanguine, et spiritus est qui testificatur, quoniam spiritus est ueritas, quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant, spiritus et aqua et sanguis, et tres unum sunt (31.18-23; 1 John 5:4-8)	<i>Many variants – to be discussed in analysis below</i>	haec est victoria quae vincit mundum fides nostra quis est qui vincit mundum nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei hic est qui uenit per aquam et sanguinem Iesus Christus non in aqua solum sed in aqua et sanguine et Spiritus est qui testificatur quoniam Christus est ueritas quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant Spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt

Quotations 1 and 2

These first two quotations, Psalm 35:4-5 and Matthew 1:1, correspond to the Vulgate text, and Schwartz records no variant readings for them. The quotation from Psalm 35 also corresponds to the *Vetus Latina Hispana* text, the only critical edition of the *Vetus Latina* Psalms,¹⁰ and Matthew 1:1 corresponds with Jülicher's *Vetus Latina*.

Quotation 3

This quotation is almost exactly the same as the Vulgate in Weber-Gryson's edition. The difference is that the Vulgate does not include the word "ei" between "est" and "ex". Neither do the following nine Leo MSS, *UK^sXPS^{mt}f*. The text of Romans as edited by Sabatier in 1742, based upon *Codex Claromontanus*, includes "ei" as does Leo.¹¹ This group of manuscripts includes two sixth-century manuscripts: *U* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms LIX) and one of the *P* manuscripts *Pⁱ*, *Collectio Corbeiensis* (Paris, BnF, lat. 12097), as well as a manuscript of the turn of the seventh century, *P^r*, *Collectio Coloniensis* (Cologne, Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 212). Their early dates remind us how quickly a text can be corrupted. The third *P* manuscript, *P^p*, *Collectio Pithouensis* (Paris, BnF, lat. 1564) is ninth-century, and its Leo contents are a likely copy of *Pⁱ*, based upon contents and shared and added variants. *Corbeiensis* and *Coloniensis*, on the other hand, share a common source for some of their material, including the *Tome*.

Chronologically, *X*, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Codex Vossianus 12, is the next manuscript that produces a reading here that corresponds to the Vulgate; it is ninth-century. *f*, manuscript Fulda, Domschatz, Bonifatianus 2 (Codex Ragyndrudis), of the eighth or ninth century, is worth signalling now because it is fairly consistent in including Vulgatisations of Leo's text. It may also be worth observing that the two *S* manuscripts, *m* and *t*, are eleventh-century; increased contamination over time is what we would expect. Finally, the latest text to give us this particular Vulgatisation is *K^s*, which is Surius' edition of the *Acts* of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, from 1567 and based on a now-lost manuscript. This difference is very small, but it signals the trend as it will continue. We can assume that Leo originally included "ei" because it would be rare to *add* such a word to the biblical quotation, and the two manuscripts presumed the best for the

¹⁰ *La Vetus Latina Hispana, Tomo V: El Salterio*. Ed. T. AYUSO MARAZUELA, Madrid, 1962.

¹¹ P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, Paris, 1742.

Tome – *O* and *E* – include it. Furthermore, our vast array of ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts, including earlier manuscripts of *S* and our Carolingians, have not shifted in this direction.

Two further variants are also present in the manuscripts of this verse, and some also appear in Vulgate manuscripts. These are the inversion of “Christi Iesu” to “ihu xpi” in a string of manuscripts of both the Vulgate and the *Tome*. The *Tome* manuscripts range in date from the eighth century to the twelfth. This is a very common inversion, and its appearance in so many manuscripts need signal no relationship with the Vulgate as the scribes had encountered it. The second variant is a banalisation, changing “in euangelium” to “in euangelio”. It, too, exists in very many Vulgate manuscripts as well as a quotation from Augustine. Unlike the word inversion, this movement in a potentially Vulgate direction exists in some of our earliest manuscripts: from the sixth century, the Verona codex, *U*, and manuscript *A* of Φ^c which is Vat. lat. 1322; and the seventh-century manuscript *P*^c again.

Quotation 4

No manuscript listed by Schwartz modifies the word order to accord with the Vulgate in this quotation. My hypothesis is that this is because scribes wrote down the biblical passages as they did, whether consciously or unconsciously, because they had the Vulgate text in their memories, gaining familiarity with particular passages, words, and phrases through their encounter with Scripture in the liturgy or through copying its passages in various contexts.¹² A simple inversion of word order is not the sort of thing one is as likely to catch as an added or changed word. Furthermore, this word order is the same as the Vulgate’s reading of this verse in Acts 3:25, save that Acts gives “familiae” where Genesis gives “gentes”. Finally, the Vulgate word order is the same as that of the *Vetus Latina*, except that the *L* tradition gives “nationes”, not “gentes”.¹³ The manuscripts *S*^e and *f* do add “terrae” at the end, which is the word immediately following in the passage.

¹² A simple oral familiarity is what we would expect from a congregation as early as Augustine’s age, as discussed by H. A. G. HOUGHTON, *Augustine’s Text of John*, 46. However, I believe that we can safely imagine that the scribes of episcopal archives and monastic scriptoria had an even stronger familiarity due both to daily oral recitation at the offices and to copying patristic, liturgical, monastic, and biblical texts.

¹³ *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron, Vol. 2 Genesis*, Fascicle 2, ed. B. FISCHER, 1952.

Quotation 5

In biblical quotation 5, Leo quotes Galatians 3:16, ending with “quod est Christus” (26.11), whereas the Vulgate has “qui est Christus”, as does the *Vetus Latina* as edited by Sabatier.¹⁴ No scribe or editor corrects this difference. Presumably we are dealing with a case similar to “et” versus “atque”, which we shall see later on. The difference is too slight for the scribes to realise its existence. Manuscript *M*^c, the twelfth-century manuscript from Montecassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, Codex 2, provides “repromissiones”. Although not part of the main text as given by Weber-Gryson, it is listed in Wordsworth-White as a variant reading in manuscripts D and *M*^c.

Quotation 6

Leo introduces this quotation as being from Isaiah but actually quotes his own variation on Matthew’s quotation of Isaiah 7:14 in Matthew 1:23 – hence the gloss “quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus”, and the inclusion of “in utero”. The Vulgate text of Isaiah has “concipiet”, not “accipiet”, and in Matthew the verb is “habebit”. No Leo manuscript provides “habebit”, but, expecting the Isaiah text which the scribes have internalized at some level,¹⁵ a series of six manuscripts read “concipiet”: *Φ*^c [*M*], *ZK*³*XL*^β*m*. The earliest of the manuscripts with this change are ninth-century, *Z* from Montpellier, *X* from Leiden, and manuscript *L*^β of the *Collectio Vaticana*. Our other two manuscripts of *L*, also ninth-century, do not transmit this reading.¹⁶ Furthermore, the only *Φ*^c manuscript to transmit this read-

¹⁴ P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, Paris, 1742.

¹⁵ Isa. 7:14 is a popular biblical text and can be found used in the texts of four known lectionaries following the Vulgate version: Paris, BnF, lat. 9427, Vat. lat. 4329, Paris, BnF, lat. nouv. acq. 2171, and Madrid, Bibl. Acad. Hist. 22 (see the edition of Isaiah in *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*, Vol. XIII: *Liber Isaiae*, Rome, 1969). These lectionaries range from the seventh through eleventh centuries and demonstrate to us the enduring popularity of this passage in liturgical settings – a popularity that endures until today, with this passage in the Revised Common Lectionary for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and in the Roman Catholic lectionary on the Fourth Sunday of Advent. It is this author’s suspicion that verse was not only familiar to the scribes but that some may even have had it memorized due to the high frequency of encountering it.

¹⁶ Although, as argued by R. McKITTERICK, “History, Law and Communication with the Past in the Carolingian Period”, in *Comunicare e significare nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’alto medioevo 52:941-980, the manuscripts of *Collectio Vaticana* as they exist are all Carolingian and differ in various ways regarding their contents their Leo contents are the same and the Leo collection within *Collectio Vaticana* may be postulated to have been collected in the sixth century before finding new life in the ninth century.

ing is our latest, *M*, from the twelfth century; neither the sixth- nor the tenth-century copy of those conciliar *acta* transmit the Vulgatised Isaiah version of this quotation.

It is worth pausing here to note that this verse is quoted in a collect in the *Leonine Sacramentary* using “accipiet” just as Leo does. The sacramentary gives, “Vere dignum: ecce enim, sicut per os locutus est profetarum, uirgo in utero accipiet et peperit filium et uocamus nomen eius Emmanuhel et nobiscum deus est”.¹⁷ This phrasing is also present in *K* as listed in Gryson’s edition of the *Vetus Latina* Isaiah;¹⁸ *K* represents our oldest complete translation of the Latin Bible, visible in the works of Cyprian of Carthage – this reading is included, besides in the sacramentary, in a lectionary and several other Latin patristic writers. This presence of the same reading in other patristic texts signals to us that we cannot use the connection with the *Leonine Sacramentary* to demonstrate an organic relationship between the liturgical activities of Leo the Great alleged and attested in the *Liber Pontificalis* and the sacramentary that now bears his name.¹⁹

Returning to the manuscripts of Leo’s *Tome*, only one of those that include the change from “accipiet” to “conciipiet” transmits any other Vulgate readings in the passage. *X* omits “in utero”; while this could be a simple error of omission, it is more likely that a scribe or editor’s familiarity with the Vulgate Isaiah has caused this change in *X*’s tradition – after all, the word immediately following also changes.

The next difference between Leo and the Vulgate text of Isaiah 7:14 comes from the fact that he has Matthew’s text in mind, for he writes “uocabunt”, not “uocabitis”; however, no manuscript reads “uocabitis” – a number of manuscripts associated with the conciliar *acta* in one way or another do, however, give the reading “uocabitur”: Φ^c [*D*^{mg}] *K*ⁿ*L*^γ. Although the *acta* of Chalcedon are themselves an early stage of transmission, the manuscripts listed here are not the earliest copies of their representative traditions; manuscript *D* of Φ^c is tenth-century, as is *L*^γ. While *K*ⁿ is our only complete manuscript of the *acta* of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, it is at least one stage removed from 553 or the years immediately when the *acta* were compiled, being of the second half of the eighth century. The reading “uocabitur” is present in a series of Vulgate manuscripts cited in the Rome Vulgate as well as manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina*. Here we see the expected movement of Leo’s quotations towards the Vulgate over time,

¹⁷ *Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. L. C. MOHLBERG *et al.*, 3rd ed., Rome, 1978, §1245.

¹⁸ See R. GRYSON, ed. *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel*, Vol. 12: *Esaias*. Fascicule 4: Is 7,14-10,19. Freiburg, 1989, p. 291-293.

¹⁹ Leo’s possible interventions in the liturgy as discussed in the *Liber Pontificalis* 47.8 must remain mere probabilities, not certainties.

as the Vulgate itself slowly became more standardised with interventions such as the famous editorial work of Alcuin.

We have one more variant, where *K*ⁿ and *r* give us “interpretatur” instead of “est interpretatum”. No Vulgate manuscript listed in the Rome Vulgate, and no *Vetus Latina* manuscript listed by Jülicher gives this reading. It is likely an error, then, and not a result of overfamiliarity with a different biblical text.

Quotation 7

Immediately following the first Isaiah passage, Leo quotes Isaiah again. Due to the complicated nature of this quotation’s transmission, I present Leo’s text and the Vulgate for a second time. Leo writes:

“puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, cuius potestas super humeros eius, et uocabunt nomen eius magni consilii angelus, deus fortis, princeps pacis, pater futuri saeculi” (26.14-17; Isa. 9:6)

The Vulgate text is as follows:

“paruulus enim natus est nobis filius datus est nobis / et factus est principatus super umerum eius / et uocabitur nomen eius Admirabilis consiliarius Deus fortis Pater futuri saeculi Princeps pacis”

This is probably the most complicated instance to unravel, simply because it is very long and notably different from the Vulgate in several places. Its differences are chiefly due to the fact that it corresponds very closely to the *Vetus Latina* of this verse;²⁰ it differs from the *Vetus Latina* primarily in giving “uocabunt” instead of “uocabitur”; it also omits “admirabilis” after “angelus”, something many *Vetus Latina* manuscripts do not do; its other variations are shared with one or more major *Vetus Latina* manuscripts.

The first difference from the Vulgate, “puer” rather than “paruulus”, remains unchanged. Our earliest manuscript to record a Vulgatisation is the sixth-century *P*^r, which includes “humerum”. Only one other Leo manuscript records this word in the singular, and that is *n*, or *Collectio Remensis*, of the second half of the eighth century. Traditional dating of the canonical collection transmitted solely in this manuscript is to the second half of the sixth century; whether this variant existed in *Remensis* in the 500s or came into the text between the compilation of the collection and the writing of *n* we cannot say. This variant should not be classified necessarily as Vulgatisation, since “humerum” also exists in the singular in *Vetus Latina* manuscripts. All we can say is that this textual variation is the

²⁰ *Vetus Latina*, vol. 12, *Isaias*, ed. R. GRYSON, Freiburg, 1989.

result of familiarity with the text in a form different from how Leo quoted it, not necessarily with what we may consider the Vulgate. Indeed, such is likely the case since these two manuscripts do not change the text of this quotation in any other way. *P*^r also adds “*ammirabilis*” following “*angelus*”, bringing the text closer to both the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate.

Similarly, the sixth-century Verona codex, *U*, adds “*ammirabilis consiliarius*” after “*angelus*”, also bringing about agreement not only with the Vulgate but with several *Vetus Latina* manuscripts as well; however, after “*consiliarius*”, *U* gives us, “*dī filius*”. This latter reading appears unique to this manuscript from the perspectives both of Leo and of the Latin Bible. *U*'s text and its relationship to the Vulgate and editorial intervention will be discussed in greater detail below. As seen in Table 1 above, a number of later manuscripts, mostly of the ninth century or beyond, also add “*ammirabilis consiliarius*”, including all five *Collectio Hispana* manuscripts cited by Schwartz; the *Hispana* manuscripts are all tenth- or eleventh-century, thus strengthening the hypothesis that a later manuscript is more likely to tend towards the Vulgate than an earlier. In one of the cited manuscripts, the Vulgate reading only appears in the correcting hand.

Leo and *Vetus Latina*'s “*cuius potestas*” is significantly different from the Vulgate's “*et factus est principatus*”. The twelfth-century Montecassino codex *M*^c includes a Vulgatised version of the passage. *M*^c again corresponds to the Vulgate in giving, “*uocabitur nomen*” instead of Leo's “*uocabunt*”; no other manuscript joins it in this. The fact that *M*^c does not provide us with the “*humerum*” variant in the singular is not evidence that the scribe was familiar with a non- or pre-Vulgate reading, or gave a mixed reading, since “*humeros*” in the plural is attested by the Rome Vulgate in three manuscripts, C Σ^T Δ. *M*^c also omits “*pater futuri saeculi*”, probably a simple error that is possibly caused by reaching the end of the known quotation and accidentally skipping ahead to what comes next in Leo's text.

Finally, Leo's inversion of the standard word order at the end corresponds to the Vulgate in manuscript *Φ*^a with manuscript *M* of *Φ*^c and all three manuscripts of *L*, all three of *H*, and the eleventh-century manuscript *b*. These manuscripts are all of the eighth century or later.

Quotation 8

Leo next seems to differ from the Vulgate in his quotation of Luke 1:35. The Vulgate as printed does not include “*ex te*” after “*nascetur*”. However, Weber-Gryson cites Vulgate manuscripts *M* (sixth-century) and *G* (ninth-century) as well as the *Editio Clementina* (1592, 1593, 1598) as including “*ex te*”; it is also included in the “*Afra*” of the *Vetus Latina* as

edited by Jülicher.²¹ It seems not to have caught the eye or memory of any Leo scribe, although *l* provides “de” instead of “ex”. The addition of “ex te” makes the accentual clausula here a *cursus trispondaicus* while in the Vulgate it is nothing. A second hypothesis that will have to be tested in the future over a much wider range of texts, especially Leo’s sermons, is that Leo often quotes a text with better clausulae, not necessarily drawing from any version he had encountered that already included with his preferred clausulae but, rather, consciously or unconsciously quoting the Scriptures in his own style.²² As has been amply demonstrated in the work of F. Di Capua,²³ Leo is astonishingly consistent in his rhythms. I would not be surprised if sometimes he dictates or writes a quotation in a more metrical form simply out of the clausular habit.

Quotation 9

In this quotation, Leo writes the same text as the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina* “*Itala*”, as edited by Jülicher, and no manuscript listed by Schwartz includes variants.

Quotation 10

In Leo’s quotation of 1 Timothy 2:5 he writes “atque idem” where both the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina* read simply “et”. No doubt this was too small for any scribe or editor to pick up on, as with changes in word order. They are more likely to pick up things such as “accipiet” for “concupiet” or an entire phrase translated differently than the use of a different coordinating conjunction.

Quotations 11-13

Leo’s quotations of these passages are the same as the text in Weber-Gryson and the *Vetus Latina*.

²¹ JÜLICHER, A. W. MATZKOW, and K. ALAND. *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinische Überlieferung. III. Lucas-Evangelium*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1976.

²² Augustine of Hippo seems to have purposefully quoted passages from the Bible in modified form for rhetorical effect, as discussed by H. A. G. HOUGHTON, *Augustine’s Text of John*, p. 60-61.

²³ F. DI CAPUA, “De clausulis a S. Leone Magno adhibitis”, in *Textus et Documenta, Series Theologica 15: S. Leonis Magni Epistulae Contra Eutychis Haeresim, Pars Prima*, ed. C. SILVA-TAROUCA (Rome, 1934), XXIII-XXXII. Reprinted in F. DI CAPUA, *Scritti Minori I*, Rome, 1959, p. 431-440; and *Il Ritmo prosaico nelle lettere dei papi*, Vol. 1, Rome, 1937.

Quotation 14

Here Leo quotes Galatians 4:4 in the nominative for grammatical reasons. In the Vulgate and Sabatier's *Vetus Latina*, this passage is accusative. The passage in context within the *Tome* is:

“homo per id quod factus ex muliere, factus sub lege”.

Leo is here giving a series of biblical *exempla* in the repetitive construct, “deus per id quod + nominative” then “homo per id quod + nominative”. Nevertheless, a series of manuscripts makes it accusative (*O* Φ^c [*M*] *ZS^mH^enf*), and one (*M^c*) omits “est” in agreement with the Vulgate. The earliest of these manuscripts is eighth-century, manuscript *n*; from the ninth century come *Z H^e f* – the appearance once more of the Fulda manuscript adds weight to the hypothesis that this manuscript had an editorial hand making the biblical citations correspond to a known text of the Bible. *O* is tenth-century; this manuscript was favoured by Schwartz; it is therefore worth noting that *E*, the Munich manuscript preferred by Silva-Tarouca and Turner is not in the list. Schwartz's editorial preference to make the quotation nominative against the reading of *O* is here undoubtedly correct – otherwise the sentence would make no sense, and the pattern of corruptions seems to be a tendency towards the Vulgate, not away from it. The two *S* manuscripts are eleventh-century, and Φ^c [*M*] is twelfth-century.

Quotation 15

Quotation 15 is from Matthew 3:17. The Vulgate does not include the word “bene”; the manuscripts *L^a* and *f* follow the Vulgate. Either of these readings could be seen as giving us an accentual clausula of the *cursus tardus*, and both “mihi” and “bene” are two short syllables; the change is not clausular. Since only two manuscripts follow the Vulgate, and of those two one (*L^a*) is a minority reading from *Collectio Vaticana* which has three manuscripts, and the other is one that commonly corrects towards the Vulgate, *f*, Schwartz chose wisely. Before moving on, it is worth noting that the Oxford Vulgate lists five manuscripts that include “bene”; therefore, other scribes or editors who may have been likely to Vulgateise the passage may have had a text of this version in their minds or to hand. Moreover, the *Vetus Latina* texts edited by Jülicher include “bene”.

The Vulgateisations are not, however, the most interesting variants in this quotation, but the fact that eight manuscripts give “conplacuit” for “conplacui”: *OM^c Φ^c [D] KⁿEPSnr*. The ease with which such an error as this could be made should be immediately apparent – “complaceo” would be possibly thought to be in third person, assuming a relative pronoun refer-

ring back to “filius” as the subject. That is, “quis mihi bene conplacuit”, (“who has pleased me well”). However, the biblical text has “in quo”, not “quis”. Therefore, “conplacuit” is ungrammatical and not the choice of either the Vulgate or the *Vetus Latina*. However, it is the choice of at least seven scribes or their exemplars. Schwartz has chosen to follow the text of the Bible here, not *O*, presumably on the grounds that “in quo mihi bene conplacuit” is not an error that Leo would have made; having read Leo’s writings many times, I must agree that this error would not originate in Leo’s composition or mind. Silva-Tarouca also gives “conplacui”, counter to manuscript *E* upon which his edition is founded. This more grammatical reading is also found in our sixth-century manuscripts *U* and Φ^c [*A*] and the high quality traditions with known fifth- or sixth-century textual origins, *Q* and *L*. However, it is not necessarily the case that “conplacuit” – un-Leonine as it is, and unattested in some good manuscripts – should be abandoned. Besides *O* and *E*, all three manuscripts of *P*, one of which is sixth-century and another seventh-, include the ungrammatical reading. Furthermore, manuscripts *n* and *r* transmit this reading; they, like *Q* and *L*, are manuscripts that transmit to us early canonical collections of the sixth century. Geoffrey D. Dunn argues that the *P* tradition includes material sent by Leo to Gaul – thus making their text of the *Tome* as close to Leo as *O* and *E*.²⁴ It seems that “conplacui” is more likely the text that Leo intended; “conplacuit” entered the tradition very early, possibly at the time of the enregistering of the *Tome* in the incipient papal archive. It was thence transmitted to northern Italy and Gaul before moving on into Spain, for the *S* tradition likely gains many of Leo’s letters from Gallic traditions. That is to say – with “conplacuit” we are textually as close to Leo’s text as with “conplacui”, even if it runs counter to the papal intention.

Quotations 16 and 17

These two quotations are the same as both the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina*; Schwartz lists no significant variants for them.

Quotation 18

The difference here is “maiestatis” against the Vulgate’s “gloriae”, with which the manuscripts from Φ^a , *B* and *N* as well as *M* of Φ^c , and manuscripts *E* and *f* accord. There is a minority tradition of Vulgate manuscripts cited in Wordsworth-White that also gives “maiestatis”, including

²⁴ G. D. DUNN, “*Collectio Corbeiensis*, *Collectio Pithouensis* and the Earliest Collections of Papal Letters”, in *Collecting Early Christian Letters from the Apostle Paul to Late Antiquity*, ed. B. NEIL and P. ALLEN, Cambridge, 2015, p. 175-205.

Codex Fuldensis – thus at variance with the Leo Fulda manuscript *f*, which provides the Vulgate “gloriae”. Leo’s reading corresponds with Sabatier’s edition of the *Vetus Latina*. It is possible that Leo quoted this way for clausular reasons, for “maiestatis crucifixissent” is a *cursus velox*, whereas “gloriae crucifixissent” gives us five syllables in between accents, and thus not one of Leo’s preferred clausulae.

Quotation 19

Unlike Leo, in Matthew 16:13 the Vulgate does not include “me”, nor do Leo manuscripts *T^{corr} K^s P^p H* and *b*. None of these manuscripts is early. Jülicher’s *Vetus Latina*, however, includes “me”.

Quotation 20

Leo’s quotation of Matthew 16:15 is also at variance with the Vulgate. In this case, Leo does not include “autem” following “uos” and gives the order “dicitis esse”, not “esse dicitis”. Although the *Vetus Latina* includes “autem”, several manuscripts have the same word order as Leo. Again the manuscripts of *Φ^a*, *BN* and *M*, plus *P^p* and the five of *S* make the first change, and manuscript *M* of *Φ^c* along with *p*, *Z*, and *b* even change the word order to “esse dicitis”. As elsewhere, Leo’s text produces a clausula in contradistinction to the Vulgate; “dicitis esse” is a *cursus planus*.

Quotation 21

This is Leo’s quotation of Matthew 16:16 where Peter says, “tu es Christus filius dei uiui”. It is the same as the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina*.

Quotation 22

Leo quotes Luke 24:39 later in the same passage. Here, Leo does not include the Vulgate’s “ipse” before “ego”, the wording in all three manuscripts of *P*, whereas *K^s* has “ego ipse”. Since all three manuscripts of *P* derive their text from the same source, and one is sixth-century while another is seventh-, and although here we have a minority reading, it is nonetheless very ancient, but amounts essentially to a single early codex. The *Vetus Latina* “*Itala*” gives “ego sum ipse”, while “*Afra*” gives “ego ipse sum”. The reading “pedes meos”, found in several manuscripts, *M^c Φ^c* [*M*] *pL^β Hbr*, is also a *Vetus Latina* “*Itala*” reading.

Quotation 23

In this quotation, Leo closes 1 John 4:2-3 with “antichristus”, not found in any major manuscript of the *Vetus Latina* but quoted thus in numerous

Latin Fathers, and in opposition to the Vulgate “antichristi” – as do also one manuscript of Φ^a , R , one of Φ^r , C , and manuscript I , while “antexpi” is given by OEP^p .²⁵ I would not count “antexpi” as a separate variant from “antixpi”, for “i” and “e” are notoriously interchangeable in mediaeval manuscripts. P^r is our seventh-century Cologne manuscript again. Schwartz has here chosen to go against both his Novara manuscript (O) and the Munich manuscript (E), presumably on the tendency among scribes to align with the Vulgate rather than diverge from it. “antichristus” has in its favour two of our earliest canonical collections, the late fifth-century *Collectio Quesneliana* (Q) and the early sixth-century *Collectio Vaticana* (L); this is also the reading of the seventh-century *Collectio Hispana* (S) and a large number of independent manuscripts, such as the sixth-century U of Verona. Since “antexpi” is in O , E , and the manuscripts of the sixth-/seventh-century *Collectiones Coloniensis* and *Pithouensis* (P^p), it is tempting to see it as the original, not “antichristus”, but the logic of following divergence from the Vulgate along with the majority of early manuscripts makes “antichristus” just that small amount more favorable.

Quotation 24

In this biblical quotation, “quod non corruptibilibus argento et auro” (31.14-16; 1 Pet. 1:18), the Vulgate has “argento uel” not “et” – no Leo codex provides the Vulgate reading, unsurprisingly. This behavior is in accord with what we see elsewhere with minor variants. Furthermore, Leo’s use of “et” agrees with *Vetus Latina* traditions **C S T**, although **C** provides “auro et argento”.

Quotation 25

In the second-to-last biblical quotation of the *Tome*, the Vulgate provides “eius mundat” where Leo gives “dei emundat”. No Leo scribe writes “eius” instead of “dei” – “dei” is necessary for context, since there is no antecedent for “eius” in the *Tome*. However, amongst the variants for “emundat”, all five S manuscripts, n , and f give “mundat”. The *Vetus Latina* reading in this passage is “purgat”.

Quotation 26

In the final quotation, we note first that Leo does not include the Johanne comma; not only is it not in the Greek, it is not in the earlier Latin

²⁵ See 30.24-31.2: omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne uenisse, ex deo est et omnis spiritus qui soluit Iesum, ex deo non est, et hic est antichristus.

tradition, although it is in a seventh-century Latin Bible.²⁶ This fact, however, is insignificant for Leo's text. More notable is that Leo writes, "spiritus est ueritas", whereas the Vulgate has "Christus est ueritas", and a great many scribes of the *Tome* follow the Vulgate: *M*^c, two manuscripts of *Φ*^a, *B* and *N*, both of *Φ*^r plus *D*^{corr}, *TK*⁷¹ *Q*^{aex}, *Q*^w as well as those that have been corrected to that reading, the long string of manuscripts represented by: *pXP^pLHhbnfmr*. Those that follow the Vulgate without correction include manuscripts of Latin *acta* of Chalcedon and the fifth-century *Collectio Quesnelliana* (*Q*) – but neither *O* from Novara nor *E* from Munich does, nor do the other early canonical collections that pre-date many of the Latin *acta*, such as *L* and *C*, and the manuscripts of the sixth century. I follow Schwartz in giving "sps" against "xps", at least for those descended from an archival tradition – in theory, the text could potentially have said "xps" in an encyclical version descended from Chalcedon and "sps" in a version descended from what Leo circulated in preparation for the council. "Spiritus", finally, is the reading in *Vetus Latina* **K** and **T**.

Conclusions from the Tome

The *Tome* provides us with a significant number of examples to demonstrate treatment of biblical quotations in transmission and their relationship to the Vulgate. The trend is largely for scribes or their editors to move – consciously or unconsciously – non-Vulgate quotations towards the Vulgate. When the variation from the Vulgate is very small, the changes are not always made. Furthermore, because the Vulgate is itself a varied text in the Middle Ages, when Leo diverges from the text we find in Weber-Gryson, sometimes we require a wider array of manuscripts to see if a scribe who diverges from Leo is converging with his own Vulgate. We also see a highly significant form of Leonine variation from the Vulgate, which is the citation of a biblical passage in a form that gives a better clausula. The results for the *Tome* are also illuminating when arranged chronologically, as seen in the following.

Sixth-century codices. Schwartz's apparatus includes variants for three sixth-century codices of the *Tome*, *P*ⁱ, *Φ*^c *A*, and *U*. In the seventeen cases where Leo's text of the *Tome* does not accord with the Vulgate, manuscript *P*ⁱ gives a Vulgate reading three times, in quotations 3, 7, and 22. The variants in quotations 7 and 22 are *Vetus Latina* readings as well Vulgate; in quotation 3, the *Vetus Latina* agrees with Leo. *Φ*^c *A* gives no Vulgate readings; *Φ*^c *M*, its latest relative – or, potentially, descendant – demonstrates a more marked tendency toward the Vulgate in these 17 quotations, as our

²⁶ Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare II (2).

discussion of the twelfth century will show. $\Phi^c D$, on the other hand, does not. Finally, U , from Verona, provides two readings that agree with the Vulgate amongst the fifth-century codices, in quotations 3 and 7. As noted above, quotation 7 is also *Vetus Latina*. The sixth-century shows very little drift towards the Vulgate.

Seventh-century codex. Manuscript P^c could almost be classified as sixth-century; it is a half-uncial manuscript from around the year 600 containing the *Collectio Coloniensis*. It gives only three Vulgate readings out of Leo's seventeen non-Vulgate quotations, numbers 3, 22, and 23. Quotations 3 and 22 it shares with P^u above. Quotation 23 it shares with its relative P^p .

Eighth-century codices. The *Tome* is transmitted in eight eighth-century codices analysed by Schwartz: Q manuscripts $a e w x$, $\Phi^a N$, K^n , E , and n . Q represents the *Collectio Quesnelliana*, a canonical collection compiled in Italy around the year 495 and represented in seven manuscripts that include Leo, six of which have a common collection of Leo's letters. $a e w$ and x form two pairs of manuscripts and often a quartet against t ; it is likely that w and x are twins.²⁷ Only three of these, $a e x$, give a Vulgate reading where Leo gives a non-Vulgate, and that is in quotation 26, where Leo's text provides an error. $\Phi^a N$ includes four Vulgate readings out of the 17: the change to number 7's word order, number 18, "autem" in number 20, and the change in number 26 like the Q manuscripts. Of the variants in the quotations that K^n includes, only the final one in quotation 26, shared with Q^{acx} and $\Phi^a N$, is a movement towards the Vulgate. In E , only two changes move towards the Vulgate, 18 and 23. One further reading, in quotation 7, moves towards the *Vetus Latina*. Finally, n includes four readings that are movements towards the Vulgate, in quotations 5, 7, 14, and 25. Of these, quotation 7 is also a *Vetus Latina* reading. Overall the eighth-century codices do not demonstrate a much greater tendency of movement towards the Vulgate, although the tendency is still slightly higher, as in $\Phi^a N$ and n which both transmit four such shifts.

Ninth-century codices. Schwartz lists seventeen ninth-century manuscripts that include the *Tome*, an illustrative example of the explosion of manuscripts in the Carolingian era: $P^p L^a L^b H^e H^g Q^i X Z t \Phi^a R B \Phi^r C T b f l r$. P^p only includes three Vulgate readings out of Leo's 17 non-Vul-

²⁷ For an analysis of the manuscripts of Q in relation to Leo, see M. J. J. HOSKIN, "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Letters of Leo the Great: A Study of the Manuscripts" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2015), p. 84-104. For Leo in Q , see also D. JASPER, "The Beginnings of the Decretal Tradition", in D. JASPER and H. FUHRMANN, eds, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, Washington, D.C., 2001, p. 46-47, 50-51.

gate quotations, demonstrating its fidelity to the *P* tradition: quotations 19, 22 (shared with all of *P*), and 23 (shared with *P*). *L*^a includes three such readings, quotations 7, 8, and 15; 7 and 8 are shared with the rest of the *L* tradition. *L*^β likewise includes three: 6 “concipiet”, 7, and 8. *H* is the *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta*, a ninth-century amplification of the sixth-century *Collectio Dionysiana*; it is in the additions that we encounter the *Tome*. All three *H* manuscripts include the Vulgate reading of number 19; of the early manuscripts, only *H*^s includes another, “et filius” in quotation 7 – this is also a *Vetus Latina* reading. *Q*^t includes no Vulgatised readings. Now that all *Q* manuscripts have been discussed, this serves as a demonstration of the good judgement found in the trust many textual critics of canon law have placed in *Q*. Furthermore, ongoing interest in the collection has not been misplaced; this interest ranges from Quesnel himself in the 1600s, through Leo’s last complete editors, the Ballerini in the 1750s, to the attention given *Q* in the work of Hubert Wurm.²⁸ *X* only has two instances of Vulgatisation, quotations 3 and 6, although number 6 includes two Vulgate variants, one of which is shared with no other manuscript. *Z* includes two Vulgate variants, 6 and 14, as well as number 7 shifting towards *Vetus Latina*. *Φ*^a *R* includes only two, numbers 7 and 23. *Φ*^a *B* includes two Vulgatisations, numbers 18 and 20. *Φ*^r *C* includes only one, number 7, shared with the rest of *Φ*^r and the *Vetus Latina*. The only Vulgate reading *T* includes is number 26’s corrected text of Leo. Manuscript *b* includes only the word order shift of number 20. Of the variants in biblical quotations of manuscript *l*, only number 23 is Vulgate. Although the number is still small, manuscript *f* includes five such Vulgate variants, the greatest number up to the ninth century. It also includes Vulgate continuations of quotations 4 and 23. Manuscripts *r* and *t* include none. In sum, the Carolingian work of “correctio” seems to have done its work;²⁹ overall, the ninth century is no worse than the eighth, at times as good or better. Any chronological trend towards “Vulgatisation” is not as obvious as it might seem at a first reading of Schwartz’s apparatus.

Tenth-century codices. Schwartz consulted nine tenth-century codices: *O*, the *S* manuscripts *d*, *e*, and *f*, *L*^r, *p*, *Φ*^c *D*, *Φ*^r *Y*, and *m*. *O* is his preferred

²⁸ See H. WURM, *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*, Bonn, 1939, p. 82-87, p. 209-223.

²⁹ The Carolingians had a vigorous program of “correctio” of various aspects of life in their kingdom, most famously texts. See G. BROWN, “Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance”, in R. MCKITTERICK, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1994, 1-51; and the final chapter of R. MCKITTERICK, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 292-380.

manuscript; Schwartz believed that this manuscript was a copy of a collection of documents put together by Leo himself.³⁰ Furthermore, since his edition of the *Tome* appears as part of his edition of that collection, it should come as no surprise that only twice does its text of the biblical quotations align with the Vulgate against Schwartz's editorial judgement, in quotations 14 and 23; however, Schwartz also exercised judgement in these passages by sifting out two further divergences of *O* from his redaction in quotations 8 and 15. Of the three tenth-century *S* manuscripts, it is a confirmed fact that *S*^d is a copy of *S*^f, based upon contents, decorations, and shared and added errors.³¹ On only two occasions do these three provide Vulgate readings against the text of Leo, occasions when the two eleventh-century *S* manuscripts also join them. However, *S*^e demonstrates its independence from *S*^d and *S*^f by continuing the quotation in 4, just as the Fulda manuscript *f* does (not be confused with manuscript *S*^f). The Florentine *Vaticana*, *L*^v, displays two Vulgate readings in these seventeen: 5 and 7, the latter shared with all *L* manuscripts. Manuscript *p* includes one such reading, being one of only two manuscripts with both Vulgate shifts in quotation 20. *p* also gives the reading "agnouissent" in quotation 18, itself an occasional Vulgate variant and synonym for the majority Leo/Vulgate "cognouissent"; whether the scribe who introduced the change had a different reading in mind or the vocabulary shift occurred because of the synonyms is impossible to say.³² Manuscript *D* of *Φ*^c includes only one difference from Leo, the surprisingly common "conplacuit" for "conplacui", discussed above. All of *Φ*^r, including *Y*, include the shift to Vulgate/Vetus Latina in quotation 7, "ammirabilis consiliarius"; *Y* includes no other Vulgate shift. Finally, *m* has only one Vulgate reading against Leo's non-Vulgate quotations, number 6 "concipiet".

Eleventh-century codices. Schwartz consulted only three eleventh-century codices: *S*^m, *S*^t, and *h*. Outside of instances shared with the other *S* codices discussed above, the two *S* manuscripts include a further two Vulgatisations, the omission of "ei" in quotation 3 and the accusative "factum" in

³⁰ ACO 2.2.1, vi-viii.

³¹ Concerning the decorative copying, see J. GUILMAIN "Interlace Decoration and the Influence of the North on Mozarabic Illumination (in Notes)", in *The Art Bulletin* 42, 36-37, and A. GUILLERMO *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real biblioteca del Escorial*, Volume 4, Madrid, 1916, 534. Concerning the text, see M. J. J. HOSKIN, "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Letters Leo the Great", p. 202-203.

³² This phenomenon of "agnoscere" and "cognoscere" being used interchangeably is also visible, for example, in *L*^β's text of Leo, *Ep.* 1, as well as *Q*^e of the same letter. It is not uncommon.

number 14. Manuscript *b* includes but three such readings in quotations 8, 19, and 22.

Twelfth-century codex. Montecassino Codex 2, listed as both *M^c* and *Φ^c M*, is the only twelfth-century manuscript consulted. This manuscript contains Leo's *Tome* twice, once with the *acta* of the Council of Chalcedon, and once in a letter collection. With the *acta*, represented by *Φ^c M*, it includes seven of the Vulgate readings at variance with Leo: 6, 7, 14, 15, 18, and 20; in number 7, this includes two separate changes in the text. In the letter collection, represented by *M^c*, it includes four: 3, 14 (a different shift from in the *acta*), and 26. Both times in Montecassino 2, the text includes the *Vetus Latina* "Itala" shift in quotation 22, adding "meos" after "pedes".

This chronological overview demonstrates that later codices do not necessarily include more "Vulgatisations" than earlier codices, with the exception of the twelfth-century Montecassino 2. It thus makes abundantly apparent the text-critical dictum, associated with Lachmann, "recentiores non deteriores". The only way to determine if the Vulgatisation trend in the *Tome* was more widespread than recorded by Schwartz's apparatus would be to consult the large quantity of derivative manuscripts unconsulted by Schwartz: the *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (2 manuscripts), Pseudo-Isidore (at least 57 manuscripts of four recensions), one important manuscript now in Florence, and those collections numbered by the Ballerini brothers in 1753 as 20 through 24 (20 manuscripts); in sum, 78 more manuscripts, from the ninth through fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, there are marginally more Vulgate readings in manuscripts from the eighth century onward. One wonders if this minor trend is not more than mere coincidence with the greater standardisation that arose later in that century with the Tours Bibles associated with Alcuin;³³ such thoughts must, however, remain unresolved for the time being.

2. *Epistula* 167

In *Ep.* 167 the evidence is largely the same, although not always. In this letter there are only 8 biblical quotations; of these, I judge that only in two cases has Leo written the text exactly as it appears in Weber-Gryson's Vulgate.

³³ On the Carolingian biblical text, see H. A. G. HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, Oxford, 2016, p. 81-86, with extensive bibliography.

	<i>Epistula</i> 167 (author's text)	Variants in mss	Vulgate (Weber-Gryson)
1	Noli esse nimium iustus (<i>Praef.</i> , PL 54.1200A; Eccl. 7:17)	<i>None</i>	noli esse iustus multum
2	Beatus qui perseuerauerit usque in finem (<i>Praef.</i> , PL 54.1201A; Mt. 24:13)	<i>None</i>	qui autem permanserit usque in finem
3	omnes qui uoluerint in Christo pie uiuere persecutionem patientur (<i>Praef.</i> , PL 54.1201A; 2 Tim. 3:12)	uolunt <i>S^c S-ga^a I^{bp} W</i> uolunt <i>I^{ovr}</i> pie uiuere in christo <i>B I^{pr}</i> persecutione <i>n</i> pateuntur <i>S^c</i> patietur <i>B</i>	omnes qui uolunt pie uiuere in Christo Iesu persecutionem patientur
4	Ecce ego ... uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi. (<i>Praef.</i> , PL 54.1202A; Mt. 28:20)	<i>None</i>	<i>Same</i>
5	Haec ... locutus sum uobis, ut in me pacem habeatis. In hoc autem mundo tribulationem habebitis; sed bono animo estote quia ego uici mundum (<i>Praef.</i> , PL 54.1202A; Jn 16:33)	habetis <i>B</i> <i>om.</i> autem <i>B</i> bono ... estote] confidite <i>D D-b Hs S^c</i> <i>S-ga I F W</i>	Haec locutus sum vobis ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo pressuram habetis; sed confidite ego vici mundum
6	secundum quod scriptum est, Sacerdos si peccauerit, quis orabit pro illo? (Cf. 1 Sam. 2:25)	orauit <i>Q^{ae} D^a Di n S^c</i>	si autem in Domino peccaverit vir quis orabit pro eo
7	Eiice ancillam et filium eius: non enim haeres erit filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac. (Ch. IV, PL 54.1204B; Gal. 4:30, Gen. 21:10)	est <i>B</i> filio libere <i>W</i>	eice ancillam et filium eius; non enim heres erit filius ancillae cum filio liberae (Gal. 4:30) Gen. 21:10 <i>Same</i>
8	Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. (Ch. X, PL 54.1206B; cited in PL as 1 Cor. 6:12)	<i>om.</i> mihi <i>Di D D-b</i> <i>D-h^{vmard} Hs Sa^{brck} L^β r n</i> <i>S^c S-ga I^{ovrp} W F V</i> quidem <i>for</i> mihi <i>D-h^b</i>	<i>Same</i>
9	Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis saecularibus (Ch. XII, PL 54.1207A; 2 Tim. 2:4)	<i>None</i>	nemo militans implicat se negotiis saecularibus

Quotation 1

Small differences or those in less famous Bible verses, such as Ecclesiastes 7:17, the first biblical quotation in this text, tend not to be “Vulgatised”. Leo writes Ecclesiastes 7:17, “Noli esse nimium iustus”, whereas the Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* provide, “noli esse iustus multum”. No known Leo manuscript includes the Vulgate-*Vetus Latina* reading.

Quotation 2

Our evidence from the *Tome* would make us expect Vulgatisation in the second quotation, where the Vulgate gives “permanserit” as the verb, yet no Leo manuscript gives that reading here. Leo corresponds to the *Vetus Latina* choice of verb here.

Quotation 3

The trend from the *Tome* does, however, appear in the third quotation. Leo’s “uoluerint” is written as “uolunt”, not only in the Vulgate but in the three main traditions of the *Vetus Latina* D, I, and V, and in Leo manuscript S^e, as well as Vatican, BAV, lat. 1341, a contemporary manuscript of the ninth-century *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (S-g^a) that is the immediate ancestor of Pseudo-Isidore (I), a ninth-century canonical collection from Frankish lands that was instrumental in the transmission of canon law into the High Middle Ages.³⁴ The I tradition transmits the *Hispana* Vulgatisation, usually in the form “uolunt”; I manuscripts also tend to have the Vulgate word order of “pie uiuere in christo”.

Quotation 4

This quotation matches both the Vulgate text and the *Vetus Latina*, and there are no scribal variants in its transmission.

Quotation 5

Here, still in the *Praefatio*, we find the same trend as in the *Tome*: “bono animo estote” – a reading associated with Jülicher’s *Vetus Latina* “Itala” – in John 16:33 becomes “confidite”, the Vulgate text, in the *Collectio Dionysiana* (D) and its descendants, the *Dionysio-Hadriana* (D-b) and *Dio-*

³⁴ The best succinct introduction to Pseudo-Isidore is H. FUHRMANN, “The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries”, in D. JASPER and H. FUHRMANN, eds, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, Washington, D.C., 2001, p. 135-195.

nysiana Bobiensis (*D-b*), including the same *Hispana* and *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* manuscripts just mentioned and their descendants in *I* as well as *F*.

Quotation 6

Quotation 6 is not an exact quotation from the Bible but, rather, a loose recollection from 1 Samuel 2:25. The only variation from Leo's text found in the manuscripts is "orait" for "orabit", obviously not of Vulgate origin but, rather, a common orthographical shift between *b* and *u*.

Quotation 7

Although Leo alludes to Paul in his introduction to the quotation, saying, "apostolus ad manifestandam harum personarum discretionem, testimonium ponit ex Genesi, ubi dicitur Abrahae", the text as quoted in clearly the text of Genesis 21:10, not its quotation in Galatians 4:30. There are two recorded variants in this passage. One is in *Collectio Bobbiensis* (*B*), a ninth-century codex that provides "est" for "erit". The other is *W*, of the eighth century, that gives the ending from Galatians, "filio libere" rather than "filio meo isaac".

Quotation 8

The eighth quotation is more interesting, and here I will discuss very briefly how we might go about redaction in a very small piece of text. The Ballerini, who edited Leo's letters in 1753, cite this quotation as being 1 Corinthians 6:12. In the Vulgate of 1 Corinthians 6:12, we have "omnia mihi licent". Some Leo manuscripts have "mihi" whilst others lack the word. The normal operation would be to see which manuscripts include "mihi", and which do not. If the generally "better" and older manuscripts do not accord with the Vulgate, then it is more likely that Leo's was originally a non-Vulgate reading. However, 1 Corinthians 10:23 also includes almost the exact same phrase, this time lacking "mihi". Is Leo quoting 1 Corinthians 10:23 or 6:12?

Leo's quotation of this verse in the *Collectio Quesnelliana*, one of our earliest and best collections dated to the 490s in Italy, gives us 1 Corinthians 6:12, as does the twelfth-century version preserved in Oxford, Oriel College, MS 42, an idiosyncratic collection of Leo's letters that replaces the collection in an otherwise *Q* manuscript. This reading is preserved in *B*, a ninth-century manuscript whose text of *Ep.* 167 is otherwise associated with *Collectio Dionysiana*. Furthermore, a couple of *Dionysio-Hadriana*

manuscripts,³⁵ one *Sanblasiana* manuscript,³⁶ and two of the manuscripts of *Collectio Vaticana* also contain the 1 Corinthians 6:12 reading.³⁷ One *I* manuscript, *I^b*, also includes “mihi”. It is thus tempting to accept this reading as Leo’s; the Ballerini did so in their edition of 1753, and they tend to have good sense.

Nonetheless, the vast majority of the manuscripts are against this reading, including all of *D* and *D-b*, *D-h^{vmard}*, *Hs*, *Sa^{ckbr}*, *L^β*, *r*, *Di*, *n*, *S^e*, *S-ga*, *W*, all of *I* except *I^b*, *F*, and both of *V*. To sift through these manuscripts, we must first eliminate those that derive their text of *Ep.* 167 from the work of Dionysius Exiguus – that is, *D*, *D-b*, *D-h*, *Hs*, *S*, *S-ga*, *W*, and *I*. Next, it should be observed that *Di* and *n* share a common source for their text of *Ep.* 167; they both contain the *capitula* associated with *Q* and an interpolated chapter not otherwise attested until the *Hispana*. Therefore, they are essentially a single witness of the seventh century. This leaves us with the majority of the *Sanblasiana*, a single manuscript of *L*, *r*, and *V* besides the *D* tradition and *Di-n*. The geographical origins of the collections contained in these manuscripts include Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Any individual manuscript could potentially have had “mihi” added or removed, depending on whether a scribe had 1 Corinthians 6:12 or 10:23 in mind. The *Sanblasiana* will likely originally have omitted “mihi”; the one manuscript that usually diverges from the rest of the *Sanblasiana* tradition omits it, and the one manuscript that omits it is usually in accord with at least one, if not three, other *Sa* manuscripts.

1 Corinthians 6:12 was most likely chosen by the Ballerini on the strength of its having been included in *Q*. Its inclusion in *L* also bolsters the chances of it being original. However, given the quality and quantity of the other early manuscripts and collections that include the 1 Corinthians 10:23 version, omitting “mihi”, I believe that it is more likely that “mihi” is an interpolation from 1 Corinthians 6:12 into *Q* and *L*.

Quotation 9

Although this quotation varies slightly from the Vulgate, no Leo manuscript includes a Vulgate reading for it.

³⁵ These are *D-h^a* and *D-h^b*. The latter manuscript was unknown to the Ballerini and is not listed in L. KÉRY, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages: A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts*, Washington, D.C., 1999, p. 13-20, where the *Dionysio-Hadriana* manuscripts are listed.

³⁶ Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 7/1 (olim XXIX Kasette 1; XXV a. 7) (saec. VIII).

³⁷ *Vaticana* MSS: Vat. lat. 1342 (Schwartz *L^a*, saec. IX) and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedil. 82 (Schwartz *L^v*, saec. X).

Conclusions from Epistula 167

Ep. 167 provides us with nine more biblical quotations across a series of manuscripts, only a few of which also include the *Tome*. The trends are generally the same as with Leo's *Tome*. The chronology of Vulgatisation is as follows.

Eighth-century codices. Eleven eighth-century codices transmit *Ep.* 167: *Di* Q^{aeux} , *n*, *Sa*^{ckl}, *V*^p, and *W*. Of these, the *Q* manuscripts transmit no "Vulgatised" readings; *Q*, it is to be remembered, is a late fifth-century canonical collection, so its readings are important. Here, as with the *Tome*, we see the quality of the collection's manuscripts. *Di* includes quotation 7 without the word "mihi", as do *n*, all of *Sa* and *V*, and manuscript *W*. The only other eighth-century transmissions of this biblical recollection phenomenon – whether of the Vulgate or something else – all occur in *W*, the *Collectio Hispana Gallica*. This manuscript demonstrates the readings that will not only be transmitted in its collection's descendents, *S-ga* (*Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*) and *I* (the Pseudo-Isidorian tradition), but also in the antecedent *S* (*Collectio Hispana*), none of whose manuscripts pre-date the tenth century. These readings, besides the omission of "mihi" in quotation 7, are "uolunt" in quotation 3 and "confidite" in quotation 5. *W* is idiosyncratic as being the only known manuscript to provide us with the Galatians 4:30 version of quotation 6, ending with "filio libere", rather than, "filio meo Isaac".

Ninth-century codices. 22 ninth-century codices transmit *Ep.* 167: *D*^a, *D-b*^m, *D-h*^{abdgmpv}, *B*, *L*^{αβ}, *Q*^p, *S-ga*^{ab}, *I*^{opb}, *Sa*^r, *r*, and *V*^s. Manuscript *D*^a includes only one true Vulgatised reading, "confidite" in quotation 5; this is taken up by the entire *D-h* tradition, descended from an ancestor common to *D*. *D*^a, like the rest of the manuscripts in the *D* tradition and as mentioned above, omits "mihi" in quotation 7. Its relative, *D-b*, also includes the same two variants. The *D-h* manuscripts are almost universally in agreement with their *D* and *D-b* relatives; however, for quotation 7, *D-h*^b adds "quidem" where the omitted "mihi" could possibly go, and *D-h*^p includes "mihi". This final *D-h* manuscript is very often corrupt; this is a clear case of a scribe seeing 1 Corinthians 10:23 and writing 6:12 instead. The scribe was possibly even that of *D-h*^p, if only because of the corrupt state of the text of Leo therein. Manuscript *B* includes three Vulgatised readings. It is the first manuscript collated that has the Vulgate word order in quotation 3, "pie uiuere in Christo" – the *I* manuscripts will do likewise. Its other two Vulgate variants are in quotation 5, the omission of "autem" and writing "confidite". The *S-ga* manuscripts transmit the same variants in 3, 5, and 7 as *W*; *I* follows suit, although the *I* manuscripts *o* and *v* provide "uoluint" and *b* includes "mihi". *I*^{vrb} also transmit the Vulgate word order

"pie uiuere in Christo". Several ninth-century manuscripts have only the omission of "mihi" in quotation 7: L^{β} , Sa^r , r , and V .

Tenth-century codices. Six tenth-century codices were consulted in this project: D^c , $D-b^v$, L^{γ} , S^{de} , and F . D^c is united with D^a throughout these quotations. $D-b^v$ also follows $D-b^m$ in this letter. While L^{β} provides the reading of quotation 7 without "mihi", L^{γ} gives the same reading as L^a . S provides us with the expected readings of "uolunt", "confidite", and "omnia licent". Finally, manuscript F also provides us with "confidite" and the omission of "mihi".

Eleventh-century codex. Manuscript Hs only displays this trend twice in its text of *Ep.* 167, in suit with the $D-b$ tradition whence it derives: "confidite" and the omission of "mihi".

Twelfth-century codex. Manuscript Ir does not differ from the other I manuscripts, providing "uolunt", "pie uiuere in christo", "confidite", and the lack of "mihi".

As with the *Tome*, it is evident from the foregoing chronological discussion of *Ep.* 167 that Vulgate-style readings do not necessarily increase with time. Certain readings enter particular traditions in the eighth and ninth centuries, but otherwise they are fairly stable over time. In fact, the manuscript with the greatest amount of Vulgatisation is from the eighth century, W .

3. Conclusion

The very basic hypothesis that each time Leo quotes the Bible in a manner at variance with the Vulgate text at least one scribe writes down a Vulgate reading instead of Leo's has been demonstrated false. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of scribes or editors remembering or preferring one version of the Bible at variance with Leo's, and this recollection or preference affecting the text of his letters, is not uncommon – indeed, it is common enough to warrant observation. It happens with notable frequency – that is, based upon these two letters, one of them Leo's most widely copied dogmatic letter (indeed, his most widely copied letter of all), the other one of his most popular decretals. Both of them exhibit this trait, although the *Tome* more frequently than *Ep.* 167. This, nonetheless, is unsurprising, since the *Tome* has been copied so many more times and can thus attract more of such corrections than *Ep.* 167, and it has a much higher number of biblical quotations.

I hope that I have also shown two applications of biblical quotations at variance from the Vulgate in the realm of textual criticism. In the *Tome*, I have pointed out some occasions where the text chosen by Schwartz pro-

duces better clausulae. This application of our knowledge of Leo's clausulation, research into which was done in earnest only after Schwartz's edition, is as useful here as anywhere when judging between variants. It also shows us that Leo is not a slavish citer the way a modern scholar is – but that is a given. Nevertheless, his quotations with more typically Leonine clausulae deserve greater attention, because they are not merely moments of memory lapse but, rather, moments where his own style has intruded upon the quotation whether consciously or unconsciously. In *Ep.* 167, I demonstrated that, despite the Ballerini having chosen the 1 Corinthians 6:12 reading with *Collectio Quesnelliana* – omnia mihi licent – the weight of evidence from the many other manuscripts and traditions of equal antiquity and quality with the *Quesnelliana* demonstrates that Leo is more likely to have quoted the similar passage from 1 Corinthians 10:23 – omnia licent.

The final question is what text of the Bible Leo used. It seems clear from the above that, based on these texts, Leo's translation of choice in the composition of letters was a *Vetus Latina*. Out of 36 quotations analysed, in 11 cases Leo corresponds to the Vulgate; in all 11 cases, he also corresponds with a *Vetus Latina* reading. Of the remaining 25 quotations, 11 are unequivocally *Vetus Latina*, and of the final 14 readings three are "mixed" readings that combine elements from known *Vetus Latina* versions and versions neither Vulgate nor *Vetus Latina*. Therefore, the unequivocally non-Vulgate, non-*Vetus Latina* readings number only 11. This is at variance to the statement by Houghton that Leo, like many other fifth-century writers, uses the Vulgate.³⁸ One possibility is that in his sermons Leo used the Vulgate. However, as new data about the text of Leo's letters emerges, it is clear that the question is, unsurprisingly, more complicated than simply one or the other. What may be the case is a difference in editorial approach to the letters than to the sermons. Leo himself edited and published the sermons, whereas the letters were never formally collected and published as a collection. It is likely, then, that when Leo's sermons were edited for publication, their biblical quotations were regularised in line with the increasingly popular "Vulgate" translations.

This article has demonstrated that Vulgatisation is a real phenomenon in Leo's letters from as early as the sixth century, but that it is not as widespread nor as thorough as one might hypothesise. Furthermore, the evidence in the foregoing discussion has shown us how one might use the question of Vulgate contamination in editing the text. We have also seen that Leo sometimes quotes a version of a text, whether consciously or not, with one of his preferred clausulae at variance with the Vulgate reading. Finally, we have tentatively suggested that Leo used the *Vetus Latina* in his

³⁸ H. A. G. HOUGHTON, *The Latin New Testament*, p. 50.

letters, but that the publication of the sermons may have involved cleaning up the biblical citations. Once we have critical editions of all the letters, then both bodies of texts can be taken side-by-side to settle that question.

Summary

Leo the Great wrote at a time when the newly-revised Latin Bible (which would in time come to be established as the “Vulgate”) was starting to gain ground. His letters are transmitted to us in over 250 manuscripts, ranging from the sixth through sixteenth centuries. A cursory glance at the selection of manuscripts used by E. Schwartz in his edition of Leo’s *Tome* in ACO 2.1 (*Ep.* 28 in *PL* 54) demonstrates to the reader that, for those biblical quotations that represent a non-Vulgate reading, many scribes or editors wrote down the Vulgate text as known to them. In this article, the phenomenon of Vulgatisation is assessed in two of Leo’s letters, the *Tome* and *Ep.* 167, working through the manuscripts chronologically and systematically. We see in the study that sometimes manuscripts as early as the seventh or eighth century have gone through a process of Vulgatisation, probably at the hands of an editor; we also see that there is a general trend of more Vulgatised readings in the later manuscripts, especially in the twelfth century and beyond. However, the trend towards Vulgatisation is not as extensive as might have been expected. Besides demonstrating how Vulgatisation operates in the letters of Leo the Great, the article also determines that Leo’s text of the Latin Bible – whether in a manuscript before him or in his mind – was a non- or pre-Vulgate text. Finally, another very important aspect of Leo’s citation style that emerges is the fact that Leo at times quotes a biblical passage in a form that corresponds more closely with his own rhetorical style and use of clausulae than the Vulgate or pre-Vulgate text; whether by design or simply through stylistic habit cannot be known.

M. J. J. HOSKIN
University of Edinburgh
〈Matthew.Hoskin@ed.ac.uk〉

APPENDIX: CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

Epistula 28, the *Tome* (cf. E. Schwartz, ACO 2.2)

O = Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare 30 (60), (saec. X)

P = *Collectio Corbeiensis* and related collections

P^a = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), lat. 12097 (*Collectio Corbeiensis*, saec. VI)

P^r = Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 212 (olim Darmstadt 2326; *Collectio Coloniensis*, saec. VIIⁱⁿ)

P^p = Paris, BnF, lat. 1564 (*Collectio Pithouensis*, saec. IX)

S = *Collectio canonum Hispana*

S^d = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d-I-2 (saec. X)

S^e = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, e-I-12 (saec. X)

S^f = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d-I-1 (saec. X)

S^m = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 1872 (saec. XI)

S^r = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10041 (saec. XI)

L = *Collectio Vaticana*

L^a = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), lat. 1342 (saec. IX)

L^β = Vatican, BAV, Barb. lat. 679 (saec. IX)

L^γ = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedili 82 (saec. X)

H = *Collectio Dionysiana adaucta*

H^d = Vatican, BAV, lat. 5845 (c. 915-934 [Schwartz says saec. XI])

H^e = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14008 (saec. IX2/2 [Schwartz says saec. X])

H^g = Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5 (saec. IX3/4 [Schwartz says saec. X])

h = Montecassino, Codex 125 (saec. XI)

Q = *Collectio Quesnelliana*

Q^a = Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 644 (572), (saec. VIII-IX)

Q^e = Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 191 (277), (saec. VIII-IX)

Q^r = Paris, BnF, lat. 3848A (saec. IX1/4)

Q^w = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2141 Han (c. 780)

Q^x = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2147 Han (c. 780)

p = Paris, BnF, lat. 1453 (saec. X)

X = Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Codex Vossianus 122 (saec. IX)

Z = “Codex Montepessulanus s. VIII” (Schwartz), which I interpret to be Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H 308 (saec. IX)

t = Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, 2 (147), (saec. IX-X)

M^c = Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Codex 2 (saec. XII)

Φ^a = Gesta Chalcedonensia uersio antiqua

R = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1045 (saec. IX)

B = Vatican, BAV, Barb. lat. 680 (saec. IX)

N = Paris, BnF, lat. 16832 (olim F1: D2; Notre-Dame 88), (saec. VIII2/2)

Φ^c = Gesta Chalcedonensia uersio correctata

A = Vatican, BAV, lat. 1322 (saec. VI)

D = Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H 058 (saec. X)

M = Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Codex 2 (saec. XII)

Φ^r = Gesta Chalcedonensia uersio antiqua a Rustico correctata

C = Paris, BnF, lat. 11611 (saec. IX)

Y = Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LVIII (56) (saec. X)

T = Paris, BnF, lat. 3848B (saec. IX)

U = Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LIX (saec. VI)

K = Gesta concilii quinti

Kⁿ = Paris, BnF, lat. 16832 (olim F1: D2; Notre-Dame 88), (saec. VIII2/2)

K^s = Edition of Laurentius Surius, *Concilia Omnia*, Cologne, 1567

E = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540 (*Collectio Ratisbonensis*, saec. VIII/IX)

b = "Berolinensis 79", which I interpret to be: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1746 (Rose 79), (saec. IX-X)

n = "Berolinensis 84", which I interpret to be *Collectio Remensis*: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1743 (Rose 84), (saec. VIII2/2)

f = Fulda, Domschatz, Bonifatianus 2 (*olim* Kloster des Bonifatius 2; saec. VIII or IX)

l = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 580 (saec. IX)

m = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 106 inf. (saec. X)

r = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1997 (saec. IX)

Epistula 167

Di = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5508 (*Collectio Diessensis*, saec. VIII^{ex})

D = *Collectio Dionysiana*

D^a = Paris, BnF, lat. 3837 (before 829)

D^c = Vatican, BAV, lat. 5845 (915-934)

$D-b$ = *Collectio Dionysiana bobiensis*

$D-b^m$ = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S. 33 sup. (saec. IX)

$D-b^v$ = Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXI (saec. X)

$D-h$ = *Collectio Dionysio-hadriana*

a = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1021 (saec. IX1/4)

b = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1043 (saec. IX)

d = Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, E.1 (saec. IX2/2)

g = Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5 (saec. IX)

m = Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 578 (saec. IX)

p = Paris, BnF, lat. 1458 (saec. IX-X)

r = Vatican, BAV, lat. 1337 (saec. IXⁱⁿ)

v = Vatican, BAV, lat. 4979 (saec. IX1/4)

Hs = Vatican, BAV, lat. 1338 (*Collectio Hadriano-Hispana*, saec. XI)

B = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C.238 inf. (*Collectio Bobbiensis*, saec. IX2/2)

L = *Collectio Vaticana*

L^a = Vat. lat. 1342 (saec. IX)

L^b = Vat. Barb. lat. 679 (saec. IX)

L^v = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Aedili 82 (saec. X)

Q = *Collectio Quesnelliana*

Q^a = Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 644 (572), (saec. VIII-IX)

Q^c = Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 191 (277), (saec. VIII-IX)

Q^w = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2141 Han (c. 780)

Q^x = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2147 Han (c. 780)

Q^p = Paris, BnF, lat. 3842A (saec. IX^{med}/3/4) NB: not to be confused with Q^r ,
Paris, lat. 3848A.

Q^o = Oxford, Oriel College, manuscript 42 (saec. XII)

n = *Collectio Remensis*: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1743
(Rose 84), (VIII2/2)

S = *Collectio Hispana*

S^d = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, d-I-2 (saec. X)

S^e = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, e-I-12 (saec. X)

W = Vienna, ms 411 (*Collectio Hispana Gallica*, 780-820)

$S-ga$ = *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*

$S-ga^a$ = Vatican, BAV, lat. 1341 (saec. IX)

$S-ga^b$ = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 132 (saec. IX1/2)

*I = Collectio Pseudo-Isidoriani**I*^o = Vatican, BAV, Ott. lat. 93 (saec. IX^{med})*I*^v = Vatican, BAV, lat. 3791 (saec. XI)*I*^p = Paris, BnF, lat. 9629 (saec. IX-X)*I*^r = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 978 (saec. XII)*I*^b = Vatican, BAV, lat. 630 (saec. IX^{med})*F* = Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, Conv. Soppr. J.III.18 (saec. X-XI)*Sa = Collectio Sanblasiana**Sa*^c = Paris, BnF, lat. 3836 (olim Colbert 784, Regius 3887 3.3, saec. VIII²/2)*Sa*^k = Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 213 (olim Darmstadt 2336, saec. VIIIⁱⁿ)*Sa*^l = Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, 490, foll. 236r-271v (saec. VIII/IX).*Sa*^r = Paris, BnF, lat. 1455, 3r-79v (saec. IX²/2)*Sa*^s = Sank Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, ms 7/1 (olim XXIX Kasette 1; XXV a. 7, saec. VIII)*r* = Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1997 (*Collectio Teatina*, saec. IX)*V = Collectio Vetus Gallica**V*^p = Paris, BnF, lat. 1603 (saec. VIII/IX)*V*^s = Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.VI.109 (saec. IX¹/4)

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Un manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe : le ms. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210*

Jérémy DELMULLE – Warren PEZÉ

(Paris / Leuven – Tübingen)

1. Les manuscrits de travail d'auteurs anciens

En 1941, Paul Lehmann dressait un bilan contrasté des découvertes récentes en matière d'autographes de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge¹. On avait définitivement montré que les auteurs anciens ne copiaient pas eux-mêmes leurs œuvres mais les dictaient, ce qui avait conduit les philologues à désavouer plusieurs autographes présumés, comme le manuscrit du *De baptismo contra Donatistas* de l'Escorial (*El Escorial, Biblioteca del real monasterio de San Lorenzo, Camarin de las reliquias, Vitrina* 25; *CLA*, XI, 1629) ou plusieurs *codices* anglo-saxons où l'on avait voulu voir la main de Bède². Il fallait donc se rabattre sur les corrections et les notes marginales. On savait que les Pères de l'Église annotaient leurs manuscrits; par ailleurs, les colophons permettaient parfois de les leur attribuer³. À l'aube de la seconde guerre mondiale, on énumérait plusieurs manuscrits annotés de renom: le *Codex Bonifatianus 1* (*CLA*, VIII, 1196) de Fulda, corrigé et annoté par Victor de Capoue; le ms. *Città del Vaticano, Arch. di S. Pietro, D 182* (*CLA*, I, 1a) dont André Wilmart avait proposé d'attribuer les notes à Fulgence de Ruspe; le ms. *Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, Q. v. I. 6-10* (*CLA*, XI, 1614) dont les notes avaient été attribuées à Cassiodore; le

¹ P. LEHMANN, « Autographe und Originale namhafter lateinischer Schriftsteller des Mittelalters », dans *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, I, Leipzig, 1941, p. 359-381 (première éd. dans *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, 3 [1920], p. 6-16).

² Voir E. DEKKERS, « Les autographes des Pères latins », dans *Colligere fragmenta. Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. 7. 1952*, éd. B. FISCHER, V. FIALA, Beuron, 1952 (Texte und Arbeiten herausgegeben durch die Erzabtei Beuron, 1. Abteilung, Beiträge zur Ergündung des älteren lateinischen christlichen Schrifttums und Gottesdienstes, 2), p. 127-139; H. HOFFMANN, « Zur mittelalterlichen Brieftechnik », dans *Spiegel der Geschichte*, éd. K. REGEN, S. SKLAWEIT, Münster, 1964, p. 141-170; D. GANZ, « Mind in Character: Ancient and Medieval Ideas about the Status of the Autograph as an Expression of Personality », dans *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers. Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, éd. P. R. ROBINSON, R. ZIM, Aldershot, 1997, p. 280-299.

³ DEKKERS, « Les autographes » (cit. n. 2), p. 138-139.

ms. *Wien*, ÖNB, lat. 2160 (CLA, X, 1507) annoté par Dulcitus d'Aquino ; ou encore la note autobiographique de saint Willibrord dans le ms. *Paris*, BnF, lat. 10837 (CLA, V, 606a), fol. 39v⁴. L'époque carolingienne offrait un bilan comparable, avec Hincmar de Reims, Loup de Ferrières, Pacifico de Vérone, Paul Diacre, Sédulius Scottus et les notes de Jean Scot exhumées par Ludwig Traube, déjà fort débattues⁵.

En 2001, le nouveau bilan dressé par Hartmut Hoffmann donne la pleine mesure des progrès réalisés depuis Lehmann⁶. L'achèvement de l'inventaire des *Codices Latini antiquiores* dirigé par Elias Avery Lowe et la publication de celui des manuscrits carolingiens due à Bernhard Bischoff⁷ ont entraîné dans leur sillage une série de découvertes spectaculaires. On connaît dorénavant des manuscrits de travail d'un grand nombre d'auteurs carolingiens : Alcuin, Claude de Turin, Dungal de Pavie, Florus de Lyon, Heiric d'Auxerre, Martin de Laon, Notker le Bègue, le Pseudo-Isidore, Pru-

⁴ R. BEER, *Monumenta palaeographica Vindobonensia. Denkmäler der Schreibkunst aus der Schriftensammlung des Habsburg-Lothringischen Erzhauses*, I, Leipzig, 1910, p. 22 ; O. DOBIAS ROZDESTVENSKAIA, « Le codex Q. v. I, 6-10 de la Bibliothèque Publique de Leningrad », *Speculum*, 5 (1930), p. 21-48 ; A. WILMART, « L'odyssée du manuscrit de San Pietro qui renferme les œuvres de saint Hilaire », dans *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand: Presented upon the Completion of his 40th Year of Teaching*, éd. L. W. JONES, New York, 1938, p. 293-305 ; sur ce dernier manuscrit, voir maintenant F. TRONCARELLI, « L'odissea di un'odissea: note sull'Ilario basilicano (Arch. S. Pietro D 182) », *Scriptorium*, 45/1 (1991), p. 3-21 et L. E. BOYLE, « The 'Basilicanus' of Hilary Revisited », dans *Integral Palaeography*, Turnhout, 2001 (Textes et études du Moyen Âge, 16), p. 105-118. Sur Willibrord, voir H. A. WILSON, *The Calendar of St. Willibrord From MS. Paris Lat. 10837: A Facsimile With Transcription, Introduction, and Notes*, London, 1918 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 55).

⁵ LEHMANN, « Autographe und Originale » (cit. n. 1). Ajoutons les notes marginales d'Hincmar trouvées par Ferdinand Lot dans le ms. *Laon*, BM, 407 : F. LOT, « Une année du règne de Charles le Chauve, année 866 », *Le Moyen Âge*, 15 (1902), p. 393-438 (p. 438). Voir depuis lors J. DEVISSE, *Hincmar archevêque de Reims 845-882*, 3 vol. Genève, 1975-1976, p. 924-926, 946 et 1069-1072 et PEZÉ, « Un faussaire à la cour : hérésie et falsification pendant la controverse adoptianiste », dans *Charlemagne. Les temps, les espaces, les hommes. Construction et déconstruction d'un règne*, Actes du colloque de Paris des 26-28 mars 2014, Turnhout, à paraître (Haut Moyen Âge). Ajoutons enfin les autographes de Pacifico : T. VENTURINI, *Ricerche paleografiche intorno all'archidiacono Pacifico di Verona*, Verona, 1929.

⁶ HOFFMANN, « Autographa des früheren Mittelalters », *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 57/1 (2001), p. 1-62. Voir également *Gli autografi medievali. Problemi paleografici e filologici. Atti del convegno di studio (Erice, 25 settembre-2 ottobre 1990)*, éd. P. CHIESA, L. PINELLI, Spoleto, 1994.

⁷ *Codices Latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century* [= CLA], éd. E. A. LOWE, 12 vol., Oxford, 1934-1971 ; B. BISCHOFF (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, t. I : *Aachen-Lambach*, Wiesbaden, 1998 ; t. II : *Laon-Paderborn*, éd. B. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden, 2004 ; t. III : *Padua-Zwickau*, éd. EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden, 2014.

dence de Troyes, Ratramne de Corbie, Walahfrid Strabon⁸... D'un point de vue méthodologique, un nouvel objet d'étude a fait son apparition : les signes d'extraction, utilisés par les auteurs pour sélectionner leurs futures citations en marge du manuscrit source, que l'on peut confronter avec ces mêmes citations dans le traité définitif, ce qui permet une attribution plus assurée qu'avec les seuls critères paléographiques. La méthode a fait ses preuves avec Alcuin, le Pseudo-Isidore, Ratramne et, surtout, le diacre Florus de Lyon dont les célèbres crochets ont été identifiés par Célestin Charlier dès 1945 et se sont révélés le plus sûr critère d'attribution de son *Expositio* augustinienne⁹.

Cette vague de découvertes a aussi touché l'époque tardoantique¹⁰. En 1966, E. A. Lowe avait accueilli favorablement l'hypothèse de William Green selon laquelle le ms. *Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, Q. v. I. 3* (CLA, XI, 1613) proviendrait du scriptorium d'Hippone et aurait été édité et corrigé sous la supervision d'Augustin¹¹. Autre cas célèbre, celui du ms. *Troyes*,

⁸ Voir la bibliographie réunie par HOFFMANN, « Autographa » (cit. n. 6), et PEZÉ, « Deux manuscrits personnels de Prudence de Troyes », *Revue bénédictine*, 124/1 (2014), p. 114-150 (p. 114). On peut ajouter, depuis, la récente thèse d'habilitation de R. CORRADINI sur le *vademecum* de Walahfrid : *ZeitNetzWerk. Karolingische Gelehrsamkeit und Zeitforschung im Kompendium des Walahfrid Strabo*, Habilitationsschrift, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014, ainsi qu'une importante mise au point, au sujet de Walahfrid, par W. BERSCHIN, T. LICHT, « Geht die Überlieferung von Anthologia 665 aus dem Chronographen von 354 auf Walahfrid Strabo († 849) zurück ? », *AL. Rivista di studi di Anthologia Latina*, 7 (2016), p. 1-12.

⁹ C. CHARLIER, « Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire », dans *Mélanges Emmanuel Podechard : études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat au doyen honoraire de la faculté de théologie de Lyon*, Lyon, 1945, p. 71-85 (rééd. dans *Revue bénédictine*, 119/2 [2009], p. [252]-269) et K. ZECHIEL-ECKES, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist, Studien zur Persönlichkeit eines karolingischen « Intellektuellen » am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit Amalarius (835-838) und des Prädestinationsstreits (851-855)*, Stuttgart, 1999 (Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 8); la livraison 2009 de la *Revue bénédictine* contient tout un dossier sur Florus de Lyon avec réédition de l'article fondateur de dom Charlier; voir aussi la toute récente thèse de doctorat de P. CHAMBERT-PROTAT, *Florus de Lyon lecteur des Pères. Documentation et travaux patristiques dans l'Église de Lyon au IX^e siècle*, Paris, EPHE, 2016. Signalons un nouveau manuscrit de travail de Ratramne de Corbie : PEZÉ, « The Making of the *De Praedestinatione* of Ratramnus of Corbie (with a new personal manuscript) », dans *The Annotated Book. Early Medieval Practices of Reading and Writing*, actes du colloque de La Haye des 3-5 juin 2015, à paraître (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy).

¹⁰ Citons ici l'article fondateur de A. R. NATALE, « *Marginalia* : la scrittura della glossa dal v al ix secolo », dans *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni*, Milano, 1957 (Fontes Ambrosiani, 32), p. 613-630.

¹¹ W. M. GREEN, « A Fourth Century Manuscript of St. Augustine ? (Leningrad QV 1/3 : 'First edition' (inter 396/426) of the *De doctrina christiana*) », *Revue bénédictine*, 69 (1959), p. 191-197. Voir les arguments contraires de F. BRUNHÖLZL, « Die sogenannten Afrikaner. Bemerkungen zu einem paläographisch-überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Problem », dans *Litterae*

BM, 504 (*CLA*, VI, 838), qui est vraisemblablement un manuscrit d'auteur de la *Regula pastoralis* de Grégoire le Grand, corrigé à Rome vers 600 sous les yeux du pontife, et, en certains endroits, par sa propre main¹². Les gloses du ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 8907* (*CLA*, V, 572), attribuées à l'évêque arien Maximinus, adversaire de saint Augustin en 427-428, ont reçu une édition scientifique¹³. Les notes de plusieurs manuscrits en semi-onciale – nous y reviendrons – sont attribuées à Donatus, prêtre napolitain des années 560-570¹⁴. L'identification de la main de saint Boniface est toujours discutée¹⁵. Enfin, Fabio Troncarelli a repris et enrichi le dossier des manuscrits de Vivarium, bien que l'identification de la main de Cassiodore soit toujours matière à controverse¹⁶. Dans le même temps, les corpus de notes anciennes, même anonymes, suscitent un regain d'intérêt¹⁷.

Medii Aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag, éd. M. BORGOLTE, H. SPILLING, Sigmaringen, 1988, p. 17-26.

¹² A. PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana. Origini, sviluppo e diffusione di una stilizzazione grafica altomedievale (sec. VI-IX) », *Studi medievali*, s. III, 12/1 (1971), p. [75]-134 et xx pl.; R. W. CLEMENT, « Two Contemporary Gregorian Editions of Pope Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis* in Troyes MS 504 », *Scriptorium*, 39 (1985), p. 89-97. Déjà dom Mabillon, dans une note ajoutée au manuscrit, aujourd'hui disparue, l'estimait autographe de Grégoire le Grand (CLEMENT, « Two Contemporary Gregorian Editions », p. 89, n. 1). Sur ce manuscrit, dont il sera question plus diffusément dans la section 4 de cet article, voir aussi l'étude qui accompagne sa reproduction en fac-similé dans *Codex Trecensis: La « Regula pastorale » di Gregorio Magno in un codice del VI-VII secolo: Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne*, 504, éd. L. G. G. RICCI, A. PETRUCCI, 2 vol., Firenze, 2005 (*Archivum Gregorianum*, 5).

¹³ *Scolies ariennes sur le concile d'Aquilée*, éd. et trad. R. GRYSON, Paris, 1980 (Sources chrétiennes, 267). Voir J.-P. BOUHOT, « Origine et composition des 'scolies ariennes' du manuscrit Paris, BN latin 8907. À propos des travaux de Roger Gryson », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 10 (1980), p. 303-323.

¹⁴ Voir dernièrement M. PALMA, « Per lo studio della glosa tardoantica: il caso di Donato, prete napoletano », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 22 (1998), p. 5-12; ID., « Die patristischen Glossen des neapolitanischen Geistlichen Donatus in einigen handschriften des 6. Jahrhunderts », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 24 (2000), p. 5-16.

¹⁵ M. PARKES, « The Handwriting of St Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems », *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 98 (1976), p. 161-179; HOFFMANN, « Autographa » (cit. n. 6), p. 15-17.

¹⁶ TRONCARELLI, « 'Decora correctio'. Un codice emendato da Cassiodoro? », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 9 (1985), p. 147-168; ID., « I codici di Cassiodoro: le testimonianze più antiche », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 12 (1988), p. 47-100; « Litteras pulcherrimas. Correzioni di Cassiodoro nei codici di Vivarium », *Scrittura e civiltà*, 20 (1996), p. 89-109; ID., *Vivarium. I libri, il destino*, Turnhout, 1998 (*Instrumenta patristica*, 33). Voir HOFFMANN, « Autographa » (cit. n. 6), p. 10, n. 30; BISCHOFF, *Paléographie de l'Antiquité romaine et du Moyen Âge occidental*, trad. H. AT SMA, J. VEZIN, Paris, 1985, p. 203, n. 43, n'est pas critique, contrairement à ce qu'indique Hoffmann. En revanche, M. HELLMANN, *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit am Beispiel eines Persius-Kommentars aus der Schule von Tours*, Hannover, 2000 (*MGH. Studien und Texte*, 27) adresse des critiques décisives. L'identification de la main de Cassiodore repose en grande partie, chez Troncarelli, sur la restitution de deux notes tironiennes *Cassio-*

Dans les cas que l'on vient d'énumérer, l'identification d'une main est rarement contestable lorsqu'il existe une preuve externe : un colophon (Victor de Capoue, Donatus de Naples, Sédulius Scottus...), une note autobiographique (Willibrord, Heiric d'Auxerre...) ou bien la confrontation des signes d'excerptation avec le texte définitif de l'auteur (Alcuin, Florus, Ratramne...). La probabilité est également forte lorsque le caractère éditorial des corrections trahit un manuscrit d'auteur (Grégoire le Grand, Prudence de Troyes...). À l'inverse, lorsqu'elle repose essentiellement sur la paléographie, l'attribution reste discutable (Cassiodore).

Nous devons garder à l'esprit ce principe du « critère externe » en abordant le dossier d'Eugippe de Castellum Lucullanum. Nous proposons de lui attribuer les signes d'extraction détectables dans les marges de plusieurs feuillets du ms. *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, *Pal. lat. 210*, utilisé lors de la confection des *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*. Cette découverte a été réalisée de façon simultanée et indépendante par les deux signataires de ces pages, qui ont décidé de publier ensemble cette étude. Après un rappel des principaux éléments de la vie et de l'œuvre d'Eugippe essentiels à la compréhension du propos, on trouvera l'examen détaillé des préparations d'extraits visibles dans le ms. *Pal. lat. 210*, suivi de deux exposés appelés par le rapprochement de ces marques et annotations avec le travail d'Eugippe : la proposition d'une nouvelle datation du manuscrit en question, et de nouvelles considérations sur l'usage ultérieur des signes marginaux qui y sont utilisés¹⁸.

dorus legit dans les mss. *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, *Vat. lat. 5704* et *Paris*, BnF, *lat. 8907*. Or, Hellmann, qui fait actuellement autorité en matière de notes tironiennes, réfute catégoriquement cette lecture, p. 22, n. 62 ; p. 247 (description du *Par. lat. 8907*) ; p. 253 (description du *Vat. lat. 5704*). Voir également le bilan critique dressé par E. CONDELLO, *Una scrittura e un territorio. L'onciale dei secoli V-VIII nell'Italia meridionale*, Spoleto, 1994 (SISMEL, Biblioteca di Medioevo latino, 12), p. 65-79. Voir aussi, enfin, la proposition de J. Delmulle, qui identifie dans plusieurs manuscrits carolingiens la trace de l'activité éditoriale de Cassiodore ou de son entourage : DELMULLE, « Introduction » à PROSPERI AQUITANI *Opera*, Pars I : *Liber contra collatorem*, cura et studio J. DELMULLE, Turnhout, à paraître (CCSL, LXVIII).

¹⁷ Voir, par exemple, P.-I. FRANSEN, « Notes antiques au *De Civitate Dei* de saint Augustin dans un manuscrit de Reims », *Revue bénédictine*, 124 (2014), p. 254-260 ; ID., « Un commentaire marginal lyonnais du *De civitate Dei* dans deux manuscrits (Lyon 607 et 606) », *Revue bénédictine*, 125 (2015), p. 125-147. On peut également mentionner l'hypothèse que le palimpseste de Fronton du ms. *Paris*, BnF, *lat. 12161* (CLA, V, 629) émane de la bibliothèque de Sidoine Apollinaire : BISCHOFF, *Der Front-Palimpsest der Mauriner*, München, 1958 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 1958/2), p. 26.

¹⁸ Les sections 1 à 3 ont été rédigées à quatre mains, la section 4 et les Annexes par J. Delmulle et la section 5 par W. Pez, mais il va sans dire qu'elles ont toutes été l'objet d'une relecture mutuelle. Nous tenons à remercier pour leurs remarques et suggestions les auditeurs de la conférence donnée le 27 mai 2016 à l'EPHE, dans le cadre de la direction d'études de

2. Le manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe dans son contexte

a. Une vie d'Eugippe

Eugippe est probablement né vers 460-467 et mort entre 533 et 544¹⁹. Il est nécessaire de rassembler ici les éléments biographiques qui éclairent sa personnalité littéraire : ils ne seront pas sans incidence sur les résultats de notre enquête. Probablement né en Rétie ou en Norique (actuelle Autriche) d'une famille romaine²⁰, Eugippe est d'abord disciple de saint Séverin († 482), apôtre du *Noricum*, au sujet duquel il rédige en 511 le *Commematorium de vita sancti Severini*, véritable monument de l'hagiographie tardoantique²¹. Il quitte le *Noricum* en 488 avec toute la population romaine (épisode qu'il compare à la sortie d'Égypte) et s'installe, avec

Michel-Yves Perrin, ainsi que ceux de l'atelier médio-latin de la Sorbonne du 11 juin 2016, à qui a été présenté un état provisoire du présent article.

¹⁹ Les dates sont hypothétiques. Ceux, comme Bratoz, qui estiment qu'Eugippe a personnellement connu Séverin optent pour une datation haute (vers 460) ; ceux, comme Philippe Régerat ou Marc van Uytfanghe, qui estiment que non optent pour une datation basse (465-467). Pour notre sujet, c'est sans grande incidence. Une lettre qui lui est adressée par Ferrand de Carthage, datée de 533, nous fournit le *terminus post quem* de sa disparition. Voir M. BÜDINGER, « Eugippius, eine Untersuchung », *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 61 (1878), p. 793-814 ; R. BRATOZ, *Severinus von Noricum und seine Zeit. Geschichtliche Anmerkungen*, Wien, 1983 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historischen Klasse, Denkschriften, 165) ; EUGIPPE, *Vie de saint Séverin*, introd., texte latin, trad., notes et index de Ph. RÉGERAT, Paris, 1991 (Sources chrétiennes, 374), p. 8-10 ; J. HOFFMANN, « Das Werk des Abtes Eugippius. Zum literarischen Vermächtnis eines spätantiken Augustinus-Kenners an die frühmittelalterliche Kirche des Abendlandes », *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 109 (1998), p. 293-305 ; M. VAN UYTFANGHE, « Eugippius », *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 4, 1987-1989, col. 85-86.

²⁰ Pour une synthèse, voir BRATOZ, *Severinus von Noricum*, p. 8, n. 10. Pour ce qui regarde l'anthroponymie, le nom (rare) d'origine grecque Eugyppius situerait les origines de sa famille à Aquilée.

²¹ Les dernières éditions et traductions en date sont les suivantes : EUGIPIUS, *Das Leben des heiligen Severin*, ed. R. NOLL, Berlin, 1963 (Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt, 11) ; EUGIPIUS, *the Life of Saint Severin*, trad. L. BIELER, Washington DC, 1965 (The Fathers of the Church, 55) ; l'éd. et trad. de RÉGERAT (cit. n. 19) ; EUGIPPIO ABATE, *Opere*, ed. A. GENOVESE, Roma – Gorizia, 2012 (Corpus scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis, 7). Au sujet du *Commematorium*, consulter M. PELLEGRINO, « Il Commematorium vitae Sancti Severini », *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 12 (1958), p. 1-26 ; H. SCHMEJA, « Zur Latinität der Vita Sancti Severini des Eugippius », dans *Festschrift für Robert Muth*, éd. P. HÄNDEL, W. MEID, Innsbruck, 1983 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 22), p. 425-436 ; W. BERSCHIN, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, 1, Stuttgart, 1986 (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 8), p. 174-188 ; *Eugippius und Severin. Der Autor, der Text und der Heilige*, éd. W. POHL, M. DIESENBERGER, Wien, 2001 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 2) ; F. LOSEK, « Freunde, Feinde, Fremde – Terminologie und Typologie in der Vita Severini », dans *Sprache und Identität im*

la permission du pape Gélase et de l'évêque de Naples Victor, à Castellum Lucullanum, l'antique villa du consul Lucullus transformée en forteresse, sur la colline de Pizzofalcone²².

Eugippe jouit à Naples d'une excellente insertion dans les réseaux romains. Cassiodore, à qui il doit une notice élogieuse dans les *Institutiones*, l'a bien connu²³. La dédicataire des *Excerpta Augustini* d'Eugippe est Proba, « parente » de Cassiodore et fille du consul et patrice Symmaque, beau-père de Boèce, exécuté vers 525 par Théodoric²⁴. Eugippe est proche de Paschase, diacre romain à qui est humblement adressée la lettre-préface de son *Commemoratorium*²⁵. Il est aussi le dédicataire de la traduction du *De opificio* (ou *conditione*) *hominis* de Grégoire de Nysse par Denys le Petit, qui par ailleurs dédicace, selon toute vraisemblance, sa *Vita Latina sancti Pachomii* à Proba²⁶. Sa réputation traverse la Méditerranée, puisque (peut-être grâce au patronage de Proba) Fulgence de Ruspe adresse à Eugippe une lettre sur le thème de la charité (en réponse à une lettre perdue), tout en lui demandant de faire copier par ses moines des livres qui lui font défaut²⁷, ainsi qu'un ouvrage, *Contra sermonem cuiusdam Pelagiani*, dont

frühen Mittelalter, éd. POHL, B. ZELLER, Wien, 2012 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 20), p. 205-210.

²² Eugipp., *Seu.*, 44, 5 et 46, 2 (éd. RÉGERAT [cit. n. 19], p. 290-297).

²³ Cassiod., *Inst.*, I, 23, 1: *Convenit etiam ut presbyteri Eugippii opera necessaria legere debeat, quem nos quoque vidimus, virum quidem non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum, sed Scripturarum divinarum lectione plenissimum. hic ad parentem nostram Probam, virginem sacram, ex operibus sancti Augustini valde altissimas quaestiones ac sententias diversasque res deflorans, in uno corpore necessaria nimis dispensatione collegit et in trecentis triginta octo capitulis collocavit. qui codex, ut arbitror, utiliter legitur, quando in uno corpore diligentia studiosi viri potuit recondi, quod in magna bibliotheca vix praevaleret inveniri.* (CASSIODORI SENATORIS *Institutiones*, ed. from the manuscripts by R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxford, 1937 [Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis], p. 61-62).

²⁴ G. ZECCHINI, « La politica degli Anicii nel V secolo », dans *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi boeziani*, éd. L. OBERTELLO, Roma, 1981, p. 123-138; ID., *Ricerche di storiografia latina tardoantica*, Roma, 1993, p. 142-143. Sur Proba et Cassiodore, voir la note précédente.

²⁵ Paschase est l'auteur d'ouvrages perdus sur le Saint-Esprit tenus en haute estime par Grégoire le Grand: *Dialogues*, IV, 42 (éd. A. DE VOGÜÉ, t. 3, Paris, 1980 [Sources chrétiennes, 265], p. 150-152).

²⁶ *PL*, 67, col. 345-408; *La vie latine de saint Pachôme traduite du grec par Denys le Petit*, éd. H. VAN CRANENBURGH, Bruxelles, 1969 (Subsidia hagiographica, 46), p. 39-40. Denys fait l'objet d'une notice juste après Eugippe dans les *Institutiones*, I, 23, 2: Cassiodore connaissait personnellement les deux hommes, Denys lui ayant enseigné la dialectique.

²⁷ Fulg. Rusp., *epist.* 5 (éd. dans SANCTI FVLGENTII EPISCOPI RVSPENSIS *Opera*, éd. J. FRAIPONT, Turnholti, 1968 [CCSL, XCI], p. 235-240). Après un long développement sur la charité, adressé à Eugippe comme « frère » et « prêtre », Fulgence dit adresser à son destinataire son *De fide ad Monimum* en cahiers (*in quaternionibus*), et réclame pour finir: *Obsecro ut libros quos opus habemus, serui tui describant de codicibus uestris* (p. 239-240).

on n'a conservé que quatre courts fragments²⁸. Eugippe consulte également le diacre Ferrand de Carthage, disciple de Fulgence, au sujet de la doctrine arienne²⁹. Enfin, Castellum Lucullanum fut le lieu de détention de Romulus Augustule après sa déposition par Odoacre : on a reconnu dans l'*illustris femina* Barbaria, mécène du mausolée de Séverin, la femme d'Oreste et mère du dernier empereur d'Occident³⁰.

En somme, Eugippe gravite dans un cercle de grands aristocrates (le consul Symmaque, Cassiodore, à travers eux Boèce), dont certains furent les adversaires du pape Symmaque soutenu par Théodoric pendant le schisme laurentien (498-514)³¹. Ce sont les mêmes grands aristocrates romains qui font perdurer la culture classique jusqu'au coup de grâce que représentent, après les guerres gothiques, la peste de Justinien et l'invasion lombarde³². Les lettres de Fulgence et Ferrand à Eugippe, tout comme les *Institutiones* de Cassiodore, rappellent aussi que les manuscrits circulaient entre les deux rives de la Méditerranée : la semi-onciale dans laquelle sont rédigés les trois manuscrits attribués à Castellum Lucullanum était en Afrique, semble-t-il, l'écriture dominante³³.

²⁸ Les fragments sont transmis par une lettre du pape Hadrien I^{er}, incluse dans le *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* (éd. CCSL, XCI A [cit. n. 27], p. 870-873).

²⁹ *Epistula dogmatica adversus Arrianos aliosque haereticos* (PLS, 4, col. 22-36). Moins connue est la lettre que lui adresse Ferrand pour accompagner l'envoi d'une cloche pour son monastère (PLS, 4, col. 38).

³⁰ R. A. MARKUS, « The End Of The Roman Empire: A Note On Eugippius, *Vita Sancti Severini*, 20 », *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 26 (1982), p. 1-7. On a parfois supposé qu'Eugippe avait connu à Naples Romulus Augustule lui-même ; voir les contre-arguments de ZECCHINI, *Ricerche di storiografia* (cit. n. 24), p. 88, n. 74.

³¹ E. WIRBELAUER, *Zwei Päpste in Rom. Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498-514). Studien und Texte*, München, 1993 (Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt, 16), p. 61. Paschase, diacre romain et correspondant d'Eugippe dont il a été question plus haut, fut, rappelle Grégoire le Grand, un partisan de Laurent (*Dialogues*, IV, 42). N'oublions pas que Grégoire lui-même fait partie de la famille des *Anicii*.

³² On peut songer au célèbre colophon préservé dans les copies du *Commentaire du songe de Scipion* de Macrobie, attestant que Symmaque en a corrigé une copie à Ravenne en compagnie d'un descendant de Macrobie lui-même, ou bien au colophon de Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus, fils d'Euprepia et neveu d'Ennode de Pavie, qui corrige les *Commentaires* de César. Voir PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro nell'Italia altomedievale. 3: Il sesto secolo », dans *A Giuseppe Ermini*, t. 2, Spoleto, 1970 = *Studi medievali*, s. III, 10/2 (1969), p. [157]-213 (p. 172-181) et, avant lui, O. JAHN, « Über die Subscriptionen in den Handschriften römischer Classiker », dans *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Classe*, 3, Leipzig, 1851, p. 327-371 (n° 11, p. 347 et n° 17, p. 359). Sur la terminologie relative aux « colophons » et aux « souscriptions », voir K. WALLENWEIN, « *Subscriptiones* in karolingischen Codices », dans *Karolingische Klöster. Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, éd. J. BECKER, T. LICHT, S. WEINFURTER, Berlin – München – Boston, 2015 (Materiale Textkulturen, 4), p. 23-37.

³³ Voir BISCHOFF, « *Scriptoria e manoscritti mediatori di civiltà dal sesto secolo alla riforma di Carlo Magno* », dans *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'alto medio evo*,

b. Les *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*

Hormis le *Commematorium*, Eugippe est, à en croire le *De uiris illustribus* d'Isidore de Séville, l'auteur d'une règle monastique (exhumée par dom Adalbert de Vogüé du ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12634*³⁴) et, surtout, du recueil des *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* rassemblant de 338 à 376 extraits augustinien, leur nombre variant selon les manuscrits³⁵. La date de composition de ce recueil doit probablement être ramenée aux années 492-511³⁶. Eugippe, en effet, qui s'adresse à Paschase en tant qu'abbé en 511, dédicace les *Excerpta* à Proba en se désignant comme un simple *famulus*³⁷. De plus, il dit à Proba avoir composé le recueil « encouragé par mon seigneur l'abbé Marin³⁸ », ce qui laisse entendre qu'il se trouve encore dans

Spoleto, 1964 (Settimane di studio del CISAM, 11), p. 479-504, réimpr. dans *Mittelalterliche Studien*, t. II, Stuttgart, 1967, p. 312-327 (p. 313-314); PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro » (cit. n. 32), p. 201-203; S.R. GRAHAM, « The Transmission of North African Texts to Europe in Late Antiquity », dans *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users. A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, Turnhout, 2011, p. 151-168. Cassiodore, depuis Vivarium, échange des manuscrits avec l'Afrique : *Institutiones*, I, 8, 9 (éd. MYNORS [cit. n. 23], p. 30) et I, 29, 2 (*ibid.*, p. 74). Nous avons vu que Fulgence expédie à Eugippe son *Ad Monimum* et réclame des livres en échange, mais certes depuis la Sardaigne.

³⁴ Isid., *De uiris illustribus*, 26 (34) : *Eugippius, abbas Lucullanensis oppidi, Neapoli Campaniae. Hic ad quemdam Paschasium diaconum libellum de vita sancti monachi Severini transmissum brevi stylo composuit. Scripsit et regulam monachis consistentibus in monasterio sancti Severini, quam eisdem moriens quasi testamentario jure reliquit. Claruit post consulatum Importuni Junioris, Anastasio imperatore regnante.* (PL, 83, col. 1097A). Voir A. DE VOGÜÉ, « La Règle d'Eugippe retrouvée ? », *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 47 (1971), p. 233-266; EVGIPII *Regula*, éd. F. VILLEGAS, VOGÜÉ, Wien, 1976 (CSEL, 87).

³⁵ EVGIPII *Excerpta ex operibus s. Augustini*, ed. P. KNÖLL, Vindobonae, 1885 (CSEL, IX/1); P. SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo degli *Excerpta* di Eugippio », *Revue d'études augustiniennes*, 10/4 (1964), p. [331]-342. Sur cette question, voir plus loin, p. 221-223.

³⁶ Contrairement à VAN UYTFANGHE, « Eugippius » (cit. n. 19), col. 511-533. Pour ce qui suit, voir BÜDINGER, « Eugippius » (cit. n. 19); BRATOZ, *Severinus von Noricum* (cit. n. 19), p. 10, n. 23; A. GENOVESE, « Introduzione generale » à EUGIPPIO ABATE, *Opere* (cit. n. 21), p. 15-16. Le même *terminus ante quem* est donné aussi par C. P. HAMMOND BÄMMEL, « A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions Used by Rufinus of Aquileia », *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 29 (1978), p. 366-391, 30 (1979), p. 430-462 et 35 (1984), p. 347-393 (30, p. 447), et A. K. GOMETZ, *Eugippius of Lucullanum: A Biography*, PhD-thesis, University of Leeds, 2008 (lisible sur Internet : <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/654>), p. 85-95.

³⁷ Comparer Eugipp., *Seu.*, 37, 1 : *Marcianum monachum, qui postea presbyter ante nos monasterio praefuit* (éd. RÉGERAT [cit. n. 19], p. 55); et Eugipp., *Epist. ad Probam*, salutatio : *Dominae merito uenerabili et fructu sacrae uirginitatis in Christi gratia semper inlustri ac per omnia probae Eugippius omnium seruorum Dei famulus in Domino salutem dicit* (éd. KNÖLL [cit. n. 35], p. 1).

³⁸ Eugipp., *Epist. ad Probam* : *cohortante domno meo Marino abbate* (éd. KNÖLL [cit. n. 35], p. [1]).

une position subalterne : un travail d'une telle ampleur, requérant un temps considérable, se conjuguerait assez mal, en effet, avec la charge d'abbé. Or, le nom de Marin fait défaut dans la succession des prédécesseurs d'Eugippe comme abbés de Castellum Lucullanum, Lucillus et Marcianus (*Vita sancti Severini*, 45, 2 et 46, 1), mais c'est celui d'un abbé contemporain de Lérins, monastère où l'on retrouve Antoine, ancien compagnon de saint Séverin³⁹. Il est donc possible qu'Eugippe y ait été exilé quelque temps pour ses prises de position hostiles à Symmaque pendant le schisme laurentien (498-514) et qu'il ait pu y concevoir le projet des *Excerpta* pour ne le réaliser qu'à son retour à Rome, où avait dû être transférée un demi-siècle plus tôt la bibliothèque d'Hippone⁴⁰. Eugippe lui-même fait allusion aux moyens dont il disposait pour accéder à certains fonds, vantant la bibliothèque privée de Proba et affirmant s'être fait prêter par ses amis plusieurs livres qu'il ne possédait pas, pendant les travaux préparatoires⁴¹.

La compilation adressée à Proba a pour but, selon l'épître dédicatoire, de mettre à la disposition du lecteur, en un seul manuscrit, des textes dispersés et difficiles d'accès : en tout, une quarantaine d'œuvres d'Augustin sont utilisées⁴². Le propos d'Eugippe n'a pas été d'offrir un compendium des débats doctrinaux auxquels Augustin a pris part (la querelle sur la grâce est quasiment absente du recueil) mais « une synthèse de conduite de vie chrétienne⁴³ ». Le recueil s'ouvre avec l'*epist.* 167 sur la charité adressée à saint Jérôme (reproduite en entier) et se conclut par deux extraits (CCCXLVII/383 et CCCXLIII/384⁴⁴) : l'un du *Liber quaestionum LXXXIII* (LXXXIII chez Eugippe) sur le thème *de nutrienda caritate*, l'autre reproduisant le s. 350 *De laude caritatis*. Comme tient à le souligner le compilateur, la charité occupe dans l'agencement du recueil une place décisive : elle est, de fait,

³⁹ BÜDINGER, « Eugippius » (cit. n. 19), p. 803, n. 3 : c'est à la demande de Marin de Lérins qu'est mise par écrit la *Vita sancti Eugendi* en 510.

⁴⁰ J.-P. BOUHOT, « La transmission d'Hippone à Rome des œuvres de saint Augustin », dans *Du copiste au collectionneur. Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet*, éd. D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, J.-F. GENEST, Turnhout, 1998 (Bibliologia, 18), p. 23-34.

⁴¹ Eugipp., *Epist. ad Probam* : [...] *cum bibliothecae uestrae copia multiplex integra de quibus pauca decerpsi contineat opera [...] ex aliquantis eiusdem beati uiri praeclaris operibus perpauca ruminando quodam modo lambendoque decerpsi, quae praestantibus amicis integra legeram* (éd. KNÖLL [cit. n. 35], p. [1]-2).

⁴² F. DOLBEAU, « Localisation de deux fragments homilétiques reproduits par Eugippe dans son florilège augustinien », *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 41/1 (1995), p. [19]-36.

⁴³ HOFFMANN, « Das Werk » (cit. n. 19), p. 301.

⁴⁴ Dans les références faites par P. Knöll à la capitulation d'Eugippe, les chiffres romains font référence à la capitulation du ms. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3375* (CLA, I, 16), et les chiffres arabes à la capitulation incluant les titres additionnels.

un principe tout monastique, que l'on retrouve dans la *Règle* éditée par Vogüé, qui commence par le précepte de l'amour de Dieu et du prochain (I, 1), mais aussi dans la lettre de Fulgence *de caritate et eius dilectione*. Le disciple de saint Séverin, d'ailleurs, dans sa préface, permet à ses futurs lecteurs d'enrichir le florilège (ce qui ne manqua pas d'arriver, vu les variations du nombre de chapitres dans la tradition manuscrite), à condition toutefois de réserver toujours la dernière place aux deux extraits choisis pour cette fonction⁴⁵.

Le plan général du recueil est difficile à reconstituer et ne nous concerne pas ici directement⁴⁶. En revanche, la méthode de travail d'Eugippe a bien été étudiée par Adalbert de Vogüé, qui l'a comparée avec celle de la *Règle* du ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12634*. Le bénédictin a souligné l'étonnante diversité de la longueur des extraits, certains ne faisant que quelques lignes (ainsi la série LXV/80-LXVIII/84), tandis que d'autres, malgré des coupures intermédiaires (*item...*), occupent près de vingt pages (CXVI/131)⁴⁷. Les textes sont souvent cités dans l'ordre de la source. Enfin, quarante chapitres comportent des lacunes médianes, ce qui implique un découpage minutieux des extraits et, inévitablement, des « sutures » permettant de réaménager les extraits ainsi découpés⁴⁸. C'est là un aspect du travail d'atelier qu'éclaire, comme nous le verrons, l'examen du manuscrit *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210*.

⁴⁵ Eugipp., *Epist. ad Probam* : [...] *congruum putavi atque conueniens ut his excerptis caritas, qua dispersa solent adunari integritate, libri daret exordium, quae et uirtutum omnium perfectio et supernae legis est plenitudo; ipsa quoque finem dedit operi, quae non habet finem. Nam paene ultimus numeri titulus ordinem nutriendae, ultimus enutritae laudem continet caritatis [...]. Si quis sane transferens hoc opus his quae congesta sunt alia addere forte uoluerit, congruit adiciat locis, ut praedicti duo de caritate tituli finem semper teneant excerptorum*. (éd. KNÖLL [cit. n. 35], p. 3); cité par SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35), p. 332.

⁴⁶ BRUNHÖLZL, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 1, Munich, 1975, p. 44; W. BERSCHIN, *Bonizo von Sutri. Leben und Werk*, Berlin – New York, 1972 (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 2), p. 35; HOFFMANN, « Das Werk » (cit. n. 19), p. 300-301. À propos de la structure du florilège, nous nous permettons de renvoyer également le lecteur à la communication prononcée à Oxford, lors du dernier congrès de patristique, par E. COLOMBI, « Eugippius and the Early Circulation of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* », qui paraîtra prochainement dans un volume collectif consacré aux florilèges augustiniens au Moyen Âge (éd. DELMULLE); nous remercions l'auteur d'avoir bien voulu nous communiquer son texte.

⁴⁷ VOGÜÉ, « La Règle » (cit. n. 34), p. 237-238; sur ces coupes, voir aussi plus loin, p. 241-242.

⁴⁸ VOGÜÉ, « La Règle » (cit. n. 34), p. 243-246; voir également à ce sujet HOFFMANN, « Das Werk » (cit. n. 19), p. 299-301.

c. Les traces codicologiques du travail d'Eugippe

Notre connaissance d'Eugippe est sortie transformée des travaux de Michael Murray Gorman⁴⁹. Celui-ci rappelle le rôle « d'entonnoir » joué par les *Excerpta* dans la tradition manuscrite des œuvres d'Augustin : on l'a vu, Eugippe a sans doute eu accès, à Rome, à la bibliothèque d'Hippone et à des témoins manuscrits proches de l'auteur et aujourd'hui disparus⁵⁰. Pour les éditeurs modernes, comme déjà au Moyen Âge, les *Excerpta* ont la valeur d'un excellent témoin manuscrit⁵¹. Eugippe a eu accès à des éditions du *De Trinitate* et du *De ciuitate Dei* datant du ^v^e siècle : il suit leur découpage du texte et remploie leurs titres de chapitres⁵². Il a découpé lui-même en chapitres les douze livres du *De Genesi ad litteram*, auxquels il emprunte quatorze extraits : toute une branche de la tradition manuscrite du traité (la *recensio Eugippiana*) a préservé ces titres⁵³. Eugippe a donc profondément imprimé sa marque dans la tradition manuscrite du texte d'Augustin, pour les œuvres pour lesquelles nous avons conservé de ses interventions des traces tangibles comme sans doute pour d'autres encore⁵⁴.

Il existe, du même coup, des traces de son activité intellectuelle, et en particulier philologique, à Castellum Lucullanum. On attribue au scriptorium de Castellum Lucullanum un groupe de trois manuscrits en semi-on-

⁴⁹ M. M. GORMAN, « Chapter Headings for Saint Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* », *Revue des études augustinienes*, 26 (1980), p. [88]-104 [reprod. dans ID., *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St. Augustine*, Firenze, 2001 (Millennio medievale, 27; Reprints, 2), n° 2]; « The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' 'Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini' », *Revue bénédictine*, 92 (1982), p. [7]-32 et [229]-265 [reprod. *ibid.*, n° 4]; « Marginalia in the Oldest Manuscripts of St Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* », *Scriptorium*, 38 (1984), p. 71-77 [reprod. *ibid.*, n° 9].

⁵⁰ GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 13.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*. On comprend alors l'importance d'une réédition des *Excerpta*, l'édition de Knöll (cit. n. 35) étant unanimement considérée comme défectueuse (voir E. DEKKERS, Æ. GAAR [†], *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, editio tertia, Steenbrugis, 1995 [CCSL], p. 237 : « Opus tanti momenti ad textum Augustini emendandum, pro dolor pessime edidit P. Knöll »). Il y a vingt ans, DOLBEAU, « Localisation » (cit. n. 42), p. 20, n. 7, annonçait que l'édition était en cours de préparation au CCSL par R. van der Plaetse.

⁵² H.-I. MARROU, « La division en chapitres des livres de *La cité de Dieu* », dans *Mélanges J. de Ghellinck*, Gembloux, 1951, p. 235-249. Voir CCSL, XLVII, p. v-xlv; R. W. HUNT, « Chapter Headings of Augustine *De trinitate* Ascribed to Adam Marsh », *The Bodleian Library Record*, 5 (1954), p. 63-68.

⁵³ GORMAN, « Marginalia » (cit. n. 49), p. 73-74.

⁵⁴ Une autre influence de l'entreprise d'Eugippe dans la tradition du *De Genesi ad litteram* réside dans les annotations que portent une bonne partie des témoins manuscrits : elles sont justement étudiées, dans ce même volume, par J. KESKIAHO, « A Widespread Set of Late-Antique Annotations to Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* »

ciale, tous annotés par Donatus de Naples⁵⁵. Le premier, le ms. *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, Vat. lat. 3375 (CLA, I, 16), est le plus ancien exemplaire des *Excerpta*. Le deuxième est un exemplaire du commentaire de l'Ambrosiaster sur les lettres de Paul, lu et annoté par Donatus à Castellum Lucullanum en 569-570, selon sa souscription⁵⁶. Le troisième, le ms. *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek*, Patr. 87/B.IV.21 (CLA, VIII, 1031), est un recueil augustinien contenant aussi le *De uiris illustribus* de Jérôme-Gennade. Ces trois manuscrits en semi-unciale (écriture moins noble que l'unciale et la capitale carrée), dont l'unité de style dénote un scriptorium bien organisé, s'inscrivent, selon Armando Petrucci, dans un mouvement de cléricisation de la culture manuscrite à l'origine de livres moins luxueux et plus maniables⁵⁷.

En dehors de ce noyau de manuscrits apparemment issus du scriptorium de Castellum Lucullanum, on peut énumérer une série de manuscrits plus jeunes, dont les colophons et souscriptions, recopiés d'après leur anti-graphe, trahissent une parenté avec les travaux d'Eugippe⁵⁸. L'évangélaire d'Echternach, du début du VIII^e siècle (CLA, V, 578), contient la copie

⁵⁵ Sur les manuscrits suivants, voir déjà L. TRAUBE, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, éd. F. BOLL, Munich, 1909, p. 109; E. A. LOWE, « A List of the Oldest Extant Manuscripts of Saint Augustine with a Note on the Codex Bambergensis », dans *Palaeographical Papers*, 1907-1965, t. 1, éd. L. BIELER, Oxford, 1972, p. 303-314 (p. 313); les notices des CLA cités dans le texte; BISCHOFF, « Scriptoria e manoscritti » (cit. n. 33), p. 316-317; PALMA « Die patristischen Glossen » (cit. n. 14), identifie d'autres manuscrits dont les annotations évoquent celles de Donatus: *London*, BL, *Harley* 1775 (Évangiles); *Paris*, BnF, *NAL* 1592 (Hilaire, *De Trinitate*); *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, *Pal. lat.* 210 (collection *De bono coniugali* d'Augustin – nous y reviendrons bientôt); enfin, le ms. *Metz*, BM, 225 est une copie du X^e siècle d'un exemplaire du *Peri archôn* d'Origène traduit par Rufin et corrigé par Donatus à Naples en 561-562, comme le montre sa souscription. CONDELLO, *Una scrittura e un territorio* (cit. n. 16), p. 6-7, met les trois manuscrits en semi-unciale cités ci-dessus en lien avec les manuscrits suivants: *Wien*, ÖNB, *lat.* 2160 + *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, *Barb. lat.* 9916 + *Sankt Florian*, *Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts*, III.15.B (Hilaire, *De Trinitate*); *Orléans*, BM, 192; *Leiden*, UB, *Voss. lat.* O 88a; *Bern*, BB, 485. Le BAV, *Pal. lat.* 210 n'est pas cité dans cette étude sur l'unciale du sud de l'Italie.

⁵⁶ Ms. *Cassino*, *Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino*, 150 (CLA, III, 374a), p. 248 (cf. M. INGUANEZ, *Codicum Casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, 1, Mont-Cassin, 1915, p. 239): *Donatus gratia dei presbyter proprium codicem Iustino Augusto tertio post consulatum eius in aedibus beati Petri in Castello Lucullano infirmus legi legi legi*. Palma interprète le triple *legi* comme une preuve que Donatus a fait cours sur ce manuscrit; il semble possible que le *legi* signifie seulement que le manuscrit a été relu et corrigé, conformément à plusieurs autres souscriptions tardoantiques connues: voir JAHN, « Über die Subscriptionen » (cit. n. 32), p. 364.

⁵⁷ PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro » (cit. n. 32), p. 186-187 et 201-203.

⁵⁸ Manuscrits énumérés par GORMAN, « Chapter Headings » (cit. n. 49). Voir également CONDELLO, *Una scrittura e un territorio* (cit. n. 16), p. 12-15.

d'une souscription de 558 d'un lecteur affirmant avoir collationné le manuscrit sur un exemplaire de la bibliothèque d'Eugippe⁵⁹. Un exemplaire carolingien des lettres de saint Augustin contient la souscription d'un certain Facistus (vraisemblablement pour Faustus) qui affirme l'avoir corrigé sur un manuscrit de Saint-Séverin⁶⁰. Plusieurs témoins d'une famille des *Excerpta*, dont le plus ancien remonte au ix^e siècle (seconde unité codicologique du ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 11642*, fol. 219-224) transmettent la souscription du notaire Pierre, qui avait copié l'antigraphe pendant le siège de Naples par les Lombards en 581, sous l'épiscopat de Redux : cet exemplaire était donc fort proche d'Eugippe, « prêtre et abbé d'heureuse mémoire »⁶¹.

Citons pour finir les deux manuscrits qui nous mettent au plus près de l'atelier d'Eugippe. Le ms. *Roma, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Sessoriano 13 (CLA, IV, 418)* est le plus vieil exemplaire du *De Genesi ad litteram* d'Augustin et contient les titres de chapitres d'Eugippe en marge : il s'agit certainement d'une copie « au propre » de l'exemplaire annoté par Eugippe, originaire de Castellum Lucullanum⁶². Le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12168 (CLA, V, 630)*, exemplaire corbéien de la fin du viii^e siècle des *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* et des *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* d'Augustin, présente dans le texte la note incorporée *abhinc scribendum* devant un passage sélectionné pour les *Excerpta* (LXXXV/100) ; il s'agit sans doute de l'apographe d'un

⁵⁹ Ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 9389*, fol. 222v : *proemendavi ut potui secundum codicem de bibliotheca eugipi praepiteri quem ferunt fuisse sct hieronimi, indictione vi p con bassilii uc anno septimo decimo*.

⁶⁰ Ms. *Paris, BnF, NAL 1443*, fol. 156r : *Legi Facistus juxta mendosum exemplar in Severinae. Deo gratias. Explicit Amen deo gratias*. Le manuscrit a été copié à Lyon au milieu du ix^e siècle, selon BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (cit. n. 7), III, p. 237, n° 5080.

⁶¹ Éd. KNÖLL (cit. n. 35), p. xxv-xxvi (dans le manuscrit, fol. 224r-v) : *et orationibus beatae et gloriosae semper virginis Mariae hunc codicem excerptorum quem ex opusculis sancti Augustini beatae recordationis Eugippius presbyter et abba fecit et eum codicem dei aspiratione pro amore diuinarum scripturarum adhuc in laica uita constitutus Redux misericordia dei episcopus conscribi fecit et praefatus Redux dei gratia faciente in eadem neapolitana ciuitate a uiro beatissimo Pelagio sedis Romae pontifice est episcopus ordinatus. Et eo iubente ego Petrus notarius sanctae ecclesiae catholicae neapolitanae ut potui emendaui sub die iduum decembrium imperatore domino nostro Tiberio Constantino perpetuo Augusto anno septimo, post consulatum eiusdem Augusti anno tertio, indictione quinta decima, obsidentibus Langobardis neapolitanam ciuitatem. Quem codicem pro memoria recordationis nominis sui praedictus episcopus deuote sanctae ecclesiae neapolitanae cui praeest pro aedificatione populi christiani noscitur obtulisse [...]*. Selon BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (cit. n. 7), III, p. 176, n° 4699, le manuscrit a été copié à Saint-Germain-des-Prés vers le milieu du ix^e siècle. Sur cette souscription, voir en particulier SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35), p. 338-339.

⁶² PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro » (cit. n. 32), p. 195-200, voyait dans ce manuscrit une influence grecque, en particulier en raison du « clair-obscur » (le contraste entre pleins et déliés) qui s'inspire, selon lui, de la majuscule biblique grecque.

manuscrit utilisé par Eugippe et portant ses notes de travail, ce qu'avaient déjà remarqué les mauristes⁶³.

En définitive, on dispose de plusieurs manuscrits liés, directement ou indirectement, au scriptorium d'Eugippe. On remarque une proportion importante de manuscrits en semi-onciale et la pratique d'agencer les notes en triangle ou en grappe de raisin (*formulae botrionum*)⁶⁴. Mais on remarque surtout que le ms. *Pal. lat. 210* gravite dans la constellation de ces manuscrits de Castellum Lucullanum. Il fait partie des trois manuscrits dont Marco Palma considère les notes marginales comme fort proches de celles de Donatus de Naples⁶⁵. Il s'agit également de l'une des plus anciennes collections augustinienne que nous ayons conservées⁶⁶. Par ailleurs, comme l'a noté Michael Gorman, Eugippe est sans doute le premier clerc à avoir fait un usage critique des *Retractationes*, dont il remploie des passages dans les titres de ses *Excerpta*; or, le *BAV, Pal. lat. 210* est, avec le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12214* (*CLA*, V, 635: Vérone, VI^e s.), le plus ancien manuscrit à faire figurer en tête des œuvres d'Augustin le passage correspondant des *Retractationes*⁶⁷. Ce faisceau d'indices ne doit rien au hasard, puisque le *Pal. lat. 210* contient, comme nous allons le voir, des signes d'extraction de la main d'Eugippe.

⁶³ Voir SANCTI AVRELI AVGVSTINI *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri VII*, ed. I. FRAIPONT, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL*, XXXIII), p. viii*; voir l'éd. KNÖLL (cit. n. 35), p. 338 (n° 100). On peut toujours lire la note de l'édition mauriste relativement à ce passage en *PL* 34, col. 578. Plusieurs autres arguments, selon Fraipont, plaident pour que le manuscrit de Corbie soit l'apographe d'un manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe. La *quaestio Exodi XXXIX* s'achève, dans le seul manuscrit de Corbie, sur les mots *a iudice debuisse* pour céder la place à une nouvelle question (*CCSL*, XXXIII, p. 85): or, c'est à cet endroit que s'interrompt aussi l'excerptation d'Eugippe. Enfin, seul ce manuscrit contient une interpolation (tirée des *Quaestiones octo ex ueteri Testamento*) dans la *quaestio Exodi XC*, que l'on trouve aussi dans les *Excerpta* d'Eugippe (*CCSL*, XXXIII, p. 115, l. 1575).

⁶⁴ C'est le cas à la fois dans les mss. *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Patr. 87*, fol. 85v et *Cassino, Biblioteca statale, 150*, p. 372, pour ce qui regarde Donatus, et des titres de chapitres en marge du *Sessoriano 13*, pour ce qui regarde Eugippe. Sur cette pratique, bien connue, des *formulae botrionum*, voir Cassiodore, *Institutiones*, I, 3, 1.

⁶⁵ PALMA, « Die patristischen Glossen » (cit. n. 14), p. 16.

⁶⁶ GORMAN, « The Manuscript Traditions of St. Augustine's Major Works », dans *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI Centenario della Conversione*, ed. V. GROSSI, Roma, 1987 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 24), vol. 1, p. 381-412 [reprod. dans ID., *The Manuscript Traditions* (cit. n. 49), n° 14], p. 407. Voir aussi plus loin, p. 210 et n. 71.

⁶⁷ GORMAN, « Chapter Headings » (cit. n. 49), p. 98; ID., « The Oldest Lists of Latin Books », *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004), p. 48-63 (p. 62).

3. Un manuscrit d'Augustin lié au projet des *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*

a. Le ms. *Pal. lat. 210*

Le ms. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210*, qui a déjà été plusieurs fois décrit⁶⁸, a jusqu'ici surtout suscité l'attention des historiens des bibliothèques, pour la liste de livres qu'il transmet, sur son premier feuillet, et qui décrit une bibliothèque encore indéterminée⁶⁹. Provenant de l'abbaye de Lorsch, ce manuscrit a naturellement connu le sort de nombreux autres *codices Laureshamenses* jusqu'à gagner le fonds des *Palatini Latini* de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Il s'agit d'un manuscrit en onciale qui contenait à l'origine un ensemble de vingt-quatre œuvres qui, à trois exceptions près, sont d'Augustin : une série de cinq traités ascétiques et moraux d'Augustin, que complète un ensemble de trois lettres et de treize sermons authentiques⁷⁰ ; il est le plus ancien témoin, et même l'archétype, d'une collection que les spécialistes des sermons d'Augustin ont nommée, d'après sa première pièce, *De bono coniugali*⁷¹.

Le contenu du manuscrit est le suivant :

fol. 1r : feuillet initialement vierge, qui a accueilli, au VIII^e siècle, l'inscription d'un inventaire de livres

fol. 1v : table du contenu, contemporaine de la copie

fol. 3r-22r : *De bono coniugali* (précédé, aux fol. 2r-v, de *retract. II, 22*)

⁶⁸ Depuis la notice dans les *Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, recensuit et digessit H. STEVENSON IUNIOR, recognovit I. B. DE ROSSI, t. I, Romae, 1886, p. 40-41. Se reporter à la notice de M. KAUTZ [en ligne : http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_210.pdf], avec bibliographie à jour (dernière consultation : 22 avril 2016).

⁶⁹ Éd. P. LEHMANN, « Das älteste Bücherverzeichnis der Niederlande », *Het Boek*, 12 (1923), p. 207-213 (p. 212-213) ; rééd. et commenté par M. LAPIDGE, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, Oxford, 2006, p. 153-154. Voir aussi GORMAN, « The Oldest Lists » (cit. n. 67), p. 56-62, qui propose d'attribuer ce catalogue à Canterbury (p. 61).

⁷⁰ M. OBERLEITNER (†), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Bd. 1/2 : *Italien. Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1970 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 267 ; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, 2), p. 325-326.

⁷¹ Sur cette collection, voir C. LAMBOT, « Introduction » à *SANCTI AVRELII AVGVSTINI Sermones de Vetere Testamento, id est Sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam nouem sermonibus post Maurinos repertis*, éd. C. LAMBOT, Turnhouti, 1961 (CCSL, XLI), p. [vii]-xxxv (p. xv et xxxii-xxxiii), et P.-P. VERBRACKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Steenbrugis, 1976, p. 214-215 ; voir surtout L. DE CONINCK, « Introduction » à *SANCTI AURELII AUGUSTINI Sermones in Matthaeum. I*, éd. P.-P. VERBRACKEN, L. DE CONINCK, B. COPPIETERS 'T WALLANT, R. DEMEULENAERE, F. DOLBEAU, Turnhout, 2008 (CCSL, XLI Aa), p. [vii]-lxxvii (p. xxxi-xxxii).

fol. 22r-49r: *De sancta uirginitate* (précédé, au fol. 22r, de *retract.* II, 23)

fol. 49v-66v: *De bono uiduitatis*

fol. 66v-79r: *epist.* 130

fol. 79r-102v et 104r-111v: *De opere monachorum* (précédé, au fol. 79r, de *retract.* II, 21)

fol. 111v-129r: *epist.* 36

fol. 129v-148v: *De agone Christiano* (précédé, au fol. 129v, de *retract.* II, 3)

fol. 149r-153v: s. 355 (titre initial au fol. 148v)

fol. 154r-161r: s. 356 (titre initial au fol. 153v)

fol. 161v-166r: *epist.* 127

fol. 167r-171r: s. 65 (titre initial au fol. 166r; fol. 166v vierge)

fol. 171r-178r: s. 53

fol. 178v-183r: Nicetas Remesianensis, *De uigiliis* (CPL, n° 648) (titre initial au fol. 178r)

fol. 183r-187v: Nicetas Remesianensis, *De psalmodiae bono* (CPL, n° 649)

fol. 187v-198v: s. 277

fol. 199r-205v: s. 150 (titre initial au fol. 198v)

fol. 205v-212v: s. 5

fol. 212v-215v: s. 6

fol. 216r-224v: s. 45 (titre initial au fol. 215v)

fol. 224v-234r: s. 137

fol. 234r-249r: s. 351

fol. 249r-260v: <Ephraem Latinus>, *sermo* inc. «*Niniuitis Ionas a Deo missus*» (CPL, n° 1149)

fol. 260v-270v et 103r-v: s. 352

[manquent, à la fin, plusieurs feuillets qui transmettaient le texte du s. 130, signalé dans la table de contenu du fol. 1v et copié par les apographes du manuscrit]

Daté traditionnellement du VII^e ou du VIII^e siècle par les catalographes du XIX^e siècle⁷², ce manuscrit a été ensuite présenté par E. A. Lowe, au sein

⁷² *Codices Palatini Latini* (cit. n. 68), p. 40; suivi, par exemple, par Th. GOTTLIEB, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 336, et par Joseph Zycha, éditeur des traités au-

des *Codices Latini antiquiores*, comme un important témoin de la production italienne des ^{vi}^e-^{vii}^e siècles, datation peut-être un temps acceptée par B. Bischoff⁷³. Celui-ci, cependant, a été le premier à proposer pour ce manuscrit une datation plus haute encore, au ^{vi}^e siècle⁷⁴. Une importante étude d'Armando Petrucci est venue apporter plusieurs précisions, cherchant à montrer qu'il s'agit d'une production « probablement de l'extrême fin du siècle »⁷⁵. Plus récemment, tenant le milieu, Walter Berschin a proposé de situer la confection du manuscrit aux environs de 600⁷⁶. C'est à cette dernière datation qu'on s'en tient généralement aujourd'hui. Elle sera discutée plus loin.

b. Préparation de plusieurs extraits du *De bono coniugali*

C'est au sujet de la première des pièces du manuscrit, le traité *De bono coniugali*, que l'on observe les points de contact du ms. *Pal. lat. 210* avec les *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*. De cette œuvre de morale conjugale, le florilège d'Eugippe présente une série de trois extraits, qui portent, d'après la double numérotation du dernier éditeur, Pius Knöll, les numéros CCCXIV/339 à CCCXVI/341. Selon une pratique qui n'est pas absente du reste du florilège, deux de ces extraits provenant du *De bono coniugali* se

gustiniens contenus dans le manuscrit : [J.] ZYCHA, « Praefatio » à SANCTI AVRELI AVGVSTINI *De fide et symbolo, De fide et operibus, De agone Christiano, De continentia, De bono coniugali, De sancta uirginitate, De bono uiduitatis, De adulterinis coniugiis lib. II, De mendacio, Contra mendacium, De opere monachorum, De diuinatione daemonum, De cura pro mortuis gerenda, De patientia*, Pragae – Vindobonae – Lipsiae, 1900 (CSEL, XLI), p. [II]-XXXXVI (p. xv-xvi).

⁷³ CLA, 1, 1934, n° 84. Bernhard Bischoff, dans son étude des manuscrits de Lorsch (*Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, München, 1974 [Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung] et *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, 2., erw. Aufl., Lorsch, 1989 [Geschichtsblätter Kreis Bergstraße, Sonderbd. 10]), ne reproduit qu'une fois (p. 56 de la première édition, et 64 de la seconde) cette datation des CLA, qui entre en concurrence avec une autre ; voir la note suivante. La notice de KAUTZ (cit. n. 68) ne rend donc pas bien compte des positions du savant allemand.

⁷⁴ Et ce dès la première édition : voir BISCHOFF, *Lorsch im Spiegel* (cit. n. 73), p. 9 et 106-107, et ID., *Die Abtei Lorsch* (cit. n. 73), p. 19 et 118-119.

⁷⁵ PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro » (cit. n. 32), p. 204, reformulé à l'identique dans ID., « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 95.

⁷⁶ W. BERSCHIN, dans *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiligegeistkirche Heidelberg*, éd. E. MITTLER, 4^e éd., Heidelberg, 1986 (Text- u. Bildbd.), p. 106-107 et 131 ; ID., « Textzimelien. Lateinische Klassiker und Kirchenväter. Vat. Pal. lat. 210, 899 und 1547 », dans *Die Palatina in der Vaticana. Eine deutsche Bibliothek in Rom*, Stuttgart – Zürich, 1992, p. 43-45 et pl. 28. C'est la datation que retiennent aussi, depuis, P. CHERUBINI – A. PRATESI, *Paleografia latina. L'avventura grafica del mondo occidentale*, Città del Vaticano, 2010 (Littera antiqua, 16), p. 126, n. 7. Nous n'avons pas pu consulter la thèse d'habilitation de T. LICHT, *Halbunziale. Paläographische und philologische Studien zur ältesten lateinischen Minuskel*, Habilitationsschrift, Universität Heidelberg, 2013.

présentent sous la forme de centons⁷⁷. Voici, pour chacun des trois extraits identifiés comme tels dans les témoins directs du florilège, les passages augustinien reproduits :

— exc. CCCXIV/339 (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1007, l. 3-1008, l. 16) :

DE VNIVS VXORIS VIRO EPISCOPO ORDINANDO. EX LIBRO DE BONO CONIVGALI.

- = (a) Aug., *b. coniug.* 16, 18 *quod ... carnali* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 210, l. 21-23)
- (b) Aug., *b. coniug.* 16, 18 *diuersa ... apostoli* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 212, l. 2-5)
- (c) Aug., *b. coniug.* 18, 21 *ecclesiae ... erunt* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 214, l. 7-215, l. 7)
- (d) Aug., *b. coniug.* 18, 21 *itaque ... uteri* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 215, l. 11-19)

— exc. CCCXV/340 (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1008, l. 17-1009, l. 13) :

DE NOCTVRNA INLVSIONE. EX EODEM LIBRO.

- = Aug., *b. coniug.* 20, 23 *multa ... iustitia* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 217, l. 12-218, l. 10)

— exc. CCCXVI/341 (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1009, l. 14-1010, l. 19) :

DE VIRTUTE ANIMI VEL LATENTE VEL MANIFESTA.

EX EODEM LIBRO DE BONO CONIVGALI.

- = (a) Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 25 *continentia ... procedat* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 218, l. 23-219, l. 5)

[ajout du florilégiste : *Et Timotheo ... uinum*]

- (b) Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 25 *relaxata ... est* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 219, l. 16-19)
- (c) Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 26 *num ... lasciuiarum* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 220, l. 14-221, l. 1)
- (d) Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 26 *et ... manifestari* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 221, l. 9-14)

⁷⁷ On rencontre, en effet, au moins trente-trois autres extraits qui prennent la forme de centons plus ou moins hétéroclites : il s'agit des exc. II/2, III/4, LXXXV/100, CVII/122, CXVI/131, CXVII/132, CXXIII/139, CXXIV/140, CXXXVI/152, CXLVII/163, CLXIII/179, CLXXXI/199, CLXXXIX/207, CXC/208, CXCIV/212, CCIX/227, CCXXIII/242, CCXLIX/273, CCLIX/284, CCLXXXII/307, CCLXXXIII/308, CCLXXXV/310, CCXCV/320, CCXCVII/322, CCXCIX/324, CCC/325, CCCI/326, CCCV/330, CCCXI/336, CCCXXXIII/369, CCCXXXIV/370, CCCXXXVI/372a et 372b ; pour une vue synthétique du contenu de ces extraits, se reporter à l'« Index capitum Eugippii » de KNÖLL (cit. n. 35), p. 1124-1135.

[transition réécrite par le florilégiste: *Cum ergo...* (voir tableau p. ci-contre)]

(e) Aug., *b. coniug.* 22, 27 *ac ... esset* (*CSEL*, XLI, p. 222, l. 5-20)

Or, chacun de ces dix passages, sans exception, est soigneusement indiqué dans le *Pal. lat.* 210 à ses bornes extrêmes, marqué, au sein du texte, d'une croix latine ou d'un staurogramme⁷⁸, signe auquel correspond, reportée dans la marge extérieure, une lettre grecque: l'*alpha* (Α) indiquant le début du passage sélectionné et l'*omega* (Ω) destiné à en signaler la fin. Tous ces signes semblent, à première vue, tracés par une même main. L'analyse qui suit indique les endroits marqués par l'excerpteur et les marqueurs graphiques utilisés (chaque mot est suivi, entre crochets droits, des marqueurs qui le signalent dans le manuscrit, le premier indiquant la marque dans le texte, le second le symbole porté en marge):

- I. fol. 13r, l. 26 *quod* [† Α] – l. 29 *carnali* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 16, 18 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXIVa (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1007, l. 6-8)
- II. fol. 13v, l. 31 *diuersa* [† Α] – fol. 14r, l. 2 *apostoli* [Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 16, 18 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXIVb (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1007, l. 9-12)
- III. fol. 14v, l. 30 *ecclesiae* [† Α] – fol. 15r, l. 25 *erunt* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 18, 21 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXIVc (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1007, l. 13-1008, l. 8)
- IV. fol. 15r, l. 32 *itaque* [† Α] – fol. 15v, l. 9 *uteri* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 18, 21 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXIVd (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1008, l. 8-16)
- V. fol. 16r, l. 27 *multa* [† Α] – fol. 16v, l. 22 *iustitia* [ⱥ Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 20, 23 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXV (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1008, l. 19-1009, l. 13)
- VI. fol. 17r, l. 3 *continentia* [† Α] – fol. 17r, l. 10 *procedat* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 25 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXVIa (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1009, l. 17-22)
- VII. fol. 17r, l. 23 *relaxata* [† Α] – fol. 17r, l. 27 *est* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 25 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXVIb (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1009, l. 23-26)
- VIII. fol. 17v, l. 17 *num* [† Α] – fol. 17r, l. 27 *lasciuiarum* [† Ω]
= Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 26 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXVIc (*CSEL*, IX/1, p. 1009, l. 1-6)

⁷⁸ Sur les signes utilisés dans le manuscrit, voir ci-dessous, la section 5 «En marge du texte» (p. 228-243).

- IX. fol. 18r, l. 5 *et* [† A] – fol. 18r, l. 11 *manifestari* [† ω]
 = Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 26 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXVI d (CSEL, IX/1,
 p. 1010, l. 7-10)
- X. fol. 18r, l. 28 *ac* [† A] – fol. 18v, l. 15 *esset* [† ω]
 = Aug., *b. coniug.* 22, 27 = Eug., *exc.* CCCXVI e (CSEL, IX/1,
 p. 1010, l. 23-19)

On observe, çà et là, quelques écarts minimes entre le texte du *Pal. lat.* 210 et le contenu des extraits dans le florilège d'Eugippe, dont les plus flagrants se trouvent dans l'*exc.* CCCXVI⁷⁹. Ainsi, plusieurs phrases ou membres de phrases ont sciemment été omis. La soudure des deux premiers passages (CCCXVIa-b) se fait à l'aide d'un ajout du compilateur (*Et Timotheo*), mais qui s'explique d'autant mieux qu'Eugippe, ayant voulu omettre un court passage relatif à la patience de Job pour passer directement à l'exemple suivant choisi par Augustin, celui de la continence de Timothée louée par Paul, se contente de rappeler de quel personnage il est question sans avoir à reproduire à la lettre la citation paulinienne convoquée par Augustin⁸⁰. Seul le dernier extrait repéré (ci-dessus numéroté X) offre un cas de figure qui pourrait sembler plus problématique : il a été, quant à lui, retravaillé avec un soin méticuleux. Comme le met en évidence la comparaison du tableau suivant, le compilateur a cherché à intervenir le moins possible sur le texte d'Augustin, en n'ajoutant de son propre cru (ci-dessous, entre crochets droits) que deux chevilles logiques suffisant à assurer une élégante transition avec la phrase précédente, et en tronquant certaines phrases (figurées par des blancs dans la transcription ci-dessous) en veillant bien à ce que l'ensemble ainsi obtenu soit à la fois syntaxiquement correct et surtout signifiant.

<i>Pal. lat.</i> 210, fol. 18r, l. 28-fol. 18v, l. 15	Eug., <i>exc.</i> CCCXVI e
Ac per hoc ab eis qui corrumpunt mores bonos conloquiis malis. Inani et uana uersutia dicitur homini christiano continenti et nubias recusanti, « tu ergo melior quam Abraham. » Quod ille cum audierit non perturbetur, nec audeat dicere melior, nec a proposito delabatur, illud enim non uere dicit. Hoc	[Cum ergo] colloquiis malis dicitur continenti et nubias recusanti: « tu ergo melior quam Abraham ? »

⁷⁹ Pour les détails, voir l'Annexe I, p. 252-253.

⁸⁰ *Et Timotheo* est, en effet, mis en lieu et place d'une remise en contexte de I Tim. 5, 23 (qui transparait dans la précision ajoutée par le compilateur : *uinum*) ; cf. Aug., *b. coniug.* 21, 25 : *Habebat utique et Timotheus uirtutem continendi a uino, quam non ei abstulit Paulus monendo, ut uino modico uteretur propter stomachum et frequentes suas infirmitates – alioquin perniciose docebat, ut propter salutem corporis fieret in animo damnum uirtutis – sed quia poterat ea uirtute salua fieri quod monebat, ita relaxata [...]* (CSEL, XLI, p. 219, l. 10-16).

non recte facit, sed dicat: «ego quidem non sum melior quam Abraham; sed melior est castitas caelibum quam castitas nubtiarum: quarum Abraham unam habebat in usu, ambas in habitu. caste quippe coniugaliter uixit; esse autem caste sine coniugio potuit, sed tunc non oportuit. ego uero facilius non utor nubtiis, quibus est usus Abraham, quam sic utor nubtiis, quemadmodum est usus Abraham. Et idem melior sum illis qui per animi continentiam non possunt quod ego non illis qui propter temporis differentiam non fecerunt quod ego. quod enim ego nunc ego [ago *p. c.*], melius illi egisset, si tunc agendum esset.

dicat: «ego quidem non sum melior quam Abraham; melior est castitas caelibum quam castitas nubtiarum: quarum Abraham unam habebat in usu, ambas in habitu. caste quippe coniugaliter uixit; esse autem caste sine coniugio potuit, sed tunc non oportuit. ego uero facilius non utor nubtiis, quibus est usus Abraham, quam sic utor nubtiis, quemadmodum est usus Abraham.

quod enim ego nunc ago, melius ille egisset, si tunc agendum esset.

Là encore, la comparaison entre le texte original et l'extrait qu'en a conservé Eugippe fait apparaître assez clairement la méthode de travail du compilateur: les passages non retenus sont gommés au profit d'une plus grande clarté et simplicité du discours (voir notamment le passage du milieu, décrivant la réaction de celui qui a fait vœu de continence); l'élimination de cette phrase, et la subordination ajoutée au début du passage, expliquent à leur tour la modification d'ordre syntaxique opérée plus loin (suppression du premier *sed*). Si, comme on l'observera ensuite, les passages finalement omis ne sont pas indiqués d'une manière particulière dans le manuscrit, en revanche, de même que dans les autres cas précédemment étudiés, le texte transmis par les témoins directs des *Excerpta* correspond bien à la version corrigée du manuscrit (ici: *ago* au lieu de l'*ego* initialement inscrit).

L'examen le plus discriminant consisterait en la confrontation du texte transmis par le manuscrit avec celui dont témoigne le florilège d'Eugippe. Malheureusement, l'édition de P. Knöll, reposant sur un nombre fort limité de témoins, ne permet pas d'avancer sur cette question de conclusions assurées⁸¹. Un dernier fait, néanmoins, est remarquable: il semblerait que les passages marqués comme étant à retenir aient fait l'objet, plus que le reste du traité, voire des autres œuvres, d'un travail attentif d'émendation, sans que l'on puisse déterminer à chaque fois si celui-ci a été fait *ope alterius codicis* ou *ope ingenii*⁸² – auquel cas il serait donc possible d'attribuer cer-

⁸¹ À rebours, une fois vérifié le statut de modèle du manuscrit, le témoignage du *Pal. lat.* 210 se révélera d'une importance capitale pour l'établissement du texte des *exc.* CCCXIV-CCCXVI ainsi que pour l'évaluation du degré de fidélité des différents témoins du florilège; à ce propos, voir l'Annexe I, p. 247-253.

⁸² Le même procédé a été observé dans les manuscrits de travail de Florus de Lyon, qui prend soin également de mettre particulièrement en évidence ses interventions (correction,

taines des variantes apportées au texte du manuscrit au responsable des excerptions. C'est quasi systématiquement le texte corrigé qui se retrouvera ensuite dans les témoins directs des *Excerpta*⁸³.

Mais avant de pouvoir attribuer avec assurance ces marques de préparation à Eugippe lui-même ou à l'un de ses collaborateurs, il faut prouver que ce manuscrit ne peut pas être considéré comme un témoin indirect des *Excerpta* en ce qu'il aurait pu servir à un lecteur d'Eugippe à repérer, dans un manuscrit d'Augustin, les passages isolés par le compilateur. Au fait que l'utilité d'un tel travail soit loin d'être évidente, il faut ajouter qu'un simple lecteur d'Eugippe, recherchant ses extraits dans l'œuvre source, aurait nécessairement sélectionné d'une façon différente les phrases du dernier extrait, en omettant de détourner les quelques portions de phrase qui n'apparaissent plus dans les *Excerpta*.

Il ne saurait guère davantage s'agir d'une copie de l'exemplaire de travail d'Eugippe⁸⁴. Si tel avait été le cas, la copie des diverses marques de repérage aurait vraisemblablement été faite par le copiste responsable aussi de la transcription du texte principal. Or, quoique le début de la plupart des passages excerptés corresponde au début d'une phrase, bien séparée de la précédente dans un manuscrit en onciale, il arrive à au moins deux reprises, lorsque l'excerpteur a voulu indiquer le commencement de l'extrait à reproduire au milieu d'une phrase, que l'espace entre un mot et l'autre se révèle insuffisant, si bien que l'inscription de la croix au sein du texte se fait d'une manière qui s'adapte, à l'évidence, au texte tel qu'il se présentait déjà à la lecture (voir, en particulier, aux fol. 13v, l. 31, et 17r, l. 23). Enfin et surtout, croix et lettres grecques sont tracées d'une encre différente, nettement plus claire.

C'est donc, selon toute vraisemblance, à l'exemplaire de travail du compilateur lui-même que nous avons affaire. Même minimales, les interventions du florilégiste observables dans les *Excerpta* obligent, cependant, à suppo-

ponctuation) sur le texte par l'usage d'une encre dont la teinte contraste fortement avec celle qu'a utilisée le copiste pour la transcription du texte principal ; voir, à ce propos, CHARLIER, « La Compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'Apôtre : sources et authenticité », *Revue bénédictine*, 57 (1947), p. 132-186 (p. 143 et n. 1) ; voir aussi L. HOLTZ, « Le Ms. Lyon, B.M. 484 (414) et la méthode de travail de Florus », *Revue bénédictine*, 119/2 (2009), p. [270]-315 (p. 271).

⁸³ Ces corrections sont détaillées dans l'Annexe I, p. 248-253. Voir également la planche n° 1, qui présente, sur une même page, l'isolement de deux extraits dont le texte seul a reçu des corrections d'une main sans doute différente de celle du copiste principal.

⁸⁴ On a, à ce jour, identifié deux copies de manuscrits de travail d'Eugippe (voir plus haut, p. 208-209). L'étude des apoglyphes de manuscrits de travail nécessite une méthode et une approche particulière, comme l'ont montré les travaux des spécialistes de Florus : voir CHARLIER, « La Compilation augustinienne » (cit. n. 82), p. 150-155 ; FRANSEN, « Notes marginales de Florus dans un manuscrit de Cluny », *Revue bénédictine*, 109/1-2 (1999), p. [148]-153.

ser l'existence d'une copie intermédiaire entre le modèle transmettant le texte augustinien et la première transcription, mise au propre, des extraits dans le recueil : aucune trace, en effet, ne transparaît dans le dernier extrait, qui suggérerait à un copiste quelconque qu'il faille ne pas retranscrire certaines phrases ou certains groupes de mots ; par ailleurs, les ajouts propres au compilateur (*Et Timotheo ita ... uini, Cum ergo*) sont également absents de ce manuscrit de travail ; aucun des titres, enfin, que l'on trouve pourtant au début de chaque extrait dans le florilège (*De unius uxoris uiro episcopo ordinando*, etc.), n'a été ajouté en marge ou en tête de chaque ensemble d'extraits, alors qu'il se pourrait, à en croire le témoignage du ms. *Roma, BNC, Sessoriano 13*, que cela ait été une pratique à l'œuvre dans l'atelier d'Eugippe au moment de la préparation des *Excerpta*⁸⁵. Il faudrait donc en conclure que la phase de repérage, dans le *Pal. lat. 210*, des extraits intéressants a été suivie d'une copie intermédiaire – probablement sous la forme de cédulas – sur laquelle auront été apportées les informations nouvelles (titre à donner, indication des passages à supprimer, mots à ajouter, etc.).

c. D'autres interventions dans le manuscrit : la préparation d'un extrait du s. 150

Les traces de repérage visibles dans le texte du *De bono coniugali* ne sont pas les seules dont soit porteur le manuscrit. On observe, en effet, nombre d'interventions ultérieures, dont certaines semblent être des imitations de celles dont on vient de rendre compte. Il en sera question plus abondamment dans la dernière partie de cet article⁸⁶.

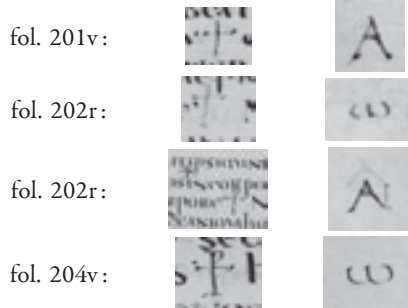
Parmi ces autres interventions portées dans le manuscrit, un cas doit pourtant être traité ici. Comme celui du *De bono coniugali*, le texte du s. 150 d'Augustin (fol. 199r-205v) a fait l'objet d'un travail de repérage en tout point identique. Ce sermon, qui a trait à Act. 17, 18, et qui traite en particulier de l'épithète attribuée à Paul de *seminator uerborum* et de ses disputes avec les philosophes stoïciens et épicuriens⁸⁷, a en effet suscité un certain intérêt : aux fol. 201v-202r et 202r-204v, deux passages ont ainsi été isolés à l'aide de croix ou de staurogrammes et marqués dans la marge par un A et un ω. Une confrontation avec le système de repérage observé

⁸⁵ Sur ce manuscrit, qui est vraisemblablement une copie du manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe concernant le *De Genesi ad litteram*, voir plus haut, p. 208 et n. 62. Remarquons toutefois que l'on n'observe rien de pareil dans l'autre manuscrit jusqu'à présent rattaché au scriptorium de Castellum Lucullanum et aux projets d'Eugippe, le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12168*.

⁸⁶ Voir la section 5, p. 228-243.

⁸⁷ Ce sermon a été réédité et étudié par J. ELFASSI, « Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin. Édition critique et tentative de datation », *Revue des études augustinienes*, 45/1 (1999), p. [21]-50. Voir aussi l'Annexe II, p. 254-258.

pour les passages du *De bono* fait apparaître clairement que ces signes ont été portés par une encre tout à fait semblable ; le *ductus* de l'*omega*, en particulier, est parfaitement identique dans les deux cas.



Préparation d'un *excerptum* du s. 150



Au total, ce ne sont pas moins de cent lignes, sur les 250 que totalise le sermon, qui ont ainsi été marquées à des fins d'excerptation. Étant donné les conclusions auxquelles nous sommes parvenus à propos des dix passages marqués dans le *De bono coniugali*, on est en droit de supposer que les deux passages préparés ici étaient destinés à former un *excerptum* unique dans le florilège augustinien d'Eugippe, qui n'aura finalement pas été repris, pour une raison ou pour une autre, dans l'œuvre telle qu'elle nous est parvenue⁸⁸. C'est donc là, à tout le moins, un témoignage intéressant, au titre de la tradition indirecte du sermon qui, n'ayant pas été remarqué jusqu'ici⁸⁹, mérite d'être relevé ; pour cette raison, cet extrait est édité dans l'annexe II⁹⁰.

4. Le ms. *Pal. lat. 210* et la tradition du florilège d'Eugippe : pour une nouvelle datation du manuscrit

Cette identification du ms. *Pal. lat. 210* avec le manuscrit préparatoire des exc. CCCXIV-CCCXVI des *Excerpta* d'Eugippe, qui se fonde sur la

⁸⁸ À ce propos, voir plus loin, p. 223-224, et l'Annexe II, p. 254-258.

⁸⁹ Il a échappé, notamment, au dernier éditeur, ELFASSI, « Le sermon 150 » (cit. n. 87), qui a rassemblé les principales données que nous possédions sur la fortune et la tradition indirecte médiévale de ce sermon (p. 27-29).

⁹⁰ Voir p. 254-258.

coïncidence des marques d'excerptation et des limites de chacun des passages ensuite concaténés dans le florilège, et dans une moindre mesure sur des parentés textuelles entre le manuscrit source et les témoins des *Excerpta*, se heurte toutefois à un contre-argument qu'il convient de ne pas négliger : la datation généralement admise du manuscrit, située aux alentours de l'an 600, et qui a été fortement réaffirmée par deux études paléographiques d'A. Petrucci⁹¹.

De l'argument philologique ou de l'argument paléographique, lequel peut à bon droit paraître le plus fort ? La question est délicate. L'exposé qui précède conduit à formuler une alternative : soit l'extrait a été préparé par Eugippe et la datation du manuscrit doit être remontée d'un siècle environ, soit il faut envisager que l'extrait a été ajouté au florilège par un interpolateur à une date plus compatible avec les travaux des paléographes. Un retour sur l'histoire textuelle et la structure du florilège d'Eugippe tel qu'il nous a été transmis nous autorisera à répondre à la question en rejetant, avec également l'appui d'autres indices paléographiques, la datation acceptée jusqu'ici.

a. La tradition manuscrite des *Excerpta* d'Eugippe et les *exc.* CCCXIV-CCCXVI

La tradition textuelle des *Excerpta* d'Eugippe est des plus complexes, non pas tant du fait de son ampleur (on en dénombre à tout le moins une trentaine de témoins, sans compter d'autres témoins partiels, qui ne transmettent isolément qu'un ou plusieurs extraits⁹²) que de son hétérogénéité. Comme le signalait déjà le dernier éditeur du florilège, P. Knöll, le nombre d'extraits contenus dans le florilège, indépendamment même des problèmes de césure qui pourraient associer dans certains témoins deux extraits distincts ou au contraire séparer plusieurs parties d'un même extrait original, peut varier sensiblement d'un manuscrit à un autre, et partant de nombreux témoins présentent des *Excerpta* un texte à l'évidence interpolé⁹³. À cet égard, la tradition des *Excerpta* est assez paradigmatique de la transmission des florilèges en général, qu'ils soient ou non patristiques : leur nature même, qui est un assemblage de pièces éparses, leur caractère, par définition, de non exhaustivité et d'inachèvement, parfois aussi la configuration matérielle de leurs copies, en font une matière particulièrement mal-

⁹¹ Voir plus haut, p. 212 et n. 75.

⁹² Compléter la liste des onze témoins utilisés dans l'édition de Knöll (KNÖLL, « Praefatio », dans *CSEL*, IX/1 [cit. n. 35], p. [i]-xxxii, par celle que procure GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 20-26.

⁹³ Voir de nouveau KNÖLL, « Praefatio » (cit. n. 92), et surtout SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35).

léable, qu'un lecteur intéressé peut à loisir réduire ou augmenter⁹⁴. Telle était même, d'ailleurs, la volonté d'Eugippe en personne que de laisser son œuvre pour ainsi dire ouverte à toute éventuelle interpolation : dans son épître dédicatoire à Proba, le compilateur souligne clairement que, s'il a voulu donner une certaine direction à son œuvre, en la plaçant sous le signe de la charité⁹⁵, il consent à qui le veut d'ajouter d'autres passages qu'il aurait omis, sciemment ou faute d'en avoir trouvé le texte⁹⁶. C'est ainsi que l'on trouve, jusque dans les plus anciens témoins du florilège, un nombre variable d'extraits : 348 dans le ms. *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, Vat. lat. 3375 (V ; fin du VI^e s.), 360 dans le ms. *Paris*, BnF, lat. 11642 (P ; 2^e quart ou milieu du IX^e s.), 366 dans les mss. *Paris*, BnF, lat. 2110 (O ; début du VIII^e s.) et *Sankt Gallen*, SB, 176 (G ; milieu du IX^e s.), et jusqu'à 376 dans un témoin plus tardif, du XII^e siècle, le ms. *Chartres*, BM, 17⁹⁷. Il ne peut donc pas être exclu *a priori* que les préparations que nous avons remarquées dans le ms. *Pal. lat. 210* soient le fait d'un interpolateur du florilège, à situer aux alentours du tournant du VII^e siècle⁹⁸.

On est en droit, cependant, de récuser cette possibilité au nom d'une double approche reposant sur l'examen d'autres témoins du texte et leur datation et sur une étude stématique, au moins partielle, de la tradition. On a la chance d'avoir conservé un témoin fort ancien des *Excerpta*, postérieur de quelques décennies seulement à la mort d'Eugippe : le ms. *Città del Vaticano*, BAV, Vat. lat. 3375, siglé V par Knöll, a, en effet, été daté par Lowe de la fin du VI^e siècle⁹⁹ et communément attribué au scriptorium de Castellum Lucullanum¹⁰⁰. Or, ce manuscrit transmet bien, à l'endroit idoine, aux fol. 280r-281v, les trois extraits qui nous intéressent¹⁰¹. De

⁹⁴ Sur ces différents aspects de la transmission des florilèges, et en particulier sur l'argument codicologique, qui se vérifie assez nettement dans le cas du florilège augustinien de Bède, voir DELMULLE, « La *Collectio in Apostolum* de Bède le Vénérable : tradition manuscrite, codicologie et critique d'authenticité », *Scriptorium*, 70/2 (2016), à paraître.

⁹⁵ Voir déjà plus haut, p. 204-205.

⁹⁶ Voir plus haut, p. 205 et n. 45.

⁹⁷ Ce sont les nombres donnés par SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35), p. [331]-332. Les sigles indiqués entre parenthèses sont ceux de KNÖLL, « Praefatio » (cit. n. 92), p. [I]-XXXII, qu'a repris et complétés GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 20-26.

⁹⁸ C'est précisément à cette période que E. K. Rand, qui a établi un stemma des *Excerpta* à partir du travail de Knöll, situe la (première) interpolation du florilège : voir E. K. RAND, *Studies on the Script of Tours*, t. II : *The Earliest Book of Tours*, collab. L. W. JONES, Cambridge (MA), 1934, p. 73.

⁹⁹ *CLA*, I, 16. Il est visible en ligne à l'adresse suivante : http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3375.

¹⁰⁰ Voir plus haut, p. 206-207 et n. 55.

¹⁰¹ http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3375/0576

même, trois autres manuscrits au moins, quoique plus tardifs, apportent un témoignage décisif sur l'état du florilège dès avant la fin du ^{vi}^e siècle : une partie adventice (siglée *Q* par P. Siniscalco et *P*² par M. M. Gorman) du ms. carolingien *Paris, BnF, lat. 11642 (P)*, le ms. *Bruxelles, BR, 5459 (B; xi^e siècle)* ainsi que le ms. *Chartres, BM, 17*, transmettent à la suite du dernier item une souscription du *notarius* Petrus, très précisément datée du 13 décembre 581¹⁰². Dans la mesure où l'état transmis par l'antigraphe napolitain copié par Petrus possédait lui aussi déjà les *exc.* CCCXIV à CCCXVI, on peut faire remonter davantage encore leur insertion dans le florilège, et par conséquent la date d'utilisation – et *a fortiori* de composition – du *Pal. lat. 210*. Si l'on ajoute, enfin, que le ms. *V* et le groupe des manuscrits dépendant de l'*exemplar* napolitain de 581 appartiennent, d'après l'étude stemmatique proposée par M. M. Gorman, qui a approfondi les travaux d'Edward Kennard Rand¹⁰³, à des branches différentes de la tradition des *Excerpta* (branche γ pour *V* et α pour les autres), et que les témoins des deux autres branches identifiées, β et δ , comportent eux aussi nos trois extraits, on ne peut qu'en arriver à la conclusion que ces derniers se trouvaient déjà dans l'archétype. Or, l'étude menée par P. Siniscalco sur l'étendue « primitive » du florilège d'Eugippe a réussi à démontrer, en s'appuyant sur le témoignage précieux de Cassiodore, proche d'Eugippe à la fois dans le temps et par son appartenance au même milieu de relations romaines, et sur le témoignage du ms. *Toulouse, BM, 159* (auquel l'enquête de M. M. Gorman a permis d'associer le ms. *Cassino, Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, 13*¹⁰⁴), que le florilège tel que Cassiodore l'a connu était composé de 338 extraits, nombre que partagent les deux témoins que l'on vient de mentionner¹⁰⁵. À dire vrai, le nombre de 338 extraits ne saurait être tenu comme assurément « primitif » : tout au plus peut-on être sûr qu'il correspond au contenu de l'archétype, attesté dès

¹⁰² Cette souscription, citée plus haut, p. 208 et n. 61, a été commentée plusieurs fois, en particulier par SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35), p. 338-339. Il faut vraisemblablement ajouter aux deux témoins que l'on vient d'indiquer le ms. *Bruxelles, BR, II 2569 (A)*, qui appartient à la même famille et dont le dernier feuillet est tombé; voir GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 21. Dans le ms. *Chartres, BM, 17*, la souscription (fol. 210ra-rb) ne marque pas la fin du manuscrit, mais est suivie d'autres extraits.

¹⁰³ RAND, *Studies* (cit. n. 98), p. 72-75; GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. [229] (et n. 1).

¹⁰⁴ Voir GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 233-236. Le manuscrit de Montecassino est celui que M. Gorman a siglé *C*; quant à celui de Toulouse, P. Siniscalco (« Il numero primitivo » [cit. n. 35], p. 334) lui a donné comme symbole la lettre *t*, pourtant déjà employée par P. Knöll pour le ms. *Torino, BNU, XLVIII d 4.24* (KNÖLL, « Praefatio » [cit. n. 92], p. xxxi).

¹⁰⁵ SINISCALCO, « Il numero primitivo » (cit. n. 35), surtout p. 333 et 342. Pour le témoignage de Cassiodore, dans ses *Institutiones* (I, 23, 1), se reporter, plus haut, à la n. 23.

avant le milieu du ^{vi}e siècle (les *Institutiones* cassiodoriennes étant datées des années 550¹⁰⁶)¹⁰⁷. S'il est vrai que les rapports qui lient Cassiodore à Proba et à Eugippe permettent de garantir la valeur quasiment « autorisée » de l'exemplaire disponible à Vivarium, ce dernier peut très bien comporter déjà plusieurs interpolations, surtout si l'on admet désormais une datation plus haute (avant 511) de la publication des *Excerpta*¹⁰⁸. Cette dernière donnée – la seule, à notre avis, que l'on puisse affirmer avec certitude – suffit déjà à remettre en cause d'une manière assez nette la datation admise du *Pal. lat. 210*, puisque l'on peut dire que le manuscrit est nécessairement antérieur à 550.

Est-il possible de faire remonter la datation du manuscrit préparatoire d'un demi-siècle supplémentaire? La question est alors de savoir si les extraits tirés du *De bono coniugali* pourraient avoir été introduits dans le florilège d'Eugippe par un interpolateur, dont l'activité serait à situer entre 511 et 550, à savoir entre l'achèvement de l'original et l'apparition de l'archétype. Seule, sans doute, une étude minutieuse du *Masterplan* du florilège, qui manque à ce jour¹⁰⁹, pourrait apporter une réponse satisfaisante. Ce que le bon sens, en tout cas, autorise à avancer, c'est qu'un interpolateur, s'il était venu à avoir accès à une collection aussi riche d'œuvres augustinienes, n'aurait sans doute pas manqué d'en profiter pour compléter, en plus d'un endroit, le florilège d'Eugippe. Il resterait, certes, à expliquer pourquoi Eugippe lui-même, s'il a eu l'actuel ms. *Pal. lat. 210* entre les mains, n'a pas jugé bon d'en extraire d'autres passages. Mais on aurait moins de difficulté, dans tel cas, à comprendre le choix d'un « auteur », poursuivant un but précis qu'il s'est donné sans pour autant le formuler explicitement, et les interventions d'un interpolateur, au sujet duquel il faudrait pouvoir expliquer non seulement pourquoi il n'a introduit que trois extraits et non davantage, mais aussi quelle raison il aurait eu de les insérer à cet endroit précis du florilège; par exemple, qu'un compilateur comme Eugippe, se lançant dans une entreprise gigantesque, ait préparé, dans un grand nombre de manuscrits divers, une multitude de passages destinés à

¹⁰⁶ Du moins pour leur « édition officielle », que leur auteur reverra une trentaine d'années plus tard : voir MYNORS, « Introduction », dans CASSIODORI SENATORIS *Institutiones* (cit. n. 23), p. ix-lvi (p. xxviii-xxx), suivi et complété par P. COURCELLE, « Histoire d'un brouillon cassiodorien », *Revue des études anciennes*, 44/1 (1942), p. [65]-96, notamment p. 85.

¹⁰⁷ RAND, *Studies* (cit. n. 98) n'hésite cependant pas à faire de l'archétype (qu'il appelle *X*) « la copie originale de l'œuvre d'Eugippe » (p. 73).

¹⁰⁸ Sur cette question, voir les références données dans la n. 36.

¹⁰⁹ L'article sur « The Structure and Purpose of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* » annoncé par GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. 8, n. 1 n'a jamais paru (voir ID., *The Manuscript Traditions* [cit. n. 47], p. ix); voir, cependant, COLOMBI, « Eugippius » (cit. n. 46).

fournir les *excerpta* de son florilège et qu'il ait ou bien omis ou bien choisi d'en négliger l'un ou l'autre (en l'espèce, le texte préparé issu du s. 150) se conçoit plus aisément que si l'on attribue cette omission à un interpolateur dont l'activité ne pouvait que prétendre à des ajouts beaucoup plus ponctuels. En tout état de cause, on se rappellera que le soin minutieux apporté au ciselage de l'extrait correspond tout à fait à la technique employée dans la préparation de nombreux autres extraits du florilège dans sa recension originale¹¹⁰. Ce sont là des indices suffisants pour attribuer les excerpions du *Pal. lat. 210* à Eugippe lui-même ou à son atelier.

Une approche exclusivement philologique, se fondant avant tout sur une étude de génétique textuelle, nous invite donc à reconsidérer complètement la datation attribuée jusqu'à présent au ms. *Pal. lat. 210* pour en situer la confection en tout cas avant le milieu du vi^e siècle, mais plus vraisemblablement même avant 511.

b. Un *codex* du début du vi^e siècle ? Caractéristiques paléographiques et codicologiques

Qu'est-ce à dire, maintenant, s'agissant des particularités graphiques et matérielles de ce manuscrit de travail ? Parce que la datation du *Pal. lat. 210* au tournant des vi^e-vii^e siècles, d'abord suggérée par approximation, a ensuite été soutenue positivement et étayée par plusieurs études circonstanciées menées par A. Petrucci, et parce que c'est à celui qui veut la remettre en cause d'apporter des éléments tangibles, susceptibles de montrer que la datation à laquelle nous sommes parvenus plus haut n'est pas, par elle-même, incompatible avec l'évidence matérielle du livre, il importe de se livrer à un réexamen paléographique, en reprenant point par point l'ensemble de l'argumentation d'A. Petrucci.

On sait que l'onciale est parmi les écritures les plus difficiles à dater. L'écriture principale du manuscrit préparatoire que nous étudions présente toutes les caractéristiques de l'onciale du vi^e siècle, définies par Émile Chatelain¹¹¹ et reprises, après lui, par les principaux manuels de paléographie¹¹² : à savoir que les lettres *F*, *L* et *T* occupent un espace plus grand que les autres, que le trait inférieur du *F* est d'une longueur égale à celle du

¹¹⁰ Voir les remarques faites plus haut, p. 205. C'est ainsi que VOGÜÉ, « La Règle » (cit. n. 34), p. 241-242, parle, au sujet de la *Regula Eugippii*, de « lacunes intérieures » comme d'un critère d'authentification eugippienne.

¹¹¹ Æ. CHATELAIN, *Uncialis scriptura codicum latinorum novis exemplis illustrata*, Parisiis, 1901-1902, t. I, p. [24].

¹¹² Par exemple, G. BATTILLI, *Lezioni di paleografia*, 3^e éd., Città del Vaticano, 1949, p. 83, et BISCHOFF, *Paléographie* (cit. n. 16), p. 80 ; voir aussi L. SCHIAPARELLI, *La scrittura latina nell'età romana (Note paleografiche). Avviamento allo studio della scrittura latina nel Medio Evo*, con Appendice bibliografica, Como, 1921, en particulier p. 136-155.

supérieur, que le *L* est parfois agrémenté d'une petite queue, que la panse des *P* et des *R* est plus grande sans être fermée et que le dernier jambage du *N* présente souvent une ornementation, à quoi il faut ajouter une spécificité codicologique consistant en la numérotation quasi systématique du cahier (en bas à droite du dernier feuillet). Si les principaux traits distinctifs facilitent l'attribution d'un codex à un siècle plutôt qu'à un autre, le nombre de manuscrits en onciale conservés ou le caractère représentatif des quelques manuscrits datés que nous possédons encore ne sont pas suffisants pour qu'on puisse affiner leur datation à la décennie, ni même au demi-siècle près.

Plus récemment, dans deux publications, qui ont fait date, au sujet des écritures en usage au *vi*^e siècle et, plus spécifiquement, de « l'onziale romana », A. Petrucci a identifié des caractéristiques graphico-stylistiques et codicologiques communes à un ensemble de manuscrits dont il propose de situer la confection à Rome vers la fin du *vi*^e siècle ou le début du suivant¹¹³. Son étude prend pour point de départ le célèbre *Codex Trecensis* (ms. *Troyes, Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 504*), dans lequel on s'accorde aujourd'hui à reconnaître un exemplaire d'auteur de la *Regula pastoralis* de Grégoire le Grand¹¹⁴. En entreprenant ainsi une analyse aussi détaillée que possible du manuscrit de la *Regula*¹¹⁵, et en élargissant son étude à d'autres manuscrits visiblement proches de celui-ci, A. Petrucci est parvenu à isoler neuf manuscrits (pour la plupart fragmentaires) présentant tout ou partie des traits distinctifs du *Trecensis*, et auxquels il a donné le qualificatif de « grégoriens »¹¹⁶. Selon lui, cet ensemble de manuscrits se caractérise essentiellement par six traits graphiques et stylistiques, qu'il énumère comme suit¹¹⁷:

¹¹³ PETRUCCI, « Scrittura e libro » (cit. n. 32), en particulier p. 204-205, et ID., « L'onziale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. [75]-101.

¹¹⁴ On se reportera avec le plus grand intérêt à l'édition du fac-similé intégral du manuscrit et au volume d'études qui l'accompagne (qui comporte également une transcription complète du texte): *Codex Trecensis* (cit. n. 12).

¹¹⁵ PETRUCCI, « L'onziale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. [75]-80; voir aussi F. NARDELLI, « Il codice e le sue scritture », dans *Codex Trecensis* (cit. n. 12), p. [15]-29.

¹¹⁶ PETRUCCI, « L'onziale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 81-101. Il s'agit des mss. *Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, Tomo X* (CLA, IV, 435), *Orléans, Méd.*, 19 (16) (CLA, VI, 801), *Sankt-Peterburg, RNB, lat. F.v.I.1* (CLA, XI, 1597), *Bern, Burgerbibl.*, 123 (CLA, VII, 858), *Pappenheim, Gräfl. Archiv, n.c.* (CLA, IX, 1348), *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210* (CLA, I, 84), *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 267* (CLA, I, 104a-b), *Paris, BnF, lat. 11326* (CLA, V, 609) et *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3833* (CLA, I, 17). L'auteur se montre, toutefois, assez prudent dans l'attribution des derniers manuscrits à un scriptorium romain (voir p. 97-98).

¹¹⁷ PETRUCCI, « L'onziale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 99.

- 1) le détachement assez net des formes, accentué par l'appâtissement à l'horizontale du trait supérieur des lettres arrondies et par l'épaisseur du tracé;
- 2) le *a* à l'œillet en forme de « petite feuille », en tout cas triangulaire, et non arrondi;
- 3) le *d* avec le trait supérieur initialement orienté à l'horizontale, ou en tout cas recourbé;
- 4) le double *LL* avec ses deux éléments disjoints;
- 5) l'utilisation du *u* suscrit, de forme cursive, à proximité de la fin de la ligne;
- 6) l'utilisation de petits traits recourbés à la fin des hastes des lettres *C* (pas toujours), *e*, *F*, *L* et *T* et des traits supérieurs de *S* et *X* (pas toujours).

Il faut préciser que seuls les n° 1, 2 et 5 se retrouvent à coup sûr ou presque dans tous les manuscrits considérés comme représentants de l'« onciale romaine de la période grégorienne »¹¹⁸.

Parmi ces « codici Gregoriani », A. Petrucci place donc, « con tutta probabilità », le *Pal. lat. 210*, en en indiquant les traits les plus caractéristiques, dont plusieurs l'apparentent au ms. *Troyes, Méd., 504*: la réglure exécutée feuillet par feuillet côté chair, l'encadrement du texte par une ligne unique, la piqûre du parchemin au travers même du texte, une onciale assez irrégulière et caractérisée surtout par des ligatures héritées de modèles cursifs (*ec*, *er*, *ne*) ou non (*AE*, *NT*, *UR*, *US*)¹¹⁹. Deux traits, en particulier, apparaissent à l'auteur les indices les plus forts de l'origine romaine du manuscrit et de sa proximité avec les responsables de la confection du *Trecensis*: la suspension du *u* dans l'interligne, ainsi que l'ajout de traits fourchus aux hastes horizontales et obliques¹²⁰.

Mais ces traits stylistiques, s'ils sont communs au *Pal. lat. 210* et au *Troyes, Méd., 504* et à d'autres manuscrits de même origine, apportent-ils nécessairement des indications précises de datation ? Bien des éléments constitutifs du phénomène de « stylisation romaine » observé par Petrucci n'apparaissent pas dans le *Pal. lat. 210*. D'autres, à rebours, bien présents dans le manuscrit, sont loin d'être propres à la fin du VI^e siècle : la réglure simple est un trait constant des *codices antiquissimi* dans leur ensemble¹²¹;

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 95-97.

¹²⁰ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 96-97 et pl. VIII.

¹²¹ LOWE, « More Facts About Our Oldest Latin Manuscripts », dans *Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, éd. L. BIELER, Oxford, 1972, t. I, p. [251]-274 (p. 274).

certains traits graphiques sont attestés bien plus tôt. L'auteur le reconnaît bien volontiers lui-même, puisqu'il a repéré des traits similaires dans des manuscrits qu'il estime être du milieu, voire de la première moitié du ^{vi} siècle¹²². Il conclut même son étude ainsi : « La stilizzazione romana dell'onciale non fu un fatto isolato dell'età gregoriana, ma costituì un fenomeno di lunga durata, che sembra avere le sue prime origini in alcuni codici di lusso dei primi del secolo ^{vi}¹²³ ».

De fait, des deux caractéristiques à ses yeux les plus propres à rattacher le *Pal. lat. 210* à un scriptorium romain de la fin du ^{vi} siècle (les fourches ornementales des hastes de certaines lettres et la suscription fréquente du *u* en fin de ligne), A. Petrucci a montré que la première se rencontrait également dans des manuscrits bien plus anciens, tel le fameux psautier pourpré dit « de saint Germain » (ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 11947*¹²⁴), daté généralement de la première moitié du même siècle, et qui présente « comme élément plus déterminant, l'utilisation régulière de petits traits de complément à la fin des hastes de *C, e, F, S* », dont certains se transforment même en fourches (!)¹²⁵ ; les recherches les plus récentes sur ce manuscrit ont même, d'ailleurs, éliminé l'hypothèse de son origine italienne pour l'attribuer plutôt à un centre de production gaulois¹²⁶. De plus, elle n'apparaît pas équitablement dans l'ensemble du manuscrit, et ne devient vraiment flagrante qu'à partir de l'intervention de la cinquième main¹²⁷. Dans les premiers feuillets du manuscrit, les continuations ornementales de lettres comme le *e* s'observent uniquement lorsque cette lettre est la dernière de la ligne (par exemple, fol. 12r, l. 7, 12, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24) ; elles concernent beaucoup plus rarement les *F*, les *L* et les *T*. Quant au *u* suscrit, il pourrait s'agir là d'un banal mode de ménagement de l'espace, comme on en trouve, du reste, bien avant la fin du ^{vi} siècle et dans d'autres aires culturelles, comme

¹²² Voir, en particulier, la section « L'onciale romana nel ^{vi} secolo », dans PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 101-114.

¹²³ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 113.

¹²⁴ *CLA*, V, 616. Sans doute par confusion avec le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 11955*, PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 104 et 105, dit qu'il s'agit d'un évangélaire.

¹²⁵ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 105 ; voir aussi la pl. XI.

¹²⁶ C'est la conclusion à laquelle permet de parvenir une étude du texte du psautier, qui présente de nombreuses affinités avec celui d'une *Vetus Latina* attestée en Gaule lyonnaise dès la fin de l'Antiquité. Pour un état de la question, et les références bibliographiques y afférentes, nous nous permettons de renvoyer par anticipation à la notice de Ch. Denoël, à paraître dans le catalogue de l'exposition « Les temps mérovingiens » (Paris, Musée de Cluny, 26 octobre 2016-13 février 2017) ; nous remercions l'auteur d'avoir bien voulu nous communiquer ce travail avant publication.

¹²⁷ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. 96, n. 75, qui renvoie en particulier aux fol. 176r et 236v, où il est vrai que les fioritures deviennent de réelles bouclettes (« *riccioli* »).

par exemple dans l'Origène dit de Lyon (ms. *Lyon, BM, 483*), que Lowe considère comme une production véronaise du début du VI^e siècle¹²⁸.

Aussi l'attribution du *Pal. lat. 210* à l'activité d'un groupe de copistes contemporains de Grégoire ne trouve, dans l'analyse paléographique et stylistique, aucun appui qui emporterait une adhésion sans réserve. Si les particularités graphiques qu'atteste – encore que partiellement – l'archétype de la collection *De bono coniugali* peuvent n'être pas sans rapport avec ce que l'on observera vers la fin du VI^e siècle à Rome, rien en revanche, nous semble-t-il, n'interdit de les rapporter à une période plus ancienne, c'est-à-dire à la première moitié, voire aux premières années du VI^e siècle. Et s'il s'avère que les traits en question peuvent être définis comme proprement romains, il n'y a, là non plus, aucun obstacle à ce que le *Pal. lat. 210* soit considéré comme un témoin d'une pratique, par ailleurs déjà attestée dans la première moitié du siècle, appelée à se développer jusqu'à une standardisation à l'époque de Grégoire. L'inscription romaine de la composition du manuscrit entrerait, par exemple, parfaitement en concordance avec ce que l'on sait de la provenance des manuscrits utilisés par Eugippe lors des travaux préparatoires de son florilège, et pourrait même, le cas échéant, être à rapporter à l'une ou l'autre des bibliothèques privées de l'aristocratie romaine, de l'entourage de Proba, auquel le compilateur a dû avoir accès¹²⁹.

Comme on peut s'en apercevoir, les critères purement paléographiques ne sauraient guère suffire en eux-mêmes pour assurer une datation, quelle qu'elle soit, et ont besoin d'être étayés par des données externes et positives. Il importe donc d'accorder toute la valeur qu'il mérite au critère externe et objectif fourni par les marques d'extraction et l'étude philologique de la compilation des *Excerpta*. C'est d'ailleurs le même argument (de détection de variantes d'auteur) qui avait permis à E. A. Lowe de faire remonter la datation du *Trecensis* d'un siècle par rapport à l'estimation de Chatelain¹³⁰.

5. En marge du texte

a. Un travail d'édition

Les signes d'extraction d'Eugippe ne sont pas les seules notes marginales du *Pal. lat. 210* : on rencontre dans les marges toutes sortes de signes critiques

¹²⁸ *CLA*, VI, 779. Voir, par exemple, au fol. 72r, l. 9 [en ligne : <http://florus.bm-lyon.fr/visualisation.php?cote=MS0483&vue=147>].

¹²⁹ Voir plus haut, p. 204 et n. 41.

¹³⁰ PETRUCCI, « L'onciale Romana » (cit. n. 12), p. [75]-76. Voir aussi P. CHIESA, « Gregorio al lavoro. Il processo testuale della *Regula pastoralis* », dans *Codex Trecensis* (cit. n. 12), p. [31]-99.

et de notes marginales, dont l'étude nous permettra de contextualiser le travail d'excerptation. Ces notes ont d'abord pour fonction d'éditer et mettre en page le recueil augustinien. Ce souci éditorial a inspiré les annotateurs qui ont rédigé les titres complets des œuvres en marge de leurs *incipit* et *explicit*. Ces ajouts à l'encre noire sont souvent précédés d'une croix. Il faut peut-être y reconnaître plusieurs plumes différentes. Certaines notes, toujours en marge de tête, sont d'une onciale de taille homogène, dont les hastes ne dépassent quasiment pas la ligne (fol. 3r, 22v, 49v, 167r). La plupart des notes (fol. 79r-v, 111v, 129r, 130r, 148v (?), 153v (?), 171r (?), 178r-v, 183r, 187v, 198v, 205v, 224v, 234r, 249r, 260v) sont en onciale de format minuscule, dont les hastes (*L*, *P*, *R*, *D*) dépassent davantage, qui abrège volontiers (*EXPL* pour *explicit*; *INP* ou *INCP* pour *incipit*; *EPCP* pour *episcopum*; *PBRU* pour *presbiterum*) et utilise la ligature *NT*. On distingue enfin une onciale minuscule dont les *d* ondulés sont semblables à ceux de l'onziale *bd* des *CLA* et qui abrège *-bus* par *B*. (fol. 154r, 161r, 212v, 215v). Par conséquent, ou bien ce travail a été réalisé en groupe, ou bien une même main a écrit de plusieurs façons différentes. Ces plumes sont responsables de plusieurs corrections dans le texte (par ex. fol. 163r, l. 2). Elles ont relu et corrigé le sommaire, fol. 1v¹³¹, et semblent avoir ajouté les motifs en forme de *V* dissymétrique ou *S* semi-onzial en marge des *incipit* (fol. 49v, 79v, 129r, 130r...) ¹³². Ceux-ci sont numérotés en chiffres romains conformément à la capitulation du sommaire.

Ce travail d'édition devient plus clair quand on se penche de plus près sur les s. 6 et 45 d'Augustin. On rencontre en marge du s. 6, fol. 214v, la note: *expositio uirge*. Il s'agit d'un commentaire exégétique sur le bâton de Moïse (Exod. 4, 1-9). La note est, là encore, précédée d'une croix. Ce s. 6 est le seul du recueil à ne pas avoir été inclus dans le sommaire du fol. 1v, ce qui a provoqué une certaine confusion. Un lecteur qui suivait linéairement le texte devait remarquer que son titre, fol. 212v (*de eo quod apparuit Dominus Mosi in rubo ardenti*), ne correspondait pas à celui qu'on trouvait au c. 17 du sommaire (c'est-à-dire celui du sermon suivant: le s. 45 sur Isaïe 57, 13). Nos éditeurs ont remarqué cela et ont ajouté, fol. 212v, au titre du s. 6: *inibi et sermo de esaia prof(eta)* (ce qui permettait de faire cor-

¹³¹ Rubrique V, ajout: *ad aurelium*. Rubrique VIII, correction: *sermo a.c.*] sermons *p. c.* Une plume plus claire a ajouté *eiusdem* ou *cuius supra* à la fin des rubriques XII à XXIII pour indiquer l'auteur du sermon en question, et on a précisé l'attribution des rubriques XII et XIII à Nicetas (*nicetae episcopi*; *eiusdem nicetae*). En revanche, c'est une plume noire comparable à celle des éditeurs des *incipit* et *explicit* qui a ajouté, dans l'interligne de la rubrique XIV, *sci augustini*, ce qui clarifie que tous les *item* suivants sont d'Augustin.

¹³² On retrouve un signe similaire dans le *De baptismo* du ms. *El Escorial, Biblioteca del real monasterio de San Lorenzo, Camarin de las reliquias, Vitrina* 25, fol. 13v, 19v, 25r, 26v, 27r, 28r, 33r, 36r, 39r-v, etc.

respondre le s. 6 au titre du c. 17 du sommaire : *de eo quod in Esaia scribuntur est...*), puis ont ajouté, en bordure du titre du s. 45 (fol. 215v), une note précédée d'une croix et de format triangulaire : *sequaere ex superiori pendet*. Le lecteur devait comprendre que le s. 45 se lisait à la suite du s. 6, c'est-à-dire du c. 17 du sommaire, et la cohérence du recueil était sauve. Sans surprise, on voit que l'*incipit* du s. 45, fol. 215v-216r, n'est pas numéroté en marge (alors que conformément au sommaire, le n° 17 lui revenait), ce dont on doit déduire que ces éditeurs sont sinon les auteurs de la numérotation, du moins fort proches d'eux. On doit aussi leur attribuer la note *XF* du fol. 216r, juste avant l'*incipit* du s. 45, que l'on peut développer en *charissimi fratres*¹³³ : peut-être le recueil a-t-il été utilisé comme lectionnaire.

L'édition consiste aussi dans des mesures de mise en page comme la mise en exergue des citations bibliques. Des *diplai* en forme de *S*, placées en marge des citations bibliques, deviennent systématiques à partir du fol. 85r environ, pour se raréfier à partir du fol. 130, où commence le *De agone Christiano*¹³⁴. Les correcteurs du manuscrit ont aussi laissé diverses marques : le très courant *·/·* (fol. 22v, 24v, 34v, 45r, 62v, etc.), mais aussi une croix bordée de deux points sur la droite, évoquant un astérisque incomplet (fol. 44v). On rencontre fréquemment le *zeta* (fol. 50r, 62v, 83r, 84r, 164v, 191r), présent dans d'autres *antiquiores*, qui signale des passages corrompus¹³⁵. Signalons également, au fol. 145r, un astérisque d'un genre particulier – les quatre points étant remplacés par quatre traits – en marge d'une citation du Ps. 2, 8 (avec une croix dans le texte, sans correction, entre *tuam* et *terminos*).

¹³³ On aurait volontiers songé à une abréviation impliquant *christus* (comparer à l'*explicit* fol. 129r, avec l'abréviation *XG* pour *christo gratias*), mais le *F* est difficile à développer, a fortiori avant un *incipit*.

¹³⁴ La *diplè* est un signe critique alexandrin employé, à partir de la fin de l'Antiquité, pour signaler les citations : « De notis sententiarum », dans Isid., *Etym.*, I, 21, 13 : *Diple. Hanc scriptores nostri adponunt in libris ecclesiasticorum virorum ad separanda vel [ad] demonstranda testimonia sanctorum Scripturarum*. (éd. dans ISIDORI HISPALENSIS EPISCOPI *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, recognovit brevisque adnotatione critica instruxit W. M. LINDSAY, t. 1 *libros I-X continens*, Oxonii, 1957 [Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis], p. 49). Sur l'histoire des *diplai* et des autres signes critiques alexandrins, voir maintenant E. STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui : The use of technical signs in the early Middle Ages*, Thèse de doctorat de l'université d'Utrecht, 2016. Comme le montre STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui*, « Appendix I », p. 288, la *diplè* en forme de *S* est une forme révisée de la *diplè* ancienne ». Nous remercions très chaleureusement l'auteure pour ces informations.

¹³⁵ Le *zeta* est décrit par le *Des poids et mesures* d'Épiphane de Salamine et dans l'*Anecdota Cavenae* ; il est également décrit par Paul Diacre dans sa lettre à Adalhard de Corbie, dans *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 2, éd. E. DÜMMER, Berlin, 1895 (*MGH. Epistolae*, 4), p. 509 : *quibus in locis et forinsecus ad aurem zetam, quod est vitii signum, apposui*. Voir STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui* (cit. n. 134), p. 291-292.

Enfin, les lecteurs du recueil ont laissé en marge plusieurs types de notes signalétiques. À partir du fol. 95r, on rencontre en marge des *h*, très vraisemblablement pour *hic*: si la présence nombreuse de *hic* en marge est mieux assurée pour l'époque carolingienne, on sait que les signes de correction *hd* / *hs* (*hic deorsum* / *hic sursum*) datent de la fin de l'antiquité¹³⁶. De même, on rencontre un *hic* tironien rouge fol. 158r et 159r, et un *hic* tironien noir fol. 242v et fol. 244v (sur ce dernier feuillet, le *hic* est accompagné de la note tironienne *est*): il est difficile de savoir quand ils ont été ajoutés et peuvent fort bien être carolingiens. Plus important, on rencontre en marge du *Pal. lat. 210* quantité de croix, souvent d'une forme et d'une couleur d'encre très comparables à celles d'Eugippe (fol. 91r, 95r, 97r-v, 98v, 101v, 106v, 110r, 117r, 125r, etc.), montrant que la plus grande partie du manuscrit a été lue et travaillée par le même atelier. Son usage est si fréquent que l'on ne saurait lui attribuer ici qu'un rôle de signalisation très général¹³⁷. On trouve aussi un *A* majuscule isolé fol. 36v, dont l'encre est brun pâle, comme celle des *alpha* – *omega* d'Eugippe. On rencontre enfin trois motifs ornementaux (fol. 95r, 112r et 135v), dont le second évoque la fioriture que Fabio Troncarelli nomme le *triangolo fiorito*¹³⁸: ils semblent avoir, comme dans d'autres manuscrits tardoantiques, une fonction signalétique.

b. Les notes du *De agone Christiano*

Le *De agone Christiano* (fol. 130r-148v) a fait l'objet d'un effort éditorial particulier. Des titres courants ont été ajoutés dès la fin du *De ieiunio sabbati* (à partir du fol. 121r) et dans le *De agone Christiano* par une plume onciale en brun clair, qui s'encadre de motifs ornementaux comparables au *triangolo fiorito*: on les retrouve fol. 182v-183r, 188v-189r, 190v-191r¹³⁹. On retrouve les mêmes motifs dans l'*explicit* du *De sancta uirginitate* (fol. 49r): les titres courants proviennent vraisemblablement de l'atelier qui a produit le manuscrit. On a également ajouté une numérotation en chiffres romains en marge de chaque paragraphe du *De agone Christiano*,

¹³⁶ LOWE, « The Oldest Omission Signs in Latin Manuscripts: Their Origin and Significance », dans *Palaeographical Papers* (cit. n. 121), t. II, p. [349]-380. On trouve les signes de correction *hp*, *hd* et *dh* dans le *Pal. lat. 210*, fol. 76v, 173v, 192r, 194r, 223v, 263r.

¹³⁷ STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui* (cit. n. 134), p. 273. Signalons malgré tout une croix à empattements insérée en fin de ligne au fol. 237r: *peregrinatio mea longinqua + facta est* (Psal. 119, 5).

¹³⁸ TRONCARELLI, « I codici » (cit. n. 16), p. 65; « L'odissea » (cit. n. 4), p. 14; ID., *Vivarium* (cit. n. 16), p. 60.

¹³⁹ En l'occurrence, ces fioritures ont une forme de pique ou de cœur renversé qui n'est pas sans évoquer, quoiqu'à l'envers, les signes que l'on rencontre *passim* dans le ms. *Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, VI. D. 59* (CLA, III, 405: Italie du Nord, vers 600).

entre XX, 22 et XXXII, 34 (fol. 138v-147v). Il s'agit d'un catalogue d'hérésies construit sur l'anaphore *nec eos audiamus*. Le dernier paragraphe du livre (XXXIII, 35) est pour sa part signalé par une accolade¹⁴⁰. On peut mettre cette numérotation en lien avec les préoccupations hérésiologiques des auteurs du VI^e siècle, qui côtoient encore des ariens (Eugippe dans le *regnum* théodoricien ou Fulgence en Afrique vandale). Nous avons vu qu'Eugippe correspond avec le diacre Ferrand au sujet de la doctrine arienne; de même, plusieurs notes de nature hérésiologique (*contra Arium*, *contra Nestorium*, *contra Euticianos*...) ont été ajoutées à Vivarium dans le ms. *Sankt-Peterburg*, RNB, Q. v. I 6-10¹⁴¹.

À ces notes éditoriales s'ajoutent des notes de lecture. On rencontre d'abord un *N* capital pour *nota*, fol. 142r (*De agone Christiano*, XXII, 24) d'une encre brune à peine lisible, en marge d'un passage condamnant la croyance selon laquelle la colombe sous laquelle se manifesta l'Esprit saint ne fut pas une créature corporelle (cf. Ioh. 1, 32). S'y ajoutent plusieurs notes en onciale noire introduites par une croix, qui émanent visiblement du même groupe que les notes éditoriales vues plus haut. Une première note est précédée d'une croix: *cibus diaboli peccator est* (fol. 131r, *De agone Christiano*, II, 2), ce qui est une reprise du texte augustinien. Cette plume noire utilise un *d* ondulé, comme plusieurs des notes éditoriales vues plus haut. On a toutes les raisons de penser que l'on doit à cette plume les notes suivantes (là encore, deux reprises du texte): fol. 133r, *item aliter in caelestibus* (V, 5); fol. 134r, *gloriamur in tribulationibus* (VII, 8). Dans ces deux cas, la note est précédée non seulement d'une croix, mais de la même fioriture que celle du fol. 112r. Enfin, on lit au fol. 131v (III, 3) la note: *peccatores tenebrae sunt*. Celle-ci poursuit la réflexion des notes des fol. 131-134 sur la place du diable et des pécheurs dans le ciel. Bien qu'elle ne s'accompagne ni de croix, ni de fioriture, on peut l'attribuer au même groupe (on retrouve la ligature *NT* du fol. 198v). En somme, le même groupe qui a réalisé les notes éditoriales a aussi annoté le *De agone Christiano* et ajouté la fioriture du fol. 112r.

Doit-on au même groupe la note du fol. 137r: *cauendus est nestorius n[e] hinc iuuari se putet quia aduersus¹⁴² manichaeos intendit* (XI, 12)? Il y a certes des points de comparaison: *d* ondulé; ligature *æ*; *T* bouclé. En revanche, le module, plus petit, de cette onciale inclinée évoque la *sloping oncial* si fréquente dans les *CLA*: la haste du *P* et le premier jambage du

¹⁴⁰ Techniquement, une *positura*, c'est-à-dire un *gamma* renversé (il en sera question plus loin), comme on en rencontre dans le *codex Basilicanus* d'Hilaire: TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium* (cit. n. 16), p. 63, n. 55.

¹⁴¹ TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium* (cit. n. 16), p. 61.

¹⁴² *Aduersus* est ici la proposition de lecture d'une note tironienne.

N sont prolongés loin sous la ligne et courbés vers la gauche. Il n'y a plus ni croix, ni fioriture, et la note adopte le format des *formae botrionum* décrites par Cassiodore (*Institutiones*, I, 3, 1), imitant une grappe de raisin (tout comme la note éditoriale du fol. 215v). Enfin, alors que les notes précédentes se bornaient à répéter le contenu du texte, celle-ci est beaucoup plus dense. Il est question, dans ce paragraphe du *De agone Christiano*, de la rédemption du genre humain. Des « idiots » (*stulti*) sont invectivés car ils ne croient pas que l'incarnation ait été nécessaire au rachat des péchés. Comment alors comprendre le contenu de la note ? Plus haut (IV, 4), Augustin a invectivé les manichéens pour leur rejet de la chair. Le relecteur du *Pal. lat. 210*, qui, contrairement à Augustin, écrit en toute connaissance des conciles d'Éphèse et de Chalcédoine, trouve dans ce passage sur l'incarnation une autorité de poids contre Nestorius, et note que ce dernier ne saurait arguer, pour se disculper, qu'Augustin vise ici en fait les manichéens. Cette plume, ou du moins une *sloping uncial* similaire, est aussi responsable de plusieurs corrections dans le manuscrit (ainsi fol. 189v, 223v ; on rencontre une autre *sloping uncial* fol. 263r). Nous le voyons donc, il y a eu un travail de groupe sur le *De agone Christiano* : qu'un traité sur le renoncement aux œuvres du diable et à la chair et sur la foi droite ait été travaillé dans l'entourage monastique d'Eugippe ne serait guère étonnant.

Pour finir, on rencontre une dernière note, dans une *sloping uncial* moins prononcée que la précédente, au fol. 238r (s. 351, 3) : *pulcherrime decalogum exsecutus*¹⁴³ (le texte décrit ici le respect des dix commandements). L'originalité de cette plume réside dans la forme du *G*, dont le trait supérieur se prolonge dans une boucle – quant au *D*, parfaitement oncial, il empêche tout rapprochement avec la note du fol. 137r. Il est difficile de ne pas faire le rapprochement avec le *G* de la note du fol. 214v, et de la note éditoriale du fol. 183r, eux aussi bouclés de la sorte. Cette boucle trahit une habitude locale. Plusieurs mains ont ainsi travaillé simultanément sur le *Pal. lat. 210*.

Revenons-en à présent à l'hypothèse de Marco Palma qui, nous l'avons vu plus haut, rapprochait le *Pal. lat. 210* des manuscrits annotés par Donatus de Naples. L'examen des notes de ce dernier dans le *Vat. lat. 3375* (*V*) et le ms. *Bamberg, Patr. 87* (*B*) révèle plusieurs points communs avec celles du *Pal. lat. 210* (*P*). Donatus écrit en onciale inclinée ; le premier jambage du *N* est prolongé sous la ligne et courbé vers la gauche (*V*, fol. 23v, 68v) ; il en va de même pour certains *P*, *Q* et *F* (*V*, fol. 29v ; *B*, fol. 85v). Ses *D* sont systématiquement recourbés. Son *G* est bouclé sur le dessus (*V*, fol. 33r, 68v ; *B*, fol. 85v, 88v, 84r), comme dans le *Pal. lat. 210* aux fol. 214v

¹⁴³ Une plume ultérieure (carolingienne ?), qui ne savait plus déchiffrer le *G* de *decalogum*, a voulu lire *de calomnium* et a ajouté un *M*.

et 238r. Donatus adopte parfois les *formulae botrionum* (V, fol. 68v; B, fol. 85v, 94r...). En revanche, son encre est d'un brun très clair (comme d'ailleurs les excerptions d'Eugippe); ses notes ne sont introduites ni par des croix, ni par des fioritures; ses *formulae botrionum* sont achevées, sur le bas, par une fioriture. Au vu de ces différences, il est exclu que les notes du *Pal. lat. 210* soient de Donatus, qui de toute façon a connu son *floruit* une génération après la mort présumée d'Eugippe. En revanche, les points communs énumérés, en particulier le *G* bouclé, particularité fort rare, semblent trahir un même milieu d'origine.

c. Les signes d'extraction d'Eugippe: *alpha* – *omega*, croix et staurogramme

Venons-en à présent aux signes d'extraction d'Eugippe. Nous l'avons vu, ils consistent en *alpha* et *omega* disposés dans la marge et en croix disposées dans le texte à l'endroit précis où commence et finit l'excerption. Dans cette mesure, ce système est plus précis que la plupart des systèmes d'excerption carolingiens, qui ou bien signalent en marge les lignes où doit commencer et finir l'excerption, mais pas le mot exact (*hic-usque* de Ratramne et du Pseudo-Isidore; *S* (*scribe*) et *D* (*desine* / *dimitte*) d'Alcuin; *alpha* et *omega* dans plusieurs manuscrits), ou bien signalent dans le texte le mot exact où commence et finit l'excerption, mais pas dans la marge (crochets de Florus)¹⁴⁴. Plutôt rares sont les excerpteurs qui associent un signe dans la marge à un signe à l'intérieur du texte¹⁴⁵.

Si les signes d'extraction connaissent leur apogée à l'époque carolingienne, ils sont sans nul doute antérieurs. En effet, c'est dès la période tardoantique que se constitue le corpus des autorités textuelles bibliques et patristiques (canonisation progressive du corpus biblique, décret pseudo-gélasien *de libris recipiendis...*): ce mouvement est concomitant des premiers florilèges, en particulier augustinien¹⁴⁶. Pourtant, on ne dispose que de très peu de

¹⁴⁴ En complément des références citées en introduction, voir, pour les *alpha* et *omega*, les manuscrits décrits par GORMAN, « Paris Lat. 12124 (Origen on Romans) and the carolingian Commentary on Romans in Paris Lat. 11574 », *Revue bénédictine*, 117 (2007), p. 64-128: il en sera question plus loin.

¹⁴⁵ On peut citer l'auteur du commentaire anonyme sur l'épître aux Romains du ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 11574*, qui a disposé dans sa source, le ms. *BnF lat. 12124*, des *i*: en marge (pour *incipit*) et des *i*: dans le texte à l'endroit où doit commencer l'excerption (GORMAN, « Paris Lat 12124 » [cit. n. 144]).

¹⁴⁶ DEKKERS, « Quelques notes sur des florilèges augustinien^s anciens et médiévaux », dans *Collectanea augustiniana. Mélanges T. J. van Bavel*, Leuven, 1990 (Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, XCII-A), p. 27-44; DOLBEAU, « La formation du canon des Pères, du IV^e au VI^e siècle », dans *Réception des Pères et de leurs écrits au Moyen Âge. Le devenir de la tradition ecclésiale*, dir. R. BERNDT, M. FÉDOU, Münster, 2013, p. 17-39; S. GIOANNI,

sources tardoantiques sur les signes d'extraction. Isidore de Séville, dans le chapitre *De notis sententiarum* des *Étymologies*, ne décrit, semble-t-il, qu'un signe d'extraction possible : la *positura* (*gamma* capitulaire inversé), qui a pu inspirer, combiné avec le *paragraphus*, les crochets de Florus de Lyon¹⁴⁷. En revanche, on rencontre dans le *De baptismo* de l'Escorial un système assez foisonnant, peut-être destiné à l'excerptio, qui combine d'une part les notes marginales *RRE* ou *RQR* (pour *require*), *usque hic* (en toutes lettres) et des croix, avec, d'autre part, dans le texte, une ou deux croix à l'endroit où doit commencer et finir l'excerptio souhaitée, parfois associées à un *hic* abrégé sous forme de *h*¹⁴⁸. En plusieurs occasions, le *Q* du *require* a la panse ouverte vers le haut, ce qui ne laisse guère de doute sur le caractère précarolingien de ces notes¹⁴⁹. Ce système, s'il était destiné, comme c'est probable, à l'extraction, serait aussi précis que celui d'Eugippe, en combinant signalements en marge et dans le texte.

Comme l'annotateur du manuscrit de l'Escorial, Eugippe utilise des croix pour la délimitation de ses extractions. La croix est un signe marginal fréquent, qui remplit une fonction signalétique très générale ; mais on comprend mieux son sens quand on la confronte avec les autres signes d'Eugippe. Celui-ci utilise en effet dans ses excerptions, à quatre reprises (fol. 16v, 86v, 202r, 204v), le monogramme Φ . On rencontre ce dernier assez souvent dans les *antiquiores* des v-vi^e siècles, où il est souvent interprété comme une variante de la ligature *chi-rho* (Φ), c'est-à-dire du chrisme¹⁵⁰. Celui-ci est une ligature préchrétienne, qu'on rencontre en papyrologie et dans les listes de signes comme l'*anecdoton Parisinum* : elle abrège, en particulier, le grec *chrèsimon* (« utile ») et remplit de la sorte une fonction signalétique sans la moindre connotation chrétienne¹⁵¹. Le sens de cette liga-

« Listes d'auteurs 'à recevoir' et 'à ne pas recevoir' dans la formation du canon patristique : le *decretum gelasianum* et les origines de la 'censure' ecclésiastique », dans *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge : entre médiation et exclusion*, dir. Ph. DEPREUX, F. BOUGARD, R. LE JAN, Turnhout, 2015 (Haut Moyen Âge, 21), p. 17-38.

¹⁴⁷ Isid., *Etym.*, I, 20, 1 : *Positura est figura paragrapho contraria et ideo sic formata, quia sicut ille principia notat, ita ista fines a principiis separat* (éd. LINDSAY [cit. n. 134], p. 47). Là-dessus, voir STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui* (cit. n. 134), p. 215-216 et 327.

¹⁴⁸ Ces combinaisons sont nombreuses : fol. 19r-20r, 52r, 53r, 55r, 60v, 64r, 70r-v, 74v, 101v, 102r, 103v, 108r, 108v, 110v, 112r, 114r, 116v, 118v-119r, 120r, 139r, 142v, 151v, 153v.

¹⁴⁹ Fol. 51r, 55r, 63r, 70r.

¹⁵⁰ BEER, *Monumenta palaeographica Vindobonensia*, I (cit. n. 4), p. 23 (au sujet du ms. *Wien, ÖNB*, 2160) ; voir également W. WATTENBACH, *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 94, où le chrisme est signalé sous la forme Φ dans le *De baptismo* de l'Escorial et dans le ms. *Köln, DB*, 210 (du viii^e siècle – voir, par exemple, fol. 25r).

¹⁵¹ Voir K. MCNAMEE, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, Ann Arbor, 1981 (Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplements 3), p. 109 ; *Ead.*, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Bruxelles, 1992 (Papyrologia Bruxellensia,

ture a été infléchi par son association avec les deux premières lettres du nom du Christ et par le célèbre récit de la bataille du Pont Milvius (312) dans la *Vita Constantini* d'Eusèbe (I, 31) : le signe divin qui donne la victoire est le monogramme du *chi* et du *rho*. Or, le récit de la même bataille dans le *De mortibus persecutorum* (XLIV) donne à ce chrisme la forme Φ : en effet, si on lit bien Lactance, la lettre *chi* est « placée de travers » et sa tête est « recourbée » (*transversa X littera summo capite circumflexo*)¹⁵². Cette lecture ne pose aucun problème de vraisemblance : en épigraphie grecque, le *chi* s'écrit parfois sous la forme droite +¹⁵³. Est-ce à dire que le signe employé par Eugippe dans ses excerptions et ses contemporains en marge des manuscrits est bien un chrisme ?

Les choses ne sont en fait pas si simples. Le chrisme reçoit pour la première fois un sens chrétien en tant que signe critique dans la préface du commentaire sur les psaumes de Cassiodore : il signale des *dogmata valde necessaria*¹⁵⁴. Sans doute sous l'influence de Cassiodore, son usage est devenu très fréquent à l'époque carolingienne, alors que la forme Φ est largement tombée en désuétude. Une forme du chrisme en a-t-elle simplement supplanté une autre ? En réalité, dans les manuscrits annotés à Vivarium ou dans son aire d'influence, on rencontre à la fois le signe Φ et le signe Ψ que Fabio Troncarelli s'est gardé de nommer un chrisme, bien conscient que Cassiodore entendait par là le signe Φ ¹⁵⁵. Il s'agit donc de deux signes

26), p. 43-48 (tableau 3) ; voir également l'*Anecdoton Parisinum*, ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 7530, fol. 29r-v : *Chi et ro: haec sola ex voluntate unius cuiusque ad aliquid adnotandum ponitur* (éd. H. KEIL, *Grammatici Latini VII. Scriptores de orthographia*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 536). Voir dorénavant STEINOVÁ, *Notam superponere studui* (cit. n. 134), p. 271-272.

¹⁵² P. P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALLIERI, *Constantiniana*, Città del Vaticano, 1953 (Studi e Testi, 171), p. 9 et 74 ; M. SORDI, *Il Cristianesimo e Roma*, Bologna, 1965 (Storia di Roma, 19), p. 387 : cité par C. NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben. Textband*, Stockholm, 1970, p. 42. Voir également MARROU, « Autour du monogramme constantinien », dans *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson de l'Académie française*, Toronto – Paris, 1959, p. 403-414, et L. RENAUT, « Christian Cruciform Symbols and Magical Charaktères », communication au colloque *Polytheismus – Monotheismus: die Pragmatik religiösen Handelns in der Antike*, dir. J. RÜPKE, K. WALDNER, N. BELAYCHE, juin 2005 (inédit, publié en ligne sur <https://univ-grenoble-alpes.academia.edu/LucRenaut>, consulté le 13 mai 2016).

¹⁵³ W. WISCHMEYER, « Christogramm und Staurogramm in den lateinischen Inschriften altkirchlicher Zeit », dans *Theologia Crucis – Signum crucis. Festschrift für Erich Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag*, éd. C. ANDERSEN, G. KLEIN, Tübingen, 1979, p. 539-550.

¹⁵⁴ J. W. HALPORN, « Methods of Reference in Cassiodorus », *The Journal of Library History*, 16/1 (1981), p. 71-91.

¹⁵⁵ Voir TRONCARELLI, *Vivarium* (cit. n. 16), « Appendice C : Manoscritti tardoantichi con segnalazioni marginali significative (esclusi i segni di integrazione del testo) », p. 97-100. Les manuscrits dans lesquels l'auteur a repéré notre ligature sont : *Città del Vaticano*, *Arch. di San Pietro*, D 182 ; *BAV*, *Reg. lat.* 886 ; *Milano*, *Bibl. Ambr.*, C 77 sup. ; *H 78 sup.* + *Torino*, *BNU*, *G. V.* 15 ; *Verona*, *BC*, XXII ; *Paris*, *BnF*, *lat.* 8907. Troncarelli l'a également identifiée dans

différents. Il est revenu à Carl Nordenfalk de reconnaître dans \mathfrak{P} , lorsqu'il remplit dans les manuscrits une fonction ornementale (particulièrement en tête de chapitre), la ligature *tau-rho*, autrement appelée « staurogramme », bien connue des spécialistes de l'art paléochrétien¹⁵⁶.

La ligature *tau-rho* est particulièrement connue pour faire partie, avec les christogrammes *chi-rho*, *iota-chi*, *iota-eta*, des plus anciens monogrammes chrétiens. Elle apparaît dans trois *papyri* de l'Évangile des environs de 200 ap. J.-C., à l'intérieur du mot *stauros* (« croix ») et ses composés, de façon si systématique que l'on peut l'interpréter, en suivant Larry Hurtado, comme une représentation visuelle du Christ en croix¹⁵⁷. Comme dans le cas du chrisme, ligature antique « christianisée », la ligature *tau-rho* est antérieure à l'apparition du christianisme. On la rencontre en abréviation de *treis* (« trois ») sur une pièce de la troisième année du règne du roi Hérode le

le ms. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 2077*, fol. 70v : voir TRONCARELLI, « Osservazioni sul reginense latino 2077 », *Scriptorium*, 68/1 (2014), p. 79-104 (p. 90-94).

¹⁵⁶ NORDENFALK, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (cit. n. 152), p. 41-56 ; *Tafelband*, n° 14 (Paris, BnF, lat. 10439, fol. 1v : commencement de l'Évangile de Jean), n° 15 (Bologne, BU, 701, fol. 122v : fin des *opera* de Lactance), n° 16 (Madrid, BN, 80, fol. 1v et 499r : Grégoire, *Moralia in Job*). Avant Nordenfalk, citons l'article « Alpha et Omega » d'H. LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. 1 : (*A-amende*), éd. F. CABROL, LECLERCQ, Paris, 1924, col. 1-24, qui mentionne quelques manuscrits. BISCHOFF, *Paléographie* (cit. n. 16), p. 206, parle du staurogramme comme ornement. Voir également A. TURA, « Essai sur les *marginalia* en tant que pratique et documents », dans *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*, dir. D. JACQUART et Ch. BURNETT, Genève, 2005 (EPHE, sciences historiques et philologiques, V. Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 88), p. 261-387 (qui mentionne le monogramme *TP* pour *tropos* p. 279).

¹⁵⁷ L. W. HURTADO, « The Staurogram in Early Christian Manuscripts : the Earliest Visual Reference to the Crucified Jesus », dans *New Testament Manuscripts : Their Texts and their World*, éd. T. NICKLAS, Th.J. KRAUS, Leiden – Boston, 2006, p. 207-226 ; ID., *The Earliest Christian Artifacts : Manuscripts and Christian Origins*, Grand Rapids, 2006, p. 135-136 (où le contenu de l'article précédent est entièrement repris) ; ID., « The Staurogram : Earliest Depiction of Jesus' Crucifixion », *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 39/2 (2013), p. 48-52. Les *papyri* en question sont les *Bodmer II* P⁶⁶, *Bodmer XIV* et *XV* P⁷⁵, *Chester Beatty I* (Van Haelst 371) P⁴⁵. Selon D. L. BALC, « The Suffering of Isis/Io and Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal 3:1) : Frescoes in Pompeian and Roman Houses and in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii », *The Journal of Religion*, 83 (2003), p. 24-55 (p. 55), on retrouve le staurogramme sur le P⁹¹ (Act. 2, 36). Parmi la bibliographie antérieure, signalons : K. ALAND, « Bemerkungen zum Alter und Entstehung des Christogramms anhand von Beobachtungen bei P66 und P75 », dans *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes*, Berlin, 1967 (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 2), p. 173-179 ; M. BLACK, « The Chi-Rho Sign – Christogram and/or Staurogram ? », dans *Apostolic History and the Gospel : Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday*, éd. W. W. GASQUE, R. P. MARTIN, [Exeter], 1970, p. 319-327 ; E. DINKLER-VON SCHUBERT, « CTAYROS : Vom 'Wort vom Kreuz' (1 Kor. 1, 18) zum Kreuz-Symbol », dans *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, éd. Ch. MOSS, K. KIEFER, Princeton, 1995, p. 29-39.

Grand (37-34 av. J.-C.) ; on la retrouve également en papyrologie en abréviation de *tropos* (« manière, sens »)¹⁵⁸. Grâce à l'heureuse coïncidence entre le sens du mot *stauros* et la forme de cette ligature, elle devient un symbole chrétien à part entière et est attestée dans l'iconographie chrétienne, hors du domaine papyrologique, dès le III^e siècle¹⁵⁹. Le staurogramme connaît son apogée iconographique dans la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle, avec la diffusion de la vénération de la croix, et reste très utilisé jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité. On le retrouve dans tout le Bassin méditerranéen sur des inscriptions, sarcophages, lampes à huile, pièces de monnaie, anneaux¹⁶⁰... Il est fréquemment flanqué d'un *alpha* et d'un *omega*, référence apocalyptique à l'Agneau mystique (Apoc. 1, 8 ; 21, 6 ; 22, 13 ; voir également Is. 44, 6)¹⁶¹. L'un des artefacts les plus connus qui le représentent est assurément le staurogramme de bronze d'Aquilée, du début du V^e siècle : fixé sur un socle en pierre, il mesure 45 cm de haut et porte *alpha* et *omega* en pendeloques¹⁶². Par ailleurs, les première et dernière lettres de l'alphabet grec sont

¹⁵⁸ B. KANAEL, « The coins of King Herod of the Third Year », *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 62 (1951-1952), p. 261-264 ; McNAMEE, *Abbreviations* (cit. n. 151), p. 99 et 119.

¹⁵⁹ HURTADO, « The Staurogram » (cit. n. 157), p. 215, n. 32, discute le cas d'une inscription d'Alexandrie (Gabbary) du milieu du III^e siècle comportant le staurogramme, décrite par M. SULZBERGER, « Le symbole de la croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers chrétiens », *Byzantion*, 2 (1925), p. 337-448 (p. 376-377).

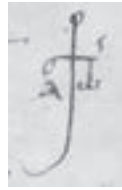
¹⁶⁰ Voir la documentation très complète de LECLERCQ, « Alpha et Omega » (cit. n. 156), où il apparaît clairement qu'en épigraphie, le staurogramme fait jeu égal avec le chrisme en Italie et en Gaule (col. 1-14). Voir également E. LOHMEYER, « A und O », dans *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum I. A und O – Bauen*, éd. Th. KLAUSER, Stuttgart, 1950, col. 1-4 ; J. SPIER, *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007, p. 233-234 ; WISCHMEYER, « Christogramm und Staurogramm » (cit. n. 153), p. 539-550. On retrouve le staurogramme sur la pierre tombale d'un certain Hadid, originaire de la ville arabe et chrétienne de Pharan dans le Sinaï, sur la *via Hadriana* qui longe la mer Rouge : S. E. SIDEBOTHAM, R. E. ZITTERKOPF, C. Ch. HELPS, « Survey of the Via Hadriana: The 1998 Season », *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 37 (2000), p. 115-126 (p. 124). Il semble avoir dans ce cas une fonction apotropaïque, comme le souligne par ailleurs WISCHMEYER, « Christogramm und Staurogramm » (cit. n. 153), p. 548 ; voir également RENAUT, « Christian Cruciform Symbols » (cit. n. 152).

¹⁶¹ Hormis les références de LECLERCQ, « Alpha et Omega » (cit. n. 156), mentionnons les fouilles de sauvetage menées à Aluma, à 50 km au sud de Tel-Aviv, par Davida Eisenberg-Degen en janvier 2014, qui ont mis en évidence, sur la mosaïque d'une église byzantine, un staurogramme flanqué d'un *alpha* et d'un *omega*, ou encore celui de la mosaïque du baptistère de San Giovanni in Fonte (Naples), du V^e siècle, qu'a dû connaître Eugippe.

¹⁶² *Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, inv. VI 612*. Voir le catalogue *Severin. Zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung. Ausstellung des Landes Oberösterreich 24. April bis 26. Oktober 1982 im Stadtmuseum Enns*, Linz, 1982, n° 8.20 (reprod. pl. 57 et notice p. 575).

aussi associées aux autres christogrammes et à la croix seule, sur une gamme d'inscriptions et d'artefacts tout aussi riche¹⁶³.

Ainsi, l'association de la croix et, plus particulièrement, du staurogramme à *alpha* et *omega* par Eugippe s'inscrit dans un contexte iconographique bien précis où les christogrammes flanqués d'*alpha* et *omega* sont omniprésents. Les croix surmontées d'un P qui jalonnent les manuscrits tardoantiques ne sont donc pas un simple dérivé orthogonal du chrisme, mais les héritières de la ligature *tau-rho*. On peut en être d'autant plus sûr que sont également accolés au staurogramme, dans plusieurs manuscrits, un *alpha* et un *omega*, exactement dans la même position que s'ils étaient accrochés par des chaînettes au *patibulum* de la croix, comme sur le staurogramme de bronze d'Aquilée dont nous avons parlé¹⁶⁴. En voici un exemple tiré des marges du *De baptismo* de l'Escorial, où les staurogrammes remplissent une fonction signalétique et non ornementale (fol. 20v) :



Se pose alors la question du sens de ces signes. Doit-on y voir un signe de dévotion associant la mort sur la croix et le règne éternel du Christ¹⁶⁵ ? La combinaison avec l'*alpha* et l'*omega*, dans les cas cités plus haut, semble y inviter. Ou bien faut-il y lire une reprise toute séculière de la ligature *tau-rho*, qui signifiait *tropos* et permettait de signaler un passage intéressant dans le texte ? L'usage purement signalétique du staurogramme, comparable au *nota* carolingien, plaiderait pour cette seconde hypothèse¹⁶⁶. Il faut donc

¹⁶³ LECLERCQ, « Alpha et Omega » (cit. n. 156).

¹⁶⁴ C'est le cas des trois exemples reproduits par C. Nordenfalk dans ses planches 14-16 (cit. n. 156). Voir également le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 17225* (Italie, v^e siècle), contenant une *Vetus Latina* : un staurogramme flanqué d'un *alpha* et d'un *omega* est accolé à la signature de cahier fol. 153v. Voir enfin les staurogrammes flanqués par *alpha* et *omega* et utilisés comme signes de renvoi dans le ms. *Vatican, BAV, Urb. lat. 1154* (CLA, I, 117), de la fin du v^e siècle, fol. 20v. Nous remercions E. Steinová d'avoir attiré notre attention sur ces deux manuscrits.

¹⁶⁵ Comme le rappelle RENAUT, *Marquage corporel et signation religieuse dans l'antiquité*, thèse sous la direction d'A. LE BOULLUEC, Paris (EPHE), 2004, p. 646-655, l'Apocalypse fait référence à un « sceau » de l'Agneau (Apoc. 1, 9 et 3, 56) dans lequel beaucoup, en particulier Erich Dinkler et Jean Daniélou, ont voulu reconnaître le christogramme ; selon l'auteur, il faut plutôt y comprendre une mystique du secret recouvrant le nom de l'Agneau, sans recourir à un christogramme tardoantique.

¹⁶⁶ Le manuscrit du *De baptismo* de l'Escorial d'où provient le staurogramme ci-dessus est littéralement jonché de staurogrammes signalétiques : fol. 5v, 10v, 11v, 13v, 16r-v, 22r, 28r-v, 47r, 60v, 66v, 75r, etc.

opter pour une interprétation prudente. Il n'y a pas de raison de penser que la ligature *tau-rho* ait eu un sens univoque. Comme l'a écrit Larry Hurtado, à partir du ^{iv}^e siècle, le staurogramme « représente seulement un symbole autonome du Christ ou de la foi chrétienne¹⁶⁷ ». Après tout, le monogramme *chi-rho* décrit par Lactance dans son récit de la bataille du Pont Milvius a exactement la forme du staurogramme, sans que Lactance y fasse la moindre référence¹⁶⁸. Bien sûr, l'*alpha* et l'*omega* d'Eugippe ont une fonction symbolique : ils signifient le commencement et la fin de l'excerption. En revanche, il est raisonnable d'attribuer aux croix d'Eugippe (que les éditeurs du manuscrit emploient également, nous l'avons vu) et à ses quatre staurogrammes une fonction signalétique des plus générales, sans surinterpréter leur sens spirituel. Tout au plus peut-on affirmer que l'emploi à des fins d'excerption de croix, de staurogrammes et d'*alpha* – *omega*, autant de signes qui ne trouvent pas leur origine dans l'érudition alexandrine, n'est pas étonnante en milieu monastique, et en particulier de la part d'un auteur que Cassiodore disait imprégné de la lecture des Écritures mais mauvais connaisseur des lettres profanes¹⁶⁹.

Venons-en pour terminer au problème que pose la méthode de travail d'Eugippe. On pourrait penser que l'identification de ses *alpha* – *omega* entre en contradiction avec l'interprétation des mots *abhinc scribendum* par les mauristes dans le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12168* comme l'incorporation dans le texte d'une note marginale d'Eugippe destinée à l'excerption¹⁷⁰. Mais, on le sait maintenant, les auteurs anciens peuvent adapter leur méthode de travail. Les passages extraits du *De bono coniugali* sont souvent courts et ont été légèrement réécrits par Eugippe : cela rendait nécessaire une excerption précise, à la manière de Florus dont les crochets signalent quels mots exactement sont inclus et exclus de la copie. La même méthode de travail ne s'imposait pas pour les *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* du *lat. 12168* ; celles-ci, contrairement au *De bono coniugali* dans le *Pal. lat. 210*, sont découpées en sections numérotées, ce qui permet au lecteur et à l'excerpteur de repérer facilement le passage qui l'intéresse. Eugippe a repris dans ses *Excerpta* les *quaestiones* entières et souvent en blocs successifs¹⁷¹. La *quaestio* I, 117, reprise dans son *exc.* LXXXV/100, représente l'un des deux seuls cas (avec la *quaestio* II, 47, reprise en CIII/119) où seule une partie de la *quaestio* augustinienne a été copiée : la moitié du premier paragraphe

¹⁶⁷ HURTADO, « The Staurogram » (cit. n. 157), p. 52.

¹⁶⁸ RENAUT, « Christian Cruciform Symbols » (cit. n. 152).

¹⁶⁹ Cassiod., *Instit.*, I, 23, 1 : *non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum, sed Scripturarum divinarum lectione plenissimum* (éd. MYNORS [cit. n. 23], p. 62).

¹⁷⁰ Sur les *marginalia* abusivement incorporés, voir TURA, « Essai » (cit. n. 156), p. 363-365.

¹⁷¹ Voir l'éd. KNÖLL (cit. n. 35), p. 1138-1139.

et les paragraphes 2-3 ont été laissés de côté. La note *abhinc scribendum* servait uniquement à repérer l'endroit d'où la copie pouvait repartir : dans cette mesure, un système aussi précis que les *alpha – omega* était inutile¹⁷².

On le sait maintenant, les auteurs du haut Moyen Âge adaptaient leur méthode de travail en fonction de plusieurs critères : l'organisation de leur atelier, les manuscrits à leur disposition, le genre du livre qu'ils projettent d'écrire... Ainsi voit-on Ratramne cesser d'utiliser ses *Nota* en 849 lors de la composition de son traité sur la prédestination, pour lequel il adopte des *hic – usque* tironiens, avant de recommencer à utiliser les *Nota* pour ses ouvrages suivants¹⁷³. La même faculté d'adaptation est à l'œuvre lorsqu'Eugippe emploie des signes d'extraction précis pour des passages qu'il réagence phrase après phrase en « suturant » du texte (*Pal. lat.* 210), tout en n'intervenant quasiment pas dans son manuscrit source lorsque la mise en page de celui-ci permet un repérage facile des passages à extraire (*BnF, lat.* 12168).

d. *Alpha* et *omega* à l'époque carolingienne

Après être passé entre les mains d'Eugippe, le *Pal. lat.* 210 se trouve au VIII^e siècle en Angleterre ou bien en territoire de mission anglo-saxon, comme d'autres manuscrits mis en circulation par Rome après la mission d'Augustin de Cantorbéry¹⁷⁴. La liste de vingt-deux livres copiés au VIII^e siècle sur le fol. 1r comprend dix manuscrits liturgiques et fait référence au manuscrit lui-même : *quindecim libri agustini*. Elle semble indiquer qu'il a appartenu à une institution monastique (on y trouve la *regula benedicti*) d'une certaine importance (il y a plusieurs doublons : deux homiliaires, deux antiphonaires, trois volumes d'épîtres)¹⁷⁵. Puis à l'époque carolingienne, le manuscrit appartient au moine de Lorsch Gerward, bibliothécaire du palais de Louis le Pieux qui se retire vers 840 près de Nimègue et y rédige les *Annales Xantenses* jusqu'à sa mort en 860¹⁷⁶. Le *Pal. lat.* 210 est décrit

¹⁷² On peut également supposer que l'atelier d'Eugippe avait signalé, dans le manuscrit, l'endroit exact du § 1 où la copie devait s'interrompre (*et appropinquarent Bethlem*); sans doute avait-il signalé aussi l'endroit exact où devait commencer la copie de la *quaestio* II, 47 (= CIIII/119, éd. KNÖLL, p. 360-361); mais ces notes n'ont pas été copiées dans le *lat.* 12168. Peut-être s'agissait-il de signes critiques que le copiste ne pouvait pas incorporer au texte.

¹⁷³ Voir PEZÉ, « The Making of the *De Praedestinatione* » (cit. n. 9).

¹⁷⁴ BISCHOFF, *Die Abtei Lorsch* (cit. n. 73), p. 57.

¹⁷⁵ BERSCHIN, « An Unpublished Library Catalogue from Eighth-Century Lombard Italy », *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001), p. 201-209; GORMAN, « The Oldest Lists » (cit. n. 67), avec bibliographie antérieure sur cette célèbre liste de livres.

¹⁷⁶ La référence reste H. LÖWE, « Studien zu den Annales Xantenses », *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 8 (1950), p. 59-99.

dans une annexe du troisième grand catalogue de Lorsch (ms. *BAV, Pal. lat. 1877*, fol. 1-34) énumérant les vingt-sept livres donnés à Lorsch par Gerward à sa mort (fol. 33v-34r)¹⁷⁷. Les réseaux de Gerward expliquent que le *Pal. lat. 210* ait servi d'antigraphe au ms. *Paris, BnF, NAL 1448*, copié à la cour ou à Tours dans l'entourage de Fridugise¹⁷⁸.

Le *NAL 1448* fait partie d'un groupe de quatorze manuscrits dans lesquels B. Bischoff avait identifié divers signes d'extraction derrière lesquels il soupçonnait un projet de vaste chaîne exégétique sur Paul à l'initiative d'Hélisachar. M. Gorman a montré qu'il n'en est rien et que les signes d'extraction que portent ces manuscrits ne sont pas subordonnés à un même projet¹⁷⁹. On peut néanmoins se demander s'il existe un rapport de filiation entre les signes d'extraction du *Pal. lat. 210* et ceux de son apographe. Parmi les manuscrits regroupés par Bischoff, plusieurs utilisent les *alpha* – *omega* : le ms. *Auxerre, BM, 27* (Ambroise, *De Spiritu sancto*), les mss. *Paris, BnF, lat. 12124* (Origène, homélies sur Romains) et *lat. 17416* (opuscules de Fulgence de Ruspe), le ms. *Saint-Omer, BASO, 72* (Ambroise, opuscules sur la Genèse), le ms. *BAV, Reg. lat. 141* (Basile et Grégoire de Nazianze) et bien sûr le *NAL 1448*.

Les *alpha* – *omega* de ce dernier manuscrit ne sont pas disposés au même endroit que dans le manuscrit d'Eugippe. De plus, là où Eugippe combinait l'alphabet grec avec des croix, l'annotateur du *NAL 1448* procède d'une façon beaucoup plus compliquée. Des *alpha* (parfois d'ailleurs des *A* onciaux) et *omega* sont échelonnés dans la marge ; dans le corps du texte, à l'endroit souhaité, on rencontre à la fois des *alpha* et *omega*, des *hic* et *usque* tironiens et des trigones (trois points disposés en triangle). Ces signes sont si nombreux qu'ils embrassent une grande partie du texte, souvent même des extraits qui se succèdent. Il semble donc exclu que ces *alpha* et *omega* aient pour but une extraction. Les passages ainsi découpés n'ont aucun rapport avec l'exposition du texte biblique. Dans la plupart des autres manuscrits mentionnés par Bischoff et Gorman, la configuration est bien différente : les signes d'extraction ciblent une citation biblique et son commentaire¹⁸⁰. Les marges du *NAL 1448* sont pleines de gloses repre-

¹⁷⁷ L'inventaire est introduit par ces mots : *Hos libros repperimus in Gannettias quos Gerwardus ibidem reliquit, et ab inde huc illos transtulimus* (Gottlieb, n° 109 ; catalogue « Cb » d'A. HASE, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse aus Kloster Lorsch: Einleitung, Edition und Kommentar*, Wiesbaden, 2002 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 42), éd. p. 168 et commentaire p. 331-339) ; voir le n° 18. Au sujet des autres livres de Gerward, parfois tout aussi anciens que le *Pal. lat. 210*, voir BISCHOFF, *Die Abtei Lorsch* (cit. n. 73), p. 22-25 et 64.

¹⁷⁸ BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (cit. n. 7), III, p. 237-238, n° 5082.

¹⁷⁹ GORMAN, « Paris lat. 12124 » (cit. n. 144).

¹⁸⁰ Ainsi le ms. *Valenciennes, BM, 170* : les notes tironiennes *hic* – *usque hic* n'apparaissent qu'à une reprise, fol. 21v-23r, devant un long passage de l'*Ad Monimum* (I, 26) où Fulgence commente Rom. 9, 22.

nant le contenu du texte sans originalité (commençant par *de* ou *dicit de*). Mais il n'existe aucune coordination évidente entre les gloses et les signes critiques qui découpent le texte. Dans ces conditions, la fonction des *alpha* – *omega* dans le *NAL 1448* nous reste inconnue.

Cette enquête s'achève donc sur un certain nombre de problèmes en suspens. On ignore si d'autres auteurs tardoantiques qu'Eugippe ont employé les *alpha* – *omega* comme signes d'extraction. On ignore également si ce sont les manuscrits d'Eugippe et leurs apoglyphes qui ont inspiré aux annotateurs carolingiens l'idée d'employer les *alpha* – *omega*. Dans la mesure où leur utilisation comme signes d'extraction est mieux attestée dans des manuscrits de Fulgence ou des Pères grecs que dans le propre apographe du manuscrit de travail d'Eugippe (et qui plus est seul manuscrit augustinien du groupe), on peut en douter¹⁸¹. On n'a pas non plus recoupé ces signes d'extraction carolingiens avec un auteur ou un texte connus. En définitive, le rôle des *alpha* – *omega* comme signes critiques, aussi bien à l'époque d'Eugippe que dans les siècles qui suivent, reste en grande partie à explorer.

6. Conclusions

L'identification d'un manuscrit de travail attribuable à Eugippe ou à ses collaborateurs vient apporter un double éclairage sur la valeur du témoignage d'Eugippe. Elle ne donne pas seulement accès aux méthodes mêmes du compilateur, que l'on voit à l'œuvre dans la préparation des extraits issus du *Pal. lat. 210*; elle permet aussi, en établissant une nouvelle datation de ce manuscrit de travail, d'en placer la composition dans la brève période de la transmission des textes qui suit la mort d'Augustin et précède l'activité d'Eugippe, et de mesurer ainsi l'écart qui sépare nos témoins de la tradition directe des *Excerpta* du texte dont a disposé Eugippe et qu'il aura donc, selon toute vraisemblance, voulu reproduire. Elle nous apporte également de nombreuses informations au sujet du projet même des *Excerpta*. On sait désormais qu'Eugippe a eu accès, à travers le ms. *Pal. lat. 210*, qui est homogène, à une vingtaine d'œuvres d'Augustin dont il n'a pourtant préparé aucun extrait: on peut donc désormais expliquer l'absence, dans les *Excerpta*, d'œuvres telles que le *De opere monachorum*, le *De sancta uir-*

¹⁸¹ Dans le ms. *Paris, BnF, lat. 17416*, les extractions *alpha* – *omega* sont couplées avec la note marginale *epistolam ioh(annis) exp(lanat)*; on rencontre également des signes tironiens *hic – usque* accompagnés en marge d'un *a*, bien que le passage ne commente pas toujours une citation de l'apôtre. Dans le ms. *Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. lat. 141*, les *alpha* – *omega* sont aussi très nombreux, mais découpent cette fois des commentaires de passages de la Bible. Les notes marginales qui les accompagnent (*evangelii expositio*) soulèvent toute ambiguïté.

ginitate, le *De bono uiduitatis* ou le *De agone Christiano* comme un choix délibéré du compilateur plutôt que comme la conséquence d'une pénurie des sources, et ainsi mieux cerner la finalité que le compilateur a voulu donner à son recueil¹⁸². De même, le manuscrit témoigne de la préparation d'un extrait du s. 150, qui n'a finalement pas été retenu, du moins dans l'édition primitive des *Excerpta* qui nous est parvenue; ce travail, quoique inabouti, n'en trahit pas moins les intérêts de l'entourage d'Eugippe (en l'occurrence pour un texte de polémique antipaïenne)¹⁸³. Du point de vue purement philologique, enfin, l'examen des variantes d'un manuscrit source, qui fournissent un argument fort pour le choix des leçons, donne un premier aperçu de la valeur des témoins conservés du texte, que le futur éditeur des *Excerpta* pourra vérifier¹⁸⁴.

Mais elle invite également à formuler trois autres conclusions.

Nous laissons le soin aux paléographes de mesurer les conséquences d'un rattachement des traits paléographiques observés plus haut au début du vi^e siècle plutôt qu'à sa fin, voire aux commencements du siècle suivant. La définition de l'« onciale romana » donnée par A. Petrucci et l'attribution, proposée par ce dernier, d'un ensemble de manuscrits à un scriptorium romain des environs de l'an 600 mériteraient, de ce fait, d'être réétudiés à la lumière des arguments avancés dans le présent article.

L'utilisation de signes d'extraction, considérés comme typiquement carolingiens, environ trois siècles avant ceux que Bischoff a attribués à Alcuin permet de leur donner une nouvelle profondeur historique. On se situe, aux v-vi^e siècles, à une période charnière de l'histoire intellectuelle occidentale, où se constituent le canon des Écritures saintes et le corpus des Pères de l'Église. L'argument d'autorité, sous la forme de citations, prend de l'importance, et avec lui le genre du florilège. L'apparition des signes d'extraction, parfaitement adaptés à la constitution de collections bibliques et patristiques, doit être interprétée comme une manifestation supplémentaire de cet essor.

Une dernière conséquence connexe, qui sera développée dans une prochaine publication, regarde l'origine généralement admise de la collection d'œuvres augustinienes dite *De bono coniugali*, dont notre manuscrit est l'archétype¹⁸⁵. Cette collection, qui associe à des œuvres de morale conju-

¹⁸² À propos de l'objectif poursuivi par Eugippe dans la confection de son florilège, voir les suggestions avancées par COLOMBI, « Eugippius » (cit. n. 46), ainsi que DELMULLE, « Le florilège augustinien de Bède le Vénérable et les discussions tardoantiques sur la grâce, le libre arbitre et la prédestination », *Revue d'études augustinienes et patristiques*, 63/1 (2017), à paraître.

¹⁸³ Voir l'édition de cet extrait dans l'Annexe II, p. 254-258.

¹⁸⁴ Voir, à ce propos, la nouvelle édition des *exc.* CCCXIV-CCCXVI proposée dans l'Annexe I, p. 247-253.

¹⁸⁵ Voir plus haut, n. 71.

gale et ascétique une série de douze sermons, est tenue, depuis les études de dom Cyrille Lambot, pour une production du ^{vi}^e siècle, dont la confection elle-même pourrait être attribuée à Césaire d'Arles¹⁸⁶. Que faut-il déduire de la présence en Italie, centrale ou méridionale, d'un témoin de cette collection dès avant 511 ? Des deux hypothèses qui se présentent – soit la diffusion de la collection *De bono* s'est faite extrêmement rapidement, soit son origine arlésienne, ou proprement césairienne, devrait être remise en cause – c'est la seconde qui semble dorénavant devoir l'emporter.

En 1982, Michael Gorman soulignait, au début de son importante étude de la tradition manuscrite des *Excerpta*, l'intérêt capital que présentait le florilège d'Eugippe du fait que l'on conservait très peu de manuscrits des œuvres d'Augustin qui soient antérieurs à la compilation d'Eugippe¹⁸⁷. La découverte d'un manuscrit non seulement antérieur à la publication du florilège, mais qui a même servi à sa préparation, vient apporter sur la première diffusion des écrits augustinien un double éclairage de poids.

Summary

This paper highlights the discovery of extraction marks in the archetype of the collection *De bono coniugali* of St. Augustine's writings (*Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210*), which can be attributed to the workshop of Eugippius of Castellum Lucullanum. The extraction marks consist in marginal alpha and omega combined with crosses inside the text. They were used during the composition of the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* around 500 and make it possible to date the ms. *Pal. lat. 210* approximately one century earlier than the date to which it was previously assigned on palaeographical grounds. This study thus sheds new light not only on the making of Eugippius' *Excerpta* and on the value of the different branches of its manuscript tradition, but also on the origins of the collection *De bono coniugali*, on the rise of the use of excerpt signs in late Antiquity, and on the criteria for dating the roman uncial.

Jérémy DELMULLE

KU Leuven – IRHT – BnF

⟨jeremy.delmulle@kuleuven.be⟩

Warren PEZÉ

Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, SFB 923

⟨warren.peze@normalesup.org⟩

¹⁸⁶ Selon LAMBOT, dans *CCSL*, XLI (cit. n. 71), p. xv, suivi par VERBRACKEN, *Études critiques* (cit. n. 70), p. 214-215, et DE CONINCK, dans *CCSL*, XLI Aa (cit. n. 71), p. xxxi.

¹⁸⁷ GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. [7].

ANNEXE I:

NOUVELLE ÉDITION DES *EXC.* CCCXIV-CCCXVI

L'identification d'un manuscrit de travail revêt une importance non négligeable pour le philologue, en ce qu'elle lui fournit, avec le document, le texte qui, ayant directement servi au citateur (ou, en l'occurrence, au compilateur), a le plus de chance d'être celui que ce dernier aura reproduit dans l'original. Un tel témoignage requiert toutefois une certaine prudence, dans la mesure où le texte que l'auteur a réellement lu et découpé dans le but de le reproduire peut très bien avoir été, dans l'original de l'œuvre qui le cite, ou mal copié ou sciemment modifié.

C'est pourquoi il est raisonnable, en pareil cas, d'observer dans le recours à un manuscrit source une certaine retenue et de n'accorder une importance à son témoignage que dans la mesure où ce dernier présente des points de contact avec la tradition directe. On est en droit, en effet, de ne conserver les leçons du manuscrit source qu'en cas d'accord avec une partie au moins de la tradition directe, ou de les introduire par conjecture (la conjecture étant alors forte, puisque reposant sur un témoin de poids), lorsqu'il est possible d'expliquer toutes les variantes présentes dans les témoins directs par de mauvaises lectures ou copies, dues au scribe plutôt qu'à l'auteur, de mots présents dans le manuscrit source.

À titre d'expérimentation, je propose donc une nouvelle édition (de travail) des trois extraits d'Eugippe préparés dans le ms. *Pal. lat.* 210, dont le témoignage permet d'améliorer le texte imprimé par P. Knöll. Cette approche a également l'avantage de vérifier grâce à un critère sûr la valeur des témoins de chacune des familles de la tradition directe, dans l'optique d'une nouvelle édition du florilège.

Cette édition repose sur la collation du manuscrit source, dont le texte a été confronté au *textus receptus* de P. Knöll et à cinq témoins manuscrits des *Excerpta*. Pour donner un aperçu représentatif de la tradition directe, j'ai collationné au moins un témoin de chacune des quatre familles identifiées par M. M. Gorman¹:

- | | |
|---|--|
| C | Cassino, Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, 13, s. XI ^{ex} , p. 399a-400b (α) |
| F | München, BSB, lat. 6247, s. IX ^{2/4} , fol. 250rb-251rb (β) |
| V | Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. lat. 3375, s. VI ^{ex} , fol. 280r-281v (γ) |
| O | Paris, BnF, lat. 2110, s. VIII ⁱⁿ , fol. 383v-385r (δ) |

¹ On se reportera au stemma proposé par GORMAN, « The Manuscript Tradition » (cit. n. 49), p. [229]. C'est le même choix qu'avait fait DOLBEAU, « Localisation » (cit. n. 42), p. 22, pour son édition de l'*exc.* 137 de *providentia Dei*.

P^l Paris, BnF, lat. 11642, s. IX^{2/4-med}, fol. 209r-v (δ)

Knöll EVGIPIII *Excerpta*, CSEL, IX/1 (cit. n. 35), p. 1007-1009

P Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 210, s. VI^{1/4}, fol. 13r-18v

Comme on pourra le remarquer à la lecture de l'apparat de chacun des trois textes, le témoignage de *P* se trouve, à plusieurs reprises, confirmé par les manuscrits appartenant à la branche δ, et en particulier *O*. L'accord de ce manuscrit avec *P* contre le témoignage de *V*, généralement accepté par Knöll, permet ainsi de corriger plusieurs fois le texte reçu. *P* présente aussi l'avantage de donner accès à l'orthographe en vigueur à l'époque de la composition des *Excerpta* et qui peut, le cas échéant, avoir été reproduite dans l'exemplaire d'auteur du florilège. Enfin, en un endroit (*exc.* CCCXVId), il est possible de faire une conjecture en ajoutant un membre de phrase, présent dans le manuscrit source, détourné lors de la préparation du passage, mais absent de l'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite : s'agissant d'un verset biblique répété deux fois, qui donc pouvait donner lieu à un saut du même au même, et compte tenu du fait que le signe d'extraction a été posé immédiatement avant le début du passage tel que je l'imprime, alors qu'il aurait pu tout aussi bien être placé à la seconde occurrence de la citation, il faut supposer, me semble-t-il, que la première citation était destinée à être copiée, mais que dans l'archétype déjà la portion se trouvant entre les deux citations avait déjà été sautée.

Exc. CCCXIV

DE VNIVS VXORIS VIRO EPISCOPO ORDINANDO.

EX LIBRO DE BONO CONIVGALI.

⟨a.⟩ Quod est cibus ad salutem corporis, hoc est concubitus ad salutem generis, et utrumque non est sine delectatione carnali. ⟨b.⟩

Diuersa opera patrum non faciebat nisi diuersitas temporum. Sic autem necesse erat, ut carnaliter coirent etiam non carnales

5 tae, sicut necesse erat, ut carnaliter uescerentur etiam non carnales

App. crit. **Tit.** CCCXIV] CCCXIII *V Knöll*, CCCIII *C*, CCCXVI *O*, CCCXX *F*, CCCXXVIII *P*^l uiro] uirum *O P*^l episcopo] episcopis *O*, episcop* *P*^{l a.c.} coniugali] coniugale *O*, inter cetera et ad locum *add. O, quaedam uerba add. P*^{l a.c.} 1 cibus] cibi *F* concubitus] conbutus *O* 2 et] *om. C* carnali] carnis *C* 3 diuersa] sed *praem. O P*^{l a.c.} diuersitas] diuersatas *P*^l sic] si *C* 4 erat] erant *C* coirent] cohirent *C V Knöll*, uerbum quod non legi potest *scrips. P*^{l a.c.} carnales] carnali *O P*^{l a.c.} 5 necesse] necesse *P*^{l a.c.} (*ut uid.*) erat] erant *C* carnales] carnalis *P*^{l a.c.}

App. P **Tit.** *deest in P* 1 quod] enim *add. P* corporis] hominis *P*

- apostoli. <c.> Ecclesiae dispensatorem non licere ordinari nisi unius uxoris uirum quod acutius intellexerunt qui nec eum qui catechumenus uel paganus habuerit alteram ordinandum esse censuerunt. De sacramento enim agitur, non de peccato. Nam in baptismo
- 10 peccata omnia dimittuntur. Sed qui dixit: *Si acceperis uxorem, non peccasti, et si nubserit uirgo, non peccat*, et: *Quod uult faciat; non peccat; nubat*, satis declarauit nubtias nullum esse peccatum. Propter sacramenti autem sanctitatem sicut femina, etiam si catechumena fuerit uitata, non potest post baptismum inter Dei uirgines
- 15 consecrari, ita non absurde uisum est eum qui excessit uxorum numerum singularem non peccatum aliquod commisisse, sed normam quandam sacramenti amisisse, non ad uitae bonae meritum, sed ad ordinationis ecclesiasticae signaculum necessariam. Ac per hoc, sicut plures antiquorum patrum uxores significauerunt futuras
- 20 nostras ex omnibus gentibus ecclesias uni uiro subditas Christo, ita noster antistes unius uxoris uir significat ex omnibus gentibus unitatem uni uiro subditam Christo; quae tunc perficietur, *cum reuelauerit occulta tenebrarum* et cetera. Nunc autem sunt manifestae, sunt latentes dissensiones, etiam salua caritate inter eos qui unum
- 25 et in unum futuri sunt; quae tunc utique nullae erunt. <d.> Itaque sicut duobus dominis pluribusue seruire, sic a uiuo uiro in alterius

App. bibl. 10/11 I Cor. 7, 28 11/12 I Cor. 7, 36 22/23 cum – tenebrarum] cfr I Cor. 4, 5

App. crit. 6 ordinari] ordinare *O* 7 quod] *om. C F V Knöll* acutius] at *C (ut uid.)*
 7/8 catechumenus] catechuminus *C V*, catichumenus *F*, catecuminus *O*, caticuminus *Pⁱ*
 8 alteram] altera *C* censuerunt] consueuerunt *V*, consuerunt *F* 9/10 nam – peccata] *om. V*
 10 peccata] peccato *C^{a.c.}* si acceperis] qui acceperit *C* acceperis] acciperis *F V*
 11 nubserit] nupserit *mss Knöll* 12 nubtias] nuptias *C V O Pⁱ Knöll*
 12/13 propter] propterea *C* 13 sacramenti] sacramenci *V (ut uid.)*, sacramentum *O*
 sanctitatem] sancti-tatem *O* femina] feminam *C* 13/14 catechumena] catichumena *F*, catecumina *C V O* catecumina *P^{la.c.}*, caticumina *P^{lp.c.}*
 14 inter] in *C* 15 uxorum] uxorem *F V P^{la.c.}*
 16 commisisse] commississe *P^{la.c.}* 17 amisisse] amississe *Pⁱ*
 18 ordinationis] orditionis *C^{a.c.}* necessariam] necessarium *C V P^{la.c.} (ut uid.) Knöll*
 ac] hac *C* 19 patrum] patrem *F* 20 uni uiro] uniuerso *O* uni] *om. C* subditas] subdita *C*
 21 noster] nrt *Pⁱ* antistes] antestis *O*, antistis *Pⁱ* 23 cetera] citera *O*
 24 dissensiones] dissentiones *C* salua] saluae *O* 24/25 unum et in unum] in unum et unum *C F V P^{lp.c.} Knöll* 25 nullae] nulla *C V*

App. P 6 licere] liceat *P* unius] unus *P^{a.c.}*, unius *P^{p.c.}* 7/8 catechumenus] catechomenus *P^{a.c.}*
 8 censuerunt] c**suerunt *P* 9 sacramento] cramento *P^{a.c.}* 13 sanctitatem] *om. P^{a.c.}*
 13/14 catechumena] catechumina *P^{a.c.}*, catechumina *P^{p.c.}* 16 singularem] singularum *P^{a.c.}*
 19 uxores] ante antiquorum *pos. P* 23 et cetera] et manifestauerit cogitationes cordis ut tunc laus sit unicuique a deo *P* 25 unum] uno *P*

transire conubium nec tunc licuit nec nunc licet nec umquam licebit. Apostatare quippe ab uno deo et ire in alterius adulterinam superstitionem semper est malum. Nec causa ergo numerosioris
 30 prolis fecerunt sancti nostri quod Cato dicitur fecisse Romanus, ut traderet uiuus uxorem etiam alterius domum filiis impleturam. In nostrarum quippe nubtiis plus ualet sanctitas sacramenti quam fecunditas uteri.

App. crit. 27 conubium] cunubium *O*, conubio *C* nec¹] ne *O* *P^{la.c.}* nec²] ne *O* *P^{la.c.}*
 nunc] tunc *P^l* 27/28 licebit] liceuit *C*, litebit *P^{la.c.}* 28 adulterinam] alterinam *O*
 29 ergo] erga *P^{la.c.}* numerosioris] numerisioris *F*, numeri osio rius *O* 30 cato] **to
P^{la.c.} romanus] romanos *C* *O* 31 traderet] tradere *F* uiuus] uiuis *V*, uiuos
O, unius *P^l*, uel uiuus *P^l* *in marg.* impleturam] implecturam *F* 32 nostrarum]
 nostra*rum *O^{a.c.}* 32 nubtiis] nuptiis *mss Knöll*

App. P 28 ire] re *P^{a.c.}* 31 impleturam] inpleturam *P*

Exc. CCCXV

DE NOCTVRNA INLVSIONE. EX LIBRO DE BONO CONIVGALI.

- Multa lex ponit in sacramentis et umbris futurorum. Quaedam ergo in semine materialis informitas, quae formata corpus hominis redditura est, in significatione posita est uitae informis et ineruditae. A qua informitate quoniam oportet hominem doctrinae forma et
- 5 eruditione mundari, in huius rei signum illa purificatio praecepta est post seminis emissionem. Neque enim et in somnis peccato fit, et tamen etiam ibi praecepta est purificatio. Aut si et hoc peccatum quisquam putat, non arbitrans accidere nisi ex aliquo huius modi desiderio, quod procul dubio falsum est, numquid et solita
- 10 mensuum peccata sunt feminarum? a quibus tamen eas eadem legis uetustas praecipit expiari non nisi propter ipsam materiales infor- mitatem, quae facto conceptu tamquam in aedificationem corpo- ris additur. Ac per hoc, cum informiter fluit, significari per illam lex uoluit animum sine disciplinae forma indecenter fluuidum ac
- 15 dissolutum, quem formari oportere significat, cum talem fluxum corporis iubet purificari. Postremo numquid et mori peccatum est aut mortuum sepelire non etiam bonum opus humanitatis est? Et tamen purificatio et inde mandata est, quia et mortuum corpus uita deserente non peccatum est, sed peccatum significat animae deser-
- 20 tae a iustitia.

App. bibl. 9/10 numquid – feminarum] cfr Leu. 15, 19 18/19 quia – est] cfr Num. 19, 11

App. crit. Tit. CCCXV] CCCIII C, CCCXVII O, CCCXXI F, CCCXXX P^l inlusionem] illusionem C, item add. O P^l ex libro de bono coniugali] ex eodem libro V Knöll 1 et] ut O 2 materialis] materilias O 2/3 redditura] reddetura O^{u.c.} 4 quo- niam] post hominem pos. V oportet] opor-tet O 4/5 forma et eruditione] om. C^{a.c.}, forme eruditione C^{p.c.} 5 praecepta] recepta C 6 seminis emissionem] semini se- missionem F 7 est] om. P^{l.a.c.} (ut uid.) et²] om. O P^l 8 accidere] accedere F P^l huius] ex praem. O 9/10 solita mensuum] soli tamen suum F (ut uid.), solita: mensuum V^{p.c.} 9 solita] soluta P^l 10 peccata] pecca C^{u.c.} eas] om. C F V Knöll 11 praecipit] praecepit O P^{l.a.c.} expiari] expiare C 12 conceptu] concepto mss aedificationem] aedificatione P^l 13 ac] hac C 14 fluuidum] fluidum V Knöll, flui- dum C ac] hac C 15 dissolutum] dessolutum O 16 purificari] purificare P^{l.a.c.} peccatum] peccato C^{u.c.} (ut uid.) 18 mandata] manda C^{u.c.}, mondata P^{l.a.c.}, ta add. F in marg. 19/20 desertae a] deserta ea F desertae] deserente P^{l.a.c.} (ut uid.)

App. P Tit. deest in P 1 ergo] om. P^{a.c.} 2 semine] quasi add. P 11 praecipit] praecepit P

Exc. CCCXVI

DE VIRTUTE ANIMI VEL LATENTE VEL MANIFESTA.
EX EODEM LIBRO DE BONO CONVIGALI.

- ⟨a.⟩ Continentia non corporis, sed animi uirtus est. Virtutes autem animi aliquando in opere manifestantur, aliquando in habitu latent: sicut martyrii uirtus eminebat apparuitque tolerando passiones. Sed quam multi sunt in eadem uirtute animi, quibus temptatio deest, qua
5 id quod intus est in conspectu dei, etiam in hominum procedat? ⟨b.⟩ Et Timotheo ita relaxata est corporis utilitas uinum bibendi, ut maneret in animo habitus continendi. Ipse est enim habitus, quo aliquid agitur, cum opus est. Cum autem non agitur, potest agi, sed non opus est. ⟨c.⟩ Num igitur non erat in Christo continentiae
10 uirtus a cibo et potu, quanta erat in Iohanne baptista, ut diceretur: *Ecce homo uorax et potator uini?* Numquid non talia dicuntur in domesticos eius, patres nostros, ex alio genere utendi terrenis, quantum ad concubitum pertinet: ecce homines libidinosi et immundi, amatores feminarum et lasciuiarum? ⟨d.⟩ Et *iustificata est sapientia a filiis suis* ⟨quod Dominus ibi subiecit cum de Iohanne ac de se illa dixisset *iustificata est inquam sapientia a filiis suis,*⟩ qui

App. bibl. 6 et – bibendi] cfr I Tim. 5, 23 11 Matth. 11, 19 14/15 Matth. 11, 19
16 Matth. 11, 19

App. crit. Tit. CCCXVI] CCCV C, CCCXVIII O, CCCXXII F, CCCXXXI P^l animi] anime O uel¹] bel I^{a.c.} bono] bo V^{a.c.} 1 uirtutes] uirtus C F V P^l Knöll 2 manifestantur] manifestatur C F V P^l Knöll, manifestatus P^l a.c. habitu] abitu C latent] latet C F V P^l Knöll 3 -que] que O tolerando] tollerando O passiones] passionis C O 4 multi] multa O uirtute] uirtutem V animi] animę O temptatio] temptatio C P^l, temptatio O deest] deesse V, *** add. O (ut uid.) qua] quam V, quia O 5 id] ***** add. O (ut uid.) 6 timotheo] thimotheo O bibendi] uiuendi C^{a.c.} 7 animo habitus] habitu animus V Knöll, anima hominis O ipse] ipsi O quo] quod O 9 num] nam V P^l a.c., non O 10 cibo] ciuo C 11 uorax] uerax O^{p.c.} (ut uid.) et] om. O potator] potatur O P^l uini] uinum F talia] alia F 12 nostros] nostri F 13 homines] hominis O immundi] immundi C F V O Knöll 15/16 quod – suis] ex loco in cod. Pal. lat. 210 ad describendum praeparato restitui (uide praefationem), om. mss Knöll

App. P Tit. deest in P 1 continentia] quippe add. P 2 habitu] habitum P^{a.c.} 3 martyrii] martirii P^{a.c.} (ut uid.) 4 uirtute] uirtutem P^{a.c.} temptatio] temptatio P^{a.c.} qua] quia P^{a.c.} 6 et timotheo] deest in P corporis] corpori P^{p.c.} uinum] uinum deest in P 9 christo] illo P 10 ut diceretur] uenit enim iohannes non manducans neque bibens et dixerunt daemonium habet uenit filius hominis manducans et bibens et dixerunt (sic) P 11 potator uini] uinaria amicus publicanorum et peccatorum P

- uident continentiae uirtutem in habitu animi semper esse debere, in opere autem pro rerum ac temporum opportunitate manifestari. <e.> Cum ergo colloquiis malis dicitur continenti et nuptias recusanti: “Tu ergo melior quam Abraham?” sed dicat: “Ego quidem non sum melior quam Abraham; melior est castitas caelibum quam castitas nubtiarum: quarum Abraham unam habebat in usu, ambas in habitu. Caste quippe coniugaliter uixit; esse autem caste sine coniugio potuit, sed tunc non oportuit. Ego uero facilius non utor nubtiis, quibus est usus Abraham, quam sic utor nubtiis, quemammodum est usus Abraham. Quod enim ego nunc ago, melius ille egisset, si tunc agendum esset.”

App. crit. 18 opere] opera *F* autem] *om. P^{l.a.c.}* ac] hac *C* opportunitate] oportunitate *F V O P^l* 19 colloquiis] conloquiis *F O P^l* 19/20 et nuptias recusanti] *om. C F V* recusanti] recussanti *P^l* 20 ergo] *om. C^{a.c.}* sed] *om. mss Knöll* ego] ergo *P^{l.a.c.}* 21 melior²] sed *praem. C F O P^l* castitas] caritas *V O, om. P^{l.a.c.}* caelibum] celibo *C*, caeli *O* 22 nubtiarum] nuptiarum *mss Knöll* usu] usum *C*, et *add. O* 23 caste¹] castae *V*, castę *P^l* sine] nisi *P^{l.p.c.}* 24 oportuit] potuit *F* 25 nubtiis¹] nuptiis *mss Knöll* sic] sicut *P^{l.a.c.}* nubtiis²] nuptiis *mss Knöll* 25/26 quemammodum] quemadmodum *P^l*, quenammodum *C^{a.c.}* 26 ergo] *om. C* melius ille] *tr. O P^l*

App. P 19 cum – dicitur] ac per hoc ab eis qui corrumpunt mores bonos colloquiis malis inani et uana uersutia dicitur homini christiano *P* nuptias] nubtias *P* 20 abraham] quod ille cum audierit non perturbetur nec audeat dicere melior nec a proposito delabatur illud enim non uere dicit hoc non recte facit *add. P* 26 abraham] et ideo melior sum illis qui per animi incontinentiam non possunt quod ego non illis qui propter temporis differentiam non fecerunt quod ego *add. P* ago] ego *P^{a.c.}* ille] illi *P* 27 egisset] egissent *P*

ANNEXE II :

ÉDITION D'UN *EXCERPTVM* DU *s.* 150 NON REPRIS DANS LES *EXCERPTA*

On l'a fait observer, la main qui a marqué, dans le texte du *De bono coniugali*, les passages destinés à former les *exc.* CCCXIV à CCCXVI du florilège d'Eugippe a aussi isolé deux passages du *s.* 150, dans le but, vraisemblablement, de les associer en un extrait unique. Si ces passages n'ont finalement pas été retenus par Eugippe pour figurer dans ses *Excerpta*, ils n'en apportent pas moins un éclairage intéressant sur le projet du florilégiste en laissant entr'apercevoir certains des intérêts qui lui seraient propres. À ce titre, l'extrait préparé mérite d'être édité.

Ce *s.* 150, prononcé à Carthage le jour de la fête des martyrs bolitains, probablement le 17 octobre 416¹, commente Act. 17, 18-34, et porte, en particulier, sur l'appellation de « semeur de paroles » que l'on a accordée à Paul. À partir de cette péricope des Actes, Augustin propose une confrontation des pensées stoïcienne, épicurienne et chrétienne au sujet de la notion de bonheur.

Une nouvelle édition de ce sermon a été procurée, il y a une quinzaine d'années, par Jacques Elfassi², qui, pour la première fois, a pu tenir compte du témoignage du sermonnaire de Mayence découvert par François Dolbeau qui, dans le cas précis de ce sermon, n'a toutefois pas apporté de nettes améliorations³. Les deux passages excerptés dans le *Pal. lat.* 210 correspondent, dans l'édition, aux § 5 (l. 101-110 = *P*, fol. 201v-202r) et 6-9 (l. 124-211 = fol. 202r-204v).

Je reproduis le texte transmis par le ms. *Pal. lat.* 210, pour le faire lire dans la version (tronquée) à laquelle le destinait l'excerpteur, mais aussi parce que c'est là l'occasion de rendre compte d'un certain nombre de corrections, apportées soit par le copiste, soit par un relecteur, soit encore par l'excerpteur lui-même, et qui ne sont pas signalées comme telles dans la dernière édition du sermon. J'ai respecté l'orthographe du manuscrit, et

¹ La datation de ce sermon pose difficulté : ELFASSI, « Le sermon 150 » (cit. n. 87), p. 31-36, prenait en considération toutes les possibilités, pour conclure que la date la plus probable était celle du 15-21 mai 397 ; elle a été profondément remise en cause par P.-M. HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris, 2000 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 163), p. [265]-279. On lira la dernière mise à jour dans les *Addenda* de DOLBEAU, *Augustin et la prédication. Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes*, Paris, 2005 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité, 179), p. 604, n. 48.

² ELFASSI, « Le sermon 150 » (cit. n. 87), p. 39-49.

³ DOLBEAU, « Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9) : analyse et histoire », *Revue bénédictine*, 106/1 (1996), p. [5]-52 [reproduit dans ID., *Augustin et la prédication* (cit. n. 1 de l'Ann. II), n° 2, p. 23-70], ici p. 22.

indiqué systématiquement dans l'apparat critique les leçons retenues par le dernier éditeur du sermon (*Elfassi*)⁴.

⟨a.⟩ Constituite nunc ante oculos uestros, Epicureos et Stoicos et apostolum, quod etiam sic dicere potui, Epicureos, Stoicos et Christianos. Interrogemus prius Epicureos, quae res faciat uitam beatam. Respondent: Voluptas corporis. Hic iam credatis peto, quia iudices
 5 habeo. Vtrum enim hoc dicant, hoc sentiant Epicurei nescitis, quia illas litteras non legistis, sed sunt hic qui legerunt. Redeamus ad interrogandos. Quid dicitis, Epicurei, quae res facit uitam beatam? Respondent: Voluptas corporis. Quid dicitis, Stoici, quae res facit uitam beatam? Respondent: Virtus animi. Intendat mecum caritas
 10 uestra: Christiani sumus, inter philosophos disceptamus. Videte quare illae tantum duae sectae procuratae sunt cum apostolo collaturae.

⟨b.⟩ Nam Epicurei et de corpore et de anima hoc idem sentiunt, quod utrumque mortale est, et quod est grauius et detestabilius,
 15 prius dicunt animam post mortem dissolui quam corpus. Adhuc, inquit, post efflatum spiritum manente cadauere, et integris memb(ri)orum liniamentis aliquantum durantibus, anima mox ut exierit ueluti fumus uento diuerberata dissoluitur. Non ergo miremur quod summum bonum, id est beatitudinis causam, in corpore
 20 posuerunt, quod se melius quam animam habere senserunt. Numquam hoc faceret apostolus: absit ut poneret in corpore summum bonum. Summum enim bonum est causa beatitudinis. Immo uero doluit apostolus quosdam in numero Christianorum elegisse sententiam Epicureorum, non hominum sed porcorum. Ex hoc enim

⁴ Sont également cités les témoins utilisés par l'éditeur, avec le sigle qu'il leur a donné: *M* = Mainz, *Stadtbibliothek*, I 9; *B* = accord de *B^a* (Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, lat. 4° 690), *B^b* (Avranches, *BM*, 84) et *B^c* (Trier, *Bibliothek des Priesterseminars*, 48) [à noter, cependant: l'éditeur sigle *C* notre ms. *Pal. lat.* 210 (ici *P*)]. L'apparat des sources scripturaires doit beaucoup à l'édition de J. Elfassi: les références ont été vérifiées et, le cas échéant, complétées. J'ai renoncé à établir un *apparatus fontium et locorum parallelorum*: pour cela, se reporter à ELFASSI, « Le sermon 150 » (cit. n. 87) et HOMBERT, *Nouvelles recherches* (cit. n. 1 de l'Ann. II), p. [265]-279.

App. crit. 1 et¹] *non scrips. Elfassi (cum M B)* 2 et] *non scrips. Elfassi (cum M B)* 3 uitam beatam] *tr. Elfassi (cum M B, quibus mendose P [= C] in apparatu addidit)* 4 corporis *P^{p.c.}*] cordis *P^{a.c.}* 6 hic *P^{p.c.}*] his *P^{a.c.}* 8 corporis *P^{p.c.}*] cordis *P^{a.c.}* 11 illae] ill *P^{a.c.}* duae] s *add., postea del. P* sunt] *sint Elfassi (cum M)* 16 efflatum *P^{p.c.}*] efflatu *P^{a.c.}* manente *P^{p.c.}*] manentem *P^{a.c.}* 17 membrorum] *membrorum P* liniamentis] *lineamentis Elfassi* 18 diuerberata] *diuerberatus Elfassi (cum M)*

25 numero erant illi *corrumpentes bonos mores colloquiis malis*, et dicentes: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*. Epicurei contulerunt cum Paulo. Sunt et Christiani Epicurei. Quid enim sunt aliud dicentes cotidie: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur?* Quo pertinet? Et nihil erit post mortem. *Vmbrae enim*
 30 *transitus uita nostra. Dixerunt apud se cogitantes non recte*, inter cetera: *Coronemus nos rosis, antequam marcescant; nullum pratum sit, quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra; ubique relinquamus signa laetitiae, quoniam haec est pars nostra, et haec sors.*

Hoc si atrocius obiurgemus, si his cupiditatibus uehementius resistamus, dicentes et quod sequitur: *Opprimamus pauperem iustum*. Et tamen dicimus, uel in hoc loco positi non timemus: Nolite esse Epicurei. Cogitate quidem illud quod dictum est ab his non recte loquentibus: *Cras enim moriemur*. Sed non omni modo moriemur, manet enim post mortem quod sequitur mortem. Comes morienti
 40 aut uita erit aut poena. Nemo dicat: Qui huc inde reuersus est? Diues ille purpuratus sero redire uoluit, et permitti non potuit. Stillam sitiens inquisiuit, qui esurientem pauperem fastidiuit. Nemo ergo dicat: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*. Sed uultis dicere: *cras enim moriemur*, non prohibeo, sed aliud ante
 45 dicite. Epicurei quippe uelut non uicturi post mortem, quasi aliud nihil habentes nisi quod delectat carnem, dicunt: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*. Christiani uero uicturi post mortem, et felices potius uicturi post mortem, non dicant: *Manducemus et bibamus, cras enim moriemur*. Sed tenete quod dicitur: *Cras enim*
 50 *moriemur*, et dicite: Ieiunemus et oremus, *cras enim moriemur*. Addo plane aliud, addo tertium, nec quod praecipue obseruandum est praetermitto, ut de ieiunio tuo fames pauperis satietur, aut si

App. bibl. 25 I Cor. 15, 33 26 I Cor. 15, 32 28/29 I Cor. 15, 32 29/30 Sap. 2, 5
 30 Sap. 2, 1 31/33 Sap. 2, 8-9 35 Sap. 2, 10 38 I Cor. 15, 32
 41/42 diues – fastidiuit] cfr Luc. 16, 19-24 43 I Cor. 15, 32 44 I Cor. 15, 32
 46/47 I Cor. 15, 32 48/49 I Cor. 15, 32 49/50 I Cor. 15, 32 50 I Cor. 15,

App. crit. 25 bonos mores] *tr. Elfassi (cum M B)* 27 paulo] apostolo *add. Elfassi (cum M B)* 29 moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)*, *cras enim morimur add. Elfassi (cum M)* et] *om. Elfassi (cum M B)* mortem *P^{p.c.}*] morte *P^{a.c.}* umbrae *P^{p.c.}*] umbre *P^{a.c.}*
 30 transitus] *est add. Elfassi (cum M B)* dixerunt] enim *add. Elfassi (cum M B)*
 32 luxuria] *luxoria P^{a.c.} (ut uid.)* 35 dicentes] *dicent Elfassi (cum M B)* opprimamus *P^{p.c.}*] *oppremamus P^{a.c.}* 38 moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)* omni modo] *omnino Elfassi (cum M)* moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)* 40 qui] *quis Elfassi (cum M B)* 43 moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)* 44 sed¹] *si add. Elfassi (cum M B^c)* 47 moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)* 48 uicturi] *futuri Elfassi (cum M B^a)*
 49 moriemur] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)* 50 moriemur¹] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)*
 50 moriemur²] *morimur Elfassi (cum M)*

ieiunare non potes, magis pascas cuius saturitate tibi uenia concedatur. Dicant ergo Christiani: Ieiunemus et oremus et donemus,
 55 *cras enim moriemur*. Aut si duas res uolunt dicere, eligo ut dicant: Donemus et oremus, quam: Ieiunemus et non donemus. Absit ergo ut apostolus in corpore poneret summum hominis bonum, id est beatitudinis causam.

Sed cum Stoicis non indecens fortasse luctamen est. Ecce enim
 60 interrogati ubi ponant efficiens beatae uitae, id est quod facit in homine beatam uitam, respondent non corporis uoluptatem, sed animi esse uirtutem. Quid apostolus? Annuit? Si annuit, annuamus. Sed non annuit. Reuocat enim Scribtura eos *qui confidunt in uirtute sua*. Epicureus in corpore ponens summum bonum hominis, in se
 65 spem posuit. Sed etiam Stoicus, in animo ponens summum hominis bonum, in re quidem meliore hominis posuit, sed etiam ipse in se ips(o) posuit. Homo est autem et Epicureus et Stoicus. *Maledictus igitur omnis qui spem suam ponit in homine*. Quid ergo? Iam constitutis ante oculos nostros tribus, Epicureis, Stoicis, Christianis,
 70 interrogemus singulos. Dic, Epicuree: Quae res facit beatum? Respondet: Voluptas corporis. Dic, Stoice: Virtus animi. Dic, Christiane: Donum Dei.

Itaque, fratres, uelut ante oculos nostros *Epicurei et Stoici cum apostolo contulerunt*, et collatione sua nos quid reicere et quid deberemus eligere docuerunt. Est uirtus animi res laudabilis, prudentia
 75 bona et mala discernens, iustitia sua cuique distribuens, temperantia libidines cohibens, fortitudo molestias aequanimiter sustinens. Magna res, laudabilis res! Lauda, Stoice, quantum potes! Sed dic unde habes, – si tamen habes? Non uirtus animi tui te facit beatum, sed qui tibi uirtutem dedit, qui tibi uelle inspirauit et posse
 80 donauit. Scio quia fortasse inrisurus es me, et eris in eis de quibus scribtum est quia Paulum inridebant. Si tu uia es, ego semino: *seminator enim sum uerborum* pro modulo meo. Quod fuit conuicium

App. bibl. 55 I Cor. 15, 32 63/64 Ps. 48, 7 67/68 Ier. 17, 5 73/74 Act. 17, 18
 80/81 qui – donauit] cfr Phil. 2, 13 82/83 Act. 17, 18

App. crit. 53 potes *P^{p.c.}*] potest *P^{p.c.}* 55 moriemur] morimur *Elfassi (cum M)* 63 scribtura] scriptura *Elfassi* 64 epicureus] itaque *add. Elfassi (cum M B)* bonum hominis] *tr. Elfassi (cum B)* 67 ipso] *scripsi*, ipso *P*, spem *Elfassi (cum M B)* 68 homine] hominem *P^{a.c.}* 69 epicureis] epicureo *Elfassi (cum M B)* stoicis] stoico *Elfassi (cum M B)* christianis] christiano *Elfassi (cum M B)* 70 interrogemus *P^{p.c.}*] interrogamus *P^{a.c.}* 74 reicere] reicere *Elfassi* 76 bona] mala *Elfassi (cum M B)* mala] bona *Elfassi (cum M B)* 78 potes *P^{p.c.}*] potest *P^{a.c.}* 78/79 dic unde *P^{p.c.}*] dicunt de *P^{p.c.}* 81 inrisurus] irrisurus *Elfassi* es *P^{p.c.}*] est *P^{a.c.}* 82 scribtum] scriptum *Elfassi* inridebant] irridebant *Elfassi* si] et *praem. Elfassi (cum M B^a)* 83 uerborum *P^{p.c.}*] uerborum *P^{a.c.}*

- tuum, officium est meum. Ego semino; cadit in te quod semino,
 85 tamquam in terram duram. Ego non sim piger; et inuenio terram
 bonam. Quid tibi faciam? Reprehensus es, et oraculo diuino repre-
 hensus: inter illos es *qui confidunt in uirtute sua*, inter illos es *qui*
spem ponunt in homine. Virtus te delectat: bona res delectat. Scio,
 sitis; sed uirtutem tibi manare non potes: siccus es. Si tibi osten-
 90 dero fontem uitae, forte deridebis. Dicis enim apud te: De ista rupe
 bibiturus sum? Accedit uirga et manabit aqua. *Iudaei enim signa*
petunt; sed tu, Stoice, non es Iudaeus; scio, Graecus es, *et Graeci*
sapientiam quaerunt. *Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum*,
 – scandalizatur Iudaeus, subsannat Graecus –, *Iudaeis enim scan-*
 95 *dalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, sed ipsis uocatis Iudaeis et Graecis*,
 – hoc est ipsi Paulo ex Saulo et Dionysio Areopagitae et talibus
 his talibus et illis –, *Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam*. Iam
 non inrides rupem, agnosce uirgam crucem, Christum fontem, et si
 sitis, bibe uirtutem. Isto fonte saginatus, gratiarum actiones fortasse
 100 ructabis, et quod ab illo habes, iam non tibi dabis, sed in ructua-
 tione exclamabis: *Diligam te, Domine, uirtus mea*. Iam non dices:
 Virtus animi mei me facit beatum; non eris inter illos qui *cognos-*
centes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificauerunt aut gratias egerunt,
sed euannerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est insipiens cor
 105 *eorum, dicentes enim se esse sapientes*, – quid est enim ‘dicentes se
 esse sapientes’, nisi a se habere, sibi sufficere? –, *stulti facti sunt*.
 Merito ‘stulti’: stultitia uera est falsa sapientia. Sed eris inter illos
 de quibus dicitur: *Domine, in lumine uultus tui ambulabunt, et in*
nomine tuo exultabunt tota die, et in tua iustitia exaltabuntur, quo-
 110 *niam gloria uirtutis eorum tu es*. Virtutem quaerebas, dic: *Domine,*
uirtus mea; beatam uitam quaerebas, dic: *Beatus homo quem tu eru-*
dieris, Domine. Beatus enim populus cuius non uoluptas carnis, non
 uirtus propria, sed *beatus populus cuius est Dominus Deus ipsius*.

App. bibl. 87 Ps. 48, 7 87/88 Ier. 17, 5 90 fontem uitae] cfr Ps. 35, 10 91 accedit –
 aqua] cfr Num. 20, 11; Ex. 17, 6; I Cor. 10, 4 91/97 I Cor. 1, 22-24 101 Ps.
 17, 2 102/106 Rom. 1, 21-22 108/110 Ps. 88, 16-18 110/111 Ps. 17, 2
 111/112 Ps. 93, 12 113 Ps. 143, 15

App. crit. 85 tamquam] tanquam *Elfassi* 86 reprehensus *P^{p.c.}*] repraehensus *P^{u.c.}* 86/87 repre-
 hensus] es *add. Elfassi (cum M B)* 87 es² *P^{p.c.}*] est *P^{u.c.}* 88 homine] hominem *P^{u.c.}*
 93 praedicamus] praedicamus *P^{a.c.}*, praedicandamus *P^{p.c.}* (*ut uid.*) 94 graecus *P^{p.c.}*] grecus
P^{u.c.} 98 inrides] irrides *Elfassi* 109 exultabunt *P^{p.c.}*] exsultabunt *P^{a.c.}* exaltabun-
 tur *P^{p.c.}*] exaltabunt *P^{a.c.}* 112 carnis] cuius *add. Elfassi (cum M B)*

Maximian of Ravenna, *Chronica*

Lieve VAN HOOFF

(*Ghent*)

1. Introduction

This article studies the two extant fragments of the *chronica* of Maximian of Ravenna (c. 498-557). Only attested in the *liber pontificalis* of Agnellus of Ravenna (first half of ninth century), it was either a narrative history or a narrative chronicle. If it was the former, it may have covered the fifth and early sixth century; if the latter, it is likely that it started with Creation. In either case, it represents a rare type of historiography in the late antique Latin West: narrative histories have not survived in the West between Orosius and Gregory of Tours, whilst the narrative chronicle is attested in Latin only in the *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus, but was becoming very popular in the Greek East in the sixth century. The work also stands out by its focus on secular events and the fact that it relied on information gathered by Maximian during his travels in the East. There is no evidence to substantiate the idea that Maximian composed the chronicle to support the rise of Ravenna to a supermetropolitan status: in fact, it seems likely that it was composed in the 520s, long before Maximian became bishop of Ravenna in 546.

In the second section of this article, text, translation and commentary of the two extant fragments can be found, whilst the third section studies the nature of the work.

2. The Fragments

F1: Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 42 (Vita Iohanni): *Agnellus Ravennatis, Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. Deliyannis, Turnhout, 2006 (CCCM, 199), p. 201, l. 429-445 (cf. *Agnelli qui et Andreas liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, Hannover, 1878 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX 1), p. 306 l. 30-307 l. 5; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. Testi Rasponi, Bologna, 1924, p. 123 l. 272-127 l. 284). Tr. D. M. Deliyannis, *Agnellus: The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of*

Ravenna, Washington, DC, 2004 (Medieval Texts in Translation), p. 150 adapted (cf. *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. Nauerth, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996 (*Fontes Christiani*, 21), p. 213-215)

Et si vultis eis¹ inquirere analogiam, Maximiani archiepiscopi chronicam legite; ibi plura de ea et de multis imperatoribus et regibus invenietis. Ipsa quoque augusta, postquam a quodam Athaulpho relicta est, ab Honorio imperatore Constantio comiti in matrimonium data est, et post se quasi successorem imperator reliquit. Unoque anno Constantius post mortem Honorii gentibus imperavit, morbo correptus vitales auras amisit; et reliquit filium modicum Gallae, Valentinianum nomine. Cum bis ternos annos et quattuor tempora anni Valentinianus esset, divo Honorio, patruo suo, in imperium successit. Qui .xxx. et unum annis imperio durans, Romae occisus est in loco qui vocatur ad Laurum. Galla vero non vidit necem filii quia antea Roma obiit .v. Klas.² Decembris. Apparuit post haec stella in caelo ardens per dies .xxx., et capta et fracta est Aquileia ab Hunnis. Arsit Ravenna Idus Martii, et multae opes ab igne crematae sunt.

And if you want to find out about things like these,³ read the chronicle of Archbishop Maximian; there you will find many things about her⁴ and about many emperors and kings. Also this empress,⁵ after she was widowed by a certain Athaulf,⁶ was given in marriage by the emperor Honorius⁷ to his count Constantius, and the emperor named him as his successor.⁸ And Constantius ruled the nations for one year after the death of Honorius;⁹ snatched by sickness he

¹ Eius (Holder-Egger).

² Kal. (Holder-Egger).

³ For this meaning of *analogia*, see *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. NAUERTH, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996 (*Fontes Christiani*, 21), p. 213 n. 174.

⁴ Galla Placidia (388-450), the daughter of Theodosius I (380-395) and mother of Valentinian III (425-455). Cf. PLRE II, p. 888-889; S. I. OOST, *Galla Placidia Augusta: A Biographical Essay*, Chicago, 1968; H. SIVAN, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*, Oxford - New York, 2011; J. E. SALISBURY, *Rome's Christian Empress: Galla Placidia Rules at the Twilight of the Empire*, Baltimore, 2015.

⁵ Augusta may have the general meaning of empress, but Galla Placidia was proclaimed Augusta in 421: Olympiodorus fr. 34 Blockley and PLRE II, p. 889.

⁶ Galla Placidia was taken hostage in 410 and married Athaulph in 414. Cf. Olympiodorus, fr. 22 and 24 Blockley; Orosius, *Historiae* 7.40.2, 7.43.2.7; Prosper, *Chronicon* 1257, 1259; *Chronicon a. 452*, 77; Hydatius, *Chronicon* 57; Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 1193 (a. 416); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon a. 410*, 414.

⁷ Honorius, Augustus 393-423.

⁸ Constantius III (PLRE II, p. 321-325) was *comes et magister utriusque militiae* from 411 until 421. He married Galla Placidia on 1 January 417, to become Augustus in 421, the year of his death. Cf. Orosius, *Historiae* 7.43; Prosper, *Chronicon* 1259, 1276, 1276; *Chronicon a. 452*, 88; Hydatius, *Chronicon* 62, 75, 76; Procopius, *Bella* 3.3.4, with W. LÜTKENHAUS, *Constantius III: Studien zu seiner Tätigkeit und Stellung im Westreich 411-421*, Bonn, 1998; H. SIVAN, *Galla Placidia*, p. 9-36; J. E. SALISBURY, *Rome's Christian Empress*, p. 94-107.

⁹ Constantius III in fact died in 421, two years before Honorius.

lost his life, and he left a young son by Galla, whose name was Valentinian. When Valentinian was six years and four months old, he succeeded the divine Honorius, his paternal uncle, on the imperial throne.¹⁰ Lasting for thirty-one years on the throne,¹¹ he was killed at Rome in the place which is called At the Laurel.¹² Galla did not see the death of her son, since she had died previously at Rome on 27 November.¹³ After these things a star appeared in the sky, burning for thirty days,¹⁴ and Aquileia was captured and destroyed by the Huns.¹⁵ Ravenna burned on 15 March, and much wealth was consumed by the fire.¹⁶

¹⁰ Valentinian III was indeed born on 2 July 419 and became Augustus on 23 October 425: PLRE II, p. 1138-1139. Cf. M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367-455*, Oxford, 2013, p. 223-304.

¹¹ Strictly speaking one year too much (425-455), probably due to the fact that the year 424, when the usurper John ruled, was allocated to Valentinian III. Valentinian was made Caesar in that year (23 October).

¹² The death of Valentinian (16 March 455) is usually situated on the field of Mars: Priscus, *Historiae* fr. 30; Hydatius, *Chronicon* 162; Cassiodorus, *Chronica* a. 455; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* a. 455; Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicon* a. 455. An alternative is the forum (*Chronicon* a. 511, 623) or simply outside the city (Prosper, *Chronicon* 1375). Maximian's Ad Laurum is Ad Duas Lauros, an estate on the Via Labicana (*Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Romanae* 34.26). He shares this location with Prosper, *Chronicon Cont. Reichen.* 16 (a. 455) and *Chronicon Paschale* a. 455, which misunderstood its source and writes that Valentinian died μέσον δὲ τοῦ λαύρων. The estate was located to the southeast of Rome, exactly on the other side of the city from the Field of Mars, even if Prosper, *Chronicon Cont. Haun.* a. 455 tries to reconcile both versions by situating Ad Duas Lauros close to the field of Mars. We know that the body of Valentinian was dragged through the city: if one wishes to reconcile these versions, one could suggest that Valentinian was killed on field of Mars and dragged to Ad Duas Lauros, or vice versa.

¹³ Galla already died in 450. Cf. *Chronicon* a. 452, 136 (with the date); Prosper, *Chronicon Cont. Reich.* 16; Prosper, *Chronicon Cont. Ovet.* 10; Hydatius, *Chronicon* 148; *Chronicon* a. 511, 612; Procopius, *Bella* 3.4.15.

¹⁴ An appearance of the Comet of Haley in 451: *Fasti Vindobonenses Posteriori* a. 451: *stella apparuit ardens in caelo per dies xxx*; cf. *Chronicon* a. 452; Hydatius, *Chronicon* 151 (a. 452). Contrary to what it says, the text reverts back to events before the death of Valentinian.

¹⁵ Probably in 452: Prosper, *Chronicon* 1365 (a. 451): *Aquileia fracta est*; Prosper, *Chronicon Auct. Haun.* a. 452; Cassiodorus, *Chronica* 1255 (a. 452); *Chronicon* a. 511, 617; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon* a. 452; *Annals of Ravenna*, a. 452 (B. BISCHOFF and W. KOEHLER, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken ravennater Annalen", in *Medieval Studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. by W. KOEHLER, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 109): *...Aquileia fracta est...*; Jordanes, *Getica* 220; Procopius, *Bella* 3.4; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 2.7; Theophanes, *Chronicon* AM 5945. The destruction seems exaggerated: C. SOTINEL, *Identité civique et christianisme: Aquilée du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Rome, 2005, p. 241-244, wrongly saying that the event is not attested in the Gallic chronicles.

¹⁶ In 455: Prosper, *Chronicon Add. Haun.* a. 455: *Ravenna arsit*; Theophanes, *Chronicon* AM 5948.

Commentary

The delimitation of the fragment is problematic. The previous chapter in Agnellus deals with the building of the Santa Croce church by Galla Placidia. It seems to be based on local tradition and inscriptions, a pattern that recurs often in Agnellus.¹⁷ He then indicates to the reader that more can be found on Galla in Maximian's chronicle, after which the fragment, containing detailed information on Galla and Valentinian, follows. It clearly derives from a chronographic source or a source using such material.¹⁸ The rest of chapter 42 then returns to local tradition on Galla Placidia's burial and building activities and is therefore most likely elaborated by Agnellus himself on the basis of local tradition. This leaves the fragment as printed above. Holder-Egger attributes the second half of the fragment (*qui .xxx. et unum annis imperio durans...crematae sunt*) not to Maximian but to the hypothetical *Ravenna Annals*, that is, a chronographic source composed in Ravenna (see below). His supposition seems to be that the last part is more similar to chronographic entries than the section on Galla Placidia's marriage, but chronicles also discussed Galla Placidia (see the notes on that section). Moreover, we know from F2 that Maximian also recorded natural phenomena such as earthquakes, so the appearance of a star and the destruction of Ravenna and Aquileia may also derive from him. With due caution, then, the whole of F1 can be attributed to Maximian.

In contrast to F2, F1 is not a direct quotation, which renders it difficult to draw conclusions about the formal features of Maximian's chronicle. The fragment reads as a potted biography of Galla and Valentinian, but this may be the result of Agnellus' condensation. It would be mistaken to conclude from this fragment that Maximian composed according to a biographical model.

The fragment clearly relies on chronographic sources. For the last three events (the star and the destructions of Aquileia and Ravenna) we have exact verbal parallels in three different chronicles. If this proves the use of chronographic sources, it does not allow us to speculate about the precise identification of this source.¹⁹ As I shall set out in more detail below,

¹⁷ *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. NAUERTH, p. 48-58.

¹⁸ See the parallels listed in notes 12-16.

¹⁹ Besides the idea of the *Ravenna Annals*, discussed below, in *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravenensis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, Bologna, 1924, p. 127 n. 1, it is suggested that Agnellus shared a source with Theophanes and the Gallic chronicles. Again, there is not enough exact coincidence to identify a precise source. It is, for example, also interesting to note that in the Greek tradition only the *Chronicon Paschale* shares the location of Valentinian's death Ad Duas Lauros with Maximian and Prosper, *Chronicon Cont. Reichen.* 16 (a. 455) (see note 12 above).

the production of chronicles must be seen as by and large an activity of individuals who relied on earlier material and official announcements, rather than merely copying a single source.²⁰ A second type of source was a list of emperors, which may have been integrated into a chronicle. Maximian has a clear succession of emperors: Honorius, Constantius III and Valentinian. He erroneously attributes a year of independent rule to Constantius III after Honorius' death, whereas Constantius in fact died in 421, two years before Honorius, and he has a year too much for Valentinian III (31 instead of 30). This may have been caused by the fact that Maximian seems to ignore the usurper John, who ruled Rome between Honorius and Valentinian (423-425). Constantius and Valentinian were used to plug the gap. The fragment combines accuracy in dates with sloppiness in identifying the years: whereas Constantius' death is postponed until 424, that of Galla Placidia is suggested to have taken place in 454 instead of 450. This may have been the result of turning chronographic material into a narrative format: the entries would give precise dates, e.g. for the death of Galla Placidia, but the years would be marked by the succession of consuls. These disappeared when Maximian or Agnellus turned the material into a narrative sequence.

F2: Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 78 (Vita Maximiani): *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. Deliyannis, p. 246-247, l. 237-263 (cf. *Agnelli qui et Andreas*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, p. 330 l. 27-331 l. 10; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. Testi Rasponi, p. 200 l. 163-202 l. 179); tr. Deliyannis, *Agnellus*, p. 192-193 adapted²¹ (cf. *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. Nauerth, p. 323-325).

Nauigauerat iam hic beatissimus antea partibus orientalis, sicut ipse in suis uoluminibus loquitur dicens:

In Alexandria uero nulla extrinsecus mali causa, sed quod genus hominum ferox seditiosum semper inquietum est, ciuile inter se motum est bellum; non uirtutis merito, neque ob defensionem, sed ob necem atque interitum ciuium, commoti uniuersi praefectum suum intra ecclesiam occiderunt, quod iam antea aliquanti similiter episcopum suum accusantes haereticum interfecerant. Quo comperto, imperator in iram uersus, funditus ciuitatem iussit euertere. Denique misso alio praefecto nomine Laudicio, intra ipsam

²⁰ S. MUHLBERGER, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds, 1981, p. 37-38; R. W. BURGESS and M. KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD. Vol. I: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 181.

²¹ The translation of Deliyannis for this passage is problematic and I present a reworked version of her rendering.

ciuitatem .xl. uiros per singulas regiones in ligno suspendit. Sed tunc elaborauit Dioscorus, eiusdem urbis episcopus, et manifeste posuit animam suam pro ouibus suis; electi que ex heremo monachi apud imperatorem properant atque pro excessu ciuium ueniam exorant. Tunc imperator cessit sacerdotibus et deinceps cauere a talibus mandauit. Huic episcopo apud Alexandriam Timotheus successit, quem ego nauigans orientem in sua ciuitate bene administrantem uidi. Sed ante pauca Nazarba ciuitas Ciliciae terraemotu facto concidit, in qua perisse ferunt amplius .xxx. milia hominum. Haec pontificis uerba sunt. Post beatum Ieronimum et Orosium uel alios historiographos iste in chronicis laborauit, et ipsos secutus per diuersos libros nobiliorum principum, non solum [impiorum]²² imperatorum, sed et regum et praefectorum, suam propriam chronicam exarauit.

Now this most blessed man had previously sailed in eastern parts, as he says in his volumes, saying:

But in Alexandria there is no external cause of evil, but because that race of men is fierce, seditious and restless,²³ civil war arose among them; aroused, not for the sake of virtue, nor for defense, but for the sake of slaughter and the killing of citizens, the whole population killed their prefect inside the church, because previously some others had likewise killed their bishop, accusing him of heresy. When this was discovered, the emperor, moved to anger, ordered the city to be completely destroyed. Thereupon, another prefect by the name of Laudicius was sent, and he crucified forty men within the walls of the city, divided over all its districts. But then Dioscorus, the bishop of the city, labored hard, and openly offered his own life for his sheep; and selected monks hastened from the wilderness to the emperor and pleaded forgiveness for the excess of the citizens. Then the emperor gave in to the priests and ordered them to beware of such things in the future. This bishop in Alexandria was succeeded by Timothy, whom I saw administering well in his city on my naval

²² Considered to be an error born from a dittography of *imperatorum*: *Agnelli qui et Andreas liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, Hannover, 1878 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX 1), p. 331; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravenensis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 202 n. 2; *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. NAUERTH, p. 324.

²³ Alexandria was famous for its popular riots since the Hellenistic period: Polybius, *Historiae* 25.30; Seneca, *Ad Helviam* 19.6; Philo, *In Flaccum* 41; Cassius Dio, 50.24.7; *Expositio totius mundi* 37.174; Ammianus Marcellinus 22.11.4; Historia Augusta, *Vita Saturnini* 8, *Vita Aemiliani* 22.1-4; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.3.3; Euagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.8; Palladius, *Dialogus* 12.19.6. Cf. C. HAAS, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*, Baltimore, 1997. One might also take *genus hominum* as meaning mankind in general, but this would blunt the contrast the text suggests between the absence of a cause of unrest in Alexandria and the inflammable nature of the people there.

trip in the East. But shortly before²⁴ there was an earthquake, and the city of Nazarba²⁵ in Cilicia was destroyed. They say that more than thirty thousand men perished there.

These are the words of the bishop. After blessed Jerome and Orosius and other historians he worked on chronicles, and following them, he wrote his own chronicle about most noble leaders, not only emperors, but also kings and prefects,²⁶ in several books.

Commentary

The fragment²⁷ deals with two events: first, the Alexandrian riots of 516 that resulted in the murder of the prefect Theodosius,²⁸ and, second and much more briefly, the earthquake of Anazarbus in 521.²⁹

Two versions of the riot exist. John Malalas depicts the murder as the consequence of a food riot, caused by the shortage of bread and oil.³⁰ Another strand, ultimately deriving from the early sixth-century chaldean historian Theodorus Lector,³¹ emphasises the religious nature of the riot. According to Theophanes, relying on Theodore Lector and not Malalas (whom he also knew),³² Dioscorus had been ordained as bishop of Alexandria at the behest of the civil authorities at the death of John

²⁴ *Ante pauca*, a rare expression, could be translated as “shortly before” (cf. *Liber pontificalis*: Teilbd. 1, ed. by C. NAUERTH, p. 325; Augustine, *opus imperfectum* 1.69) and would then refer to the time of writing. It could also mean “before long”, “soon” (D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Agnellus: The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, Washington, DC, 2004 (Medieval Texts in Translation), p. 193) and would then indicate the time span between the riot of 516 and the earthquake of 521. The former meaning seems more likely, as the latter is usually rendered by *post pauca*.

²⁵ That is, Anazarbus.

²⁶ Cf. F1 where emperors and kings are defined as subject. Agnellus may have added prefects here because prefects play a role in this fragment.

²⁷ That this is a fragment of the chronicle is disputed by *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae raven-natis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 201 n. 7, suggesting that *volumina* is not the same as *chronica*. But Agnellus refers to the writing of chronicles as the end of the fragment.

²⁸ On this event, see *Agnelli qui et Andreas*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, p. 330; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae raven-natis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 200-201.

²⁹ John Malalas, *Chronicon* 17.15; Euagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.8; Theophanes, *Chronicon* AM 6017. Cf. *Agnelli qui et Andreas*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, p. 331 n. 3; C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, AND G. GREATREX, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*, Oxford - New York, 1997, p. 262.

³⁰ John Malalas, *Chronicon* 16.15.

³¹ Theod. Lector, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, epitome 522. Cf. Liberatus, *Breviarium* 18; Severus of Antioch, *Select Letters* 4.3.

³² Theophanes, *Chronicon* AM 6009. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, AND G. GREATREX, *Theophanes Confessor*, p. 248 state the source for the second half of Theophanes' account is unknown, but as it gives an ecclesiastical explanation for the murder, it is likely that it is Theodore Lector, the source of the first half of the account.

Nikaiotes (22 May 516). The clergy refused to accept his ordination as the proper canonical procedure had not been followed. A second ordination according to the rules took place, but was interrupted by the people. In the mêlée, the prefect was killed. Dioscorus then travelled to Constantinople to placate the emperor.

Maximian's version, unnoticed in most scholarship, offers a unique story. Leaving out an account of the origins of the riot, he squarely blames the murder on the people's riotous nature and recalls how the Alexandrians had killed an earlier bishop. Maximian alludes to the death of the chalcedonian Proterius (457) at the hands of the miaphysite followers of Timothy Aelurus.³³ This allusion is not without relevance, as the new bishop Dioscorus was a nephew of Timothy Aelurus.³⁴ Maximian may, then, subtly be identifying miaphysitism and violence.³⁵ The suppression of any precise cause for the riot may have the same polemical intent. In contrast with Theophanes, who depicts a military commander, Acacius,³⁶ present at the occasion and has him suppress the revolt immediately, Maximianus knows of a new prefect, Laudicius, who was sent by the emperor to punish the city. PLRE II has no prefect between Theodosius (516) and Fl. Strategius (518/523)³⁷ and Laudicius probably has to be inserted in between them.³⁸ Maximian is also more specific about the delegation that went to Constantinople: contrary to Theophanes, he explicitly mentions monks and priests alongside the bishop himself, unless one takes *sacerdotes* to mean the bishop and the monks. Maximian probably heard this version when in Alexandria.

³³ P. BLAUDEAU, *Alexandrie et Constantinople, 451-491: De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie*, Rome, 2006, p. 145-153.

³⁴ Theophanes, *Chronicon* AM 6009. On the succession, see also Liberatus, *Breviarium* 18; Victor of Tunnuna, *Chronicon* a. 517 and 521 with E. W. BROOKS, "The Dates of the Alexandrine Patriarchs Dioskoros II, Timothy IV and Theodosius", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1903), p. 494-497; J. MASPERO, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie: Depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites (518-616)*, Paris, 1923; A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First: An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 284; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. Vol. 2: De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, Paris, 1959, 164.

³⁵ The episode is, significantly, not recorded in miaphysite sources, such as Pseudo-Zachariah.

³⁶ PLRE II, p. 5 (5).

³⁷ PLRE II, p. 1102 (18) and PLRE II, p. 1034-1036 (9).

³⁸ In *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 201 n. 1, the suggestion is made to emend Laudicius into Acacius, mentioned by Theophanes. But Acacius was a military commander and was present at the lynching and not sent by the court. Moreover, there is no a priori reason why Theophanes, who is alone to report the name of Acacius, should be more reliable than Maximian. The name Laudicius is attested in PLRE I, p. 495.

As he notes, he was in Alexandria under Timothy IV (517-535).³⁹ Significantly, Maximian adds that he runs his bishopric well, although, again, Timothy was a miaphysite.

The reference of Maximian to his presence in Alexandria confirms what is already clear from the fact that both episodes are only reported in Eastern sources: Maximian was relying on material gathered during one of his sojourns in the East. The level of detail precludes that Maximian wrote up his chronicle on the basis of his memory. This leaves us with two possibilities. Either Maximian took notes during his travels, or he gathered Greek chronicles which then were the basis for his own chronicle – or it may have been a combination of both. At any rate, it is clear that Maximian was already contemplating the writing of a history during his travels.

3. The *Chronica* of Maximian

Maximian (498/499-22 February 556/557) was a deacon from Pula, who was ordained, in Patras, by Vigilius of Rome as bishop of Ravenna on 14 October 546,⁴⁰ when Vigilius was on his way to Constantinople to discuss Justinian's recent condemnation of the Three Chapters, which had started with his decree of 544/5.⁴¹ Maximian himself had travelled to the East before (cf. F2) and would do so again afterwards.⁴² He was a staunch defender of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, one of the few in

³⁹ R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale di Ravenna: Studio critico*, Faenza, 1994, p. 181 dates the voyage to 530 for unknown reasons.

⁴⁰ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 70: cf. E. STEIN, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna in spätromischer und byzantinischer Zeit", *Klio*, 16 (1920), p. 53; C. SOTINEL, "Autorité pontificale et pouvoir impérial sous le règne de Justinien: Le pape Vigile", *MEFRA*, 104 (1992), p. 18. On Maximian, see *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, Italie* 2, 1446; E. STEIN, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna", p. 40-71; A. TESTI RASPONI, "Annotazioni sulla storia della chiesa di Ravenna dalle origini alla morte di San Gregorio Magno", *Felix Ravenna*, 33 (1929), p. 29-49; G. BOVINI, "Massimiano di Pola, arcivescovo di Ravenna", *Felix Ravenna*, 74 (1957), p. 5-27; R. MARKUS, "Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna: An Aspect of Justinian's Kirchenpolitik", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), p. 298.

⁴¹ For the Three Chapters, see E. SCHWARTZ, *Vigiliusbrief: Zur Kirchenpolitik Iustiniens*. Vol. 2, München, 1940; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. Tome II: De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, Paris, 1949, p. 632-669; C. SOTINEL, "Autorité pontificale"; R. PRICE, *The Acts of the Council of Constantinople of 553: With Related Texts on the Three Chapters Controversy*, Liverpool, 2009, p. 8-58; H. LEPPIN, *Justinian: Das Christliche Experiment*, Stuttgart, 2011, p. 293-308.

⁴² Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 70 could be taken to suggest that Maximian spent most of the years until his ordination in the East, but that seems unlikely. Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 74 refers to another voyage, maybe in 548-549: see R. MARKUS, "Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna", p. 297; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 192 n. 17; C. SOTINEL, "The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy", in *The Crisis*

Northern Italy. This would lead to a rapid increase in prestige for his see,⁴³ marked by the acquisition of the title *archiepiscopus*⁴⁴ and, maybe, the first use of the pallium.⁴⁵ In Ravenna, he successfully countered the suspicion that came with being an imperial appointee and engaged in an extensive building programme, of which the S. Vitale (in which he has himself depicted in the famous mosaics) is probably best known.

Life and work of Maximian are mainly known through the *liber pontificalis* of Agnellus (writing in the 830s and 840s), a monk and high-ranking presbyter of the Church of Ravenna.⁴⁶ This history of the Church of Ravenna consists of biographies of all bishops since the foundation of the bishopric. Composed in various stages, the first part of the book (at least chapters 1-113, the section with which we are concerned) were composed c. 831-841.⁴⁷ Agnellus relied on the sources he could find, which often, and especially for the earlier lives, was not very much.

Agnellus informs us about the literary activity of Maximian, who left a fully corrected Bible, liturgical books for the entire year, and a smaller book with sayings.⁴⁸ From the reference to an altar cloth with depictions of all his predecessors on the see of Ravenna, it has been concluded that he was responsible for drawing up the first list of bishops of Ravenna.⁴⁹

of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean, ed. by C. CHAZELLE and C. CUBITT, Turnhout, 2007, p. 90.

⁴³ C. SOTINEL, "The Three Chapters", p. 87-88; D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 212-213.

⁴⁴ Probably between May 548-May 549: R. MARKUS, "Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna", p. 294; cf. TESTI RASPONI, "Annotazioni sulla storia", 43; F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des späantiken abendlandes. Bd. 1: Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 11-19.

⁴⁵ Possibly in 546: R. MARKUS, "Carthage – Prima Justiniana – Ravenna", p. 297; C. SOTINEL, "The Three Chapters", p. 110, but see D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna*, p. 210.

⁴⁶ On his life and work, see A. TESTI RASPONI, "Un' antica chronaca episcopale ravennate", *Felix Ravenna*, 3 (1911), p. 123-129 and *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI; F. LANZONI, "Il 'liber pontificalis' ravennate", *Rivista di scienze storiche*, 6 (1909), p. 345-370, 425-464, 571-592; G. FASOLI, "Rileggendo il 'liber pontificalis' di agnello Ravennate", in *La storiografia altomedievale. 10-16 aprile 1969*. Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17. Spoleto, 1970, p. 457-495; R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale*; J. MARTÍNEZ PIZARRO, *Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus*, Ann Arbor, 1995; *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. NAUERTH, p. 11-19; *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 8-15; D. M. DELIYANNIS, "The Liber Pontificalis of the Church of Ravenna: its Relation with its Roman Model", in *Liber, gesta, histoire: écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXI^e siècle*, ed. F. BOUGARD et M. SOT, Turnhout, 2009, p. 283-297.

⁴⁷ *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 81.

⁴⁹ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 80. Cf. J.-Ch. PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au X^e siècle*, Rome, 1988,

Finally, Agnellus also refers twice to a history, which he calls *chronica*, composed by Maximian.

a. Nature of the *Chronica*

The work of Maximian is usually labelled a “chronicle” by scholars. The label itself is unclear,⁵⁰ and it is even uncertain if it fits. Agnellus indeed calls the work *chronica* (F1 and F2), but this may just be a generic designation for a history. In F2 Agnellus calls Jerome and Orosius historians (*historiographi*) who wrote *chronica*. If Jerome wrote indeed what we call a chronicle, Orosius composed a narrative history, entitled *Historiae*. In the *Liber pontificalis*, Agnellus uses *chronica* only in the two fragments of Maximian, whereas *historia* repeatedly designates not a work but its contents (events of the past).⁵¹ Indeed, in later Latin, the title *chronica* could designate any work of history.⁵² For the sake of convenience, I continue to call the work *chronica*, but it is far from certain that this is, in fact, the exact title.

Jerome and Orosius offer two rather different models. Let us see if the features shown up in the fragments help us to decide where to situate Maximian. First, Agnellus explicitly indicates that the work counted various books (F2: *in suis voluminibus; per diuersos libros nobiliorum principum, non solum imperatorum, sed et regum et praefectorum*). Extant Latin chronicles of Late Antiquity tend to be modeled on Jerome and are basically a single list of dated entries in chronological order, with no book divisions.⁵³

p. 489-490, 560-569; D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna*, p. 212.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of various forms of chronicles, see BURGESS and KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time*, p. 1-62 (they do not mention Maximian). In what follows, I adopt the following definitions, inspired by Burgess and Kulikowski. Chronicles recount events year-by-year in a brief, paratactic way, within a strict chronological framework such as Olympiads and regnal years (e.g. Jerome); consularia are annotated consular lists (e.g. the consularia constantinopolitana); chronographies are works that combine various chronographic lists (lists of kings and bishops) and other material, such as pascal cycles (e.g. Julius Africanus or Hippolytus); narrative history is, in contrast with chronicles, not broken up by year-by-year or other fixed chronological markers, and narrative, not paratactic, in nature (e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus, Eutropius); narrative chronicles are works that are narrative in nature, but align themselves with the chronicles by calling themselves as such and covering events from Creation (e.g. John Malalas and John of Antioch; this is what Burgess and Kulikowski call *breviaria*, but the label is not very felicitous). For further discussion of these labels, see the introduction to L. VAN HOOFF and P. VAN NUFFELEN, ed., *Clavis Historicorum Tardae Antiquitatis*, to appear in 2018.

⁵¹ Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 15, 29, 31-32, 54, 80, 95, 114, 119.

⁵² Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 1.Pr.

⁵³ R. W. BURGESS and M. KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time*, p. 59. Cf. *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravenensis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 201 n. 7

If this excludes that Maximian composed a chronicle, it also excludes the possibility that he wrote *consularia*, as has often been assumed in older scholarship given the links with the material that used to be attributed to the “*Ravenna Annals*” (see below):⁵⁴ no extant *consularia* have book divisions.

Second, if the fragments clearly rely on chronicle sources, they also stand out by the absence of precise indications of the year, be it through consular dating or dating by regnal years. Maximian seems to have welded the material drawn from *consularia* and chronicles into a single narrative, often preserving exact dates within a year but not preserving the exact years in which the event took place. Moreover, the narrative on Alexandria in F2 is longer than most entries in chronicles and certainly than in *consularia*.⁵⁵ The same fragment also includes a reference to the eye witness account of the author, which is a common element in classical historiography.

Third, Agnellus defines the content of the work as dealing with emperors, kings, and prefects (F1 and F2). One may presume that the former are the Roman emperors and the kings are the Germanic rulers in the West. A story about a prefect in Alexandria is attested in F2. Agnellus repeats this assessment twice, suggesting that he had a firm idea of the content. Maximian’s focus, then, was mainly political. This fact is indeed borne out by the fragments, even if they do record natural phenomena such as earthquakes. From F2 we know that Maximian also touched upon ecclesiastical events, but one should note that the story is firmly focused on the popular riot and the intervention of the authorities, rather than on the ecclesiastical background to it. This renders it plausible that ecclesiastical affairs were not Maximian’s main interest.⁵⁶ As we know that Maximian had an interest in his predecessors on the see of Ravenna and may have ordered a list of them to be compiled, this focus of the *chronica* on secular affairs is significant. On the basis of this focus and of Agnellus’ repeated references to

⁵⁴ *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 30. R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale*, p. 184 suggests the presence of *consularia* in Maximian.

⁵⁵ Already noticed by J. WAITZ, “Die Ravennatischen Annalen als Hauptquelle für die Geschichte des Odovaker”, *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, 4 (1865), p. 110. D. M. DELIYANNIS, “Year-Dates in the Early Middle Ages”, in *Time in the Medieval World*, ed. C. HUMPHREY and W. M. ORMROD, York, 2001, p. 3-22, 17 cautiously suggests Maximian used annus mundi dating.

⁵⁶ This rules out the suggestion made in *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 202-206 n. 3 that Maximian composed a chronography, that is a collection of various chronographic materials, such as consularia, a description of Ravenna, a list of bishops, etc., as none of these elements is attested in the extant fragments. For criticism, see R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale* p. 184. D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna*, p. 212 seems to identify the chronicle with the first history of the see of Ravenna, but then characterises it as a “typical secular world chronicle”.

emperors and kings, it may even be argued that the reigns of emperors and kings provided the main chronological markers of the work, which would anyway be a plausible way of proceeding in late antique historiography.

Maximian's work was, then, clearly different from most chronographic works circulating in the West at this time, for these are either continuations of Jerome or *consularia*. We are, then, left with two options: either the work was a narrative history or it was a narrative chronicle.⁵⁷ For the latter, we can think of two models. In the early fifth century, Sulpicius Severus wrote a work titled *chronica*, which is a narrative work in two books. Alternatively, the *chronica* of Maximian may have resembled the Greek, narrative chronicles that developed in the East from the early sixth century onwards, exemplified in the works of Eustathius of Epiphania, Hesychius of Miletus, John Malalas, and John of Antioch.⁵⁸ They tend indeed to be in several books, organised around reigns of emperors, relying on earlier chronicles and narrative sources and, when touching on more recent history, by and large political in content. Maximian may have encountered some of these works during his travels in the East and have drawn inspiration from them.

One feature of these Greek works is that they tend to start from Creation. This is often assumed for Maximian,⁵⁹ but is again not certain. Agnellus notes that Maximian composed his *chronica post beatum Ieronimum et Orosium uel alios historiographos* (F2) and that he followed them (*ipsos secutus*). This need not be more than a temporal indication of Maximian's date of writing and his taking Jerome and Orosius as a source of inspiration, but it can also mean that he wrote in succession of them. F1 may confirm this: it deals with Galla Placidia (388/392-450) and Valentinian III (d. 455), that is, indeed roughly starting where Orosius left off, with a slight overlap for the marriage of Galla Placidia and Athaulph. One may speculate that if Maximian had offered information on earlier periods, Agnellus would have used it, given his general dearth of sources for the earlier period.⁶⁰ If, then, Maximian's *chronica* was a narrative chronicle, it is safe to assume that it

⁵⁷ These are the works that R. W. BURGESS and M. KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time* call *breuiaria*, precisely to distinguish them from *consularia* and chronicles that have a clear year-by-year structure.

⁵⁸ For discussion of these works, see the forthcoming *Clavis Historicorum Tardae Antiquitatis*.

⁵⁹ *Agnelli qui et Andreas*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, p. 273; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravenensis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 202-206 n. 3; *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 30 and D. M. DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna*, p. 212.

⁶⁰ See R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale*, p. 161-184; *Liber pontificalis: Teilbd. 1*, ed. by C. NAUERTH, p. 42-64 on the sources. On contacts between East and West and the impact on historiography (in this case the Roman *Liber pontificalis*), see D. M. DELIYANNIS, "The Roman Liber Pontificalis, Papal Primacy, and the Acacian Schism", *Viator*, 45.2 (2014), p. 1-16.

would have started with Creation as the extant other examples of that format do (in Greek and in Latin).

The other option is that he composed a narrative history, which, in that case, may have started in the early fifth century. That would fit with the extant fragments and with the description Agnellus offers of the contents, that is, about emperors and kings: from a Western perspective, it is at the beginning of the fifth century that besides Roman emperors, Germanic kings start to play a role.

Whatever the precise nature and starting point of his work, Maximian used a variety of sources. F1 betrays the use of a list of emperors, besides *consularia* and/or chronicles. F2 shows up contacts with the Greek chronicle tradition, but also refers to his own experience and may have been based on notes collected during his travels. The reference to his status as an eye witness again puts Maximian in the tradition of narrative history.

b. Time and Place of Writing

There is one final issue to clarify, the date of the work. A secure *terminus post quem* is 521, the year of the earthquake mentioned in F2; the *terminus ante quem* is Maximian's death in February 557 at the latest. Within these termini, both an early and a late date are possible. An early date could be advocated by F2, where the earthquake in Anazarbus is said to have happened *ante pauca*. This could refer to the time between the ordination of Timothy as bishop of Alexandria (517) and the earthquake (521) ("shortly afterwards") or to the time between the earthquake and the time of writing ("shortly before"). In the latter case, the work was produced shortly after 521. Linguistically, this last option is more likely (see above on F2) and hence an early date is to be preferred. Such an early date, before the ordination as bishop of Ravenna, would imply that the *chronica* was not particularly focused on Ravenna. This runs counter to the general assumption that the work was centred on that city, but the extant fragments do not support such a focus. F1 discusses Galla Placidia alongside the sack of Aquileia as well as the fire in Ravenna, yet all these events are also amply recorded in Western and Eastern sources, and should not imply a particular Ravennate focus.⁶¹ F2 has no focus on Ravenna, but speaks of the times when Maximian was in the East. Such a statement can be taken to imply that the geographical stand point at the time of writing is the West⁶² or that Maximian at least addresses a Western audience. The absence of a

⁶¹ See above ad F1.

⁶² In this respect, Maximian would differ from Victor of Tunnuna, who, as an African, wrote a Latin chronicle in Constantinople in the second half of the sixth century.

focus on Ravenna might, incidentally, help to explain the limited use of the *chronica* by Agnellus, who is mainly interested in events related to this city.

In favour of a later date, one can point to the fact that Agnellus refers to the work as composed by the *archbishop* Maximian and that it is only cited by Agnellus, who worked in Ravenna. This need not signify more than that Maximian brought the work to Ravenna when he was ordained as its bishop in 546, but it could also be taken to imply that he wrote it there after 546.

The date and place of composition must therefore remain uncertain. It is, at least, certain that the *chronica* was composed in the West and brought by Maximian to Ravenna. An early date of composition, in the 520s, is, in the current state of the evidence, more plausible and may explain the features of the extant fragments better. Nevertheless, a late date of composition cannot be excluded, even if that would not warrant to think that the *chronica* served to enhance the prestige of Ravenna or to defend Justinian's policy.⁶³

c. Maximian and the "Ravenna Annals"

Maximian has usually been discussed within the context of the sources of Agnellus and that of the hypothetical "*Ravenna Annals*". Throughout the *liber pontificalis*, until the year 573, one finds notices, often in groups, that betray an origin in chronicles.⁶⁴ The entries in Agnellus are sometimes close to those found in other Latin chronicles, and this has led to the hypothesis that the various extant texts as well as the source of Agnellus relied on a single text, the so-called "*Ravenna Annals*".⁶⁵ These would have been *consularia*, and Mommsen printed passages from Agnellus alongside other texts in his edition of the so-called *consularia italica*.⁶⁶ The hypothesis of a single set of *Ravenna Annals* has now been abandoned: it relied on

⁶³ But note the fact that in F2 Maximian is fairly positive about the miaphysite bishop of Alexandria, Timothy IV, which could be seen as reflecting Justinian's push for a reconciliation of both groups through the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Yet in the same fragment, Maximian also hints at the link between miaphysitism and violence.

⁶⁴ O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts. III: Die Ravennater Annalen", *Neues Archiv*, 1 (1876), p. 311.

⁶⁵ See the debate reviewed by S. MUHLBERGER, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, p. 30-37 and *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 140-147. Discussion of the hypothesis can be found in J. WAITZ, "Die Ravennatischen Annalen", p. 81-114; O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Untersuchungen", p. 215-347 and "Agnelli qui et Andreas", p. 272-273; G. KAUFMANN, "Die Fasten von Constantinopel und die Fasten von Ravenna", *Philologus*, 42 (1883), p. 474-510; F. LANZONI, "Il 'liber pontificalis' ravennate", p. 433-438.

⁶⁶ Mommsen's presentation suffices in fact to show up the low level of contact between Agnellus and the *consularia italica* (his name for the *Ravenna Annals*); *Chronica minora saec.*

the idea that it was a text compiled by the authorities (imperial or civic) which would then be copied. There is no evidence for such official *consularia*. Instead, consularia seem to have rather been produced by individuals copying other *consularia* as well as relying on official announcements of the government.⁶⁷

As long as the hypothesis of the "*Ravenna Annals*" held sway, scholars struggled to fit the *chronica* of Maximian into the model. As the extant fragments show up clear points of connection with other chronicles and *consularia*, Maximian could be seen as one user of the *Ravenna Annals*. At the same time, Agnellus used his chronicle source up until the second half of the sixth century, that is, until after Maximian's death.⁶⁸ Holder-Egger suggested that Maximian used the *Ravenna Annals* and that Agnellus had access to a later copy of those *Annals*.⁶⁹ For Testi Rasponi, Maximian was the author of the *Ravenna Annals*⁷⁰ and Agnellus used an updated version of Maximian's text. In other words, the *Ravenna Annals* went under the name of Maximian. Such a hypothesis is rather unlikely, even if one accepts the existence of the *Ravenna Annals*.⁷¹ Waitz even suggested that the excerpts on Theodoric the Great known as Anonymus Valesianus II were derived from Maximian. This relied on the fact that there are some parallels between the *Ravenna Annals* and the Anonymus Valesianus.⁷²

Once the hypothesis of the *Ravenna Annals* has been abandoned, we can see that there is, first, no reason to think that Maximian could not have used a variety of chronicles as source. This is likely in the light of the fact that F1 shows up clear links not only with Western chronicles, but also, albeit to a lesser degree, with Greek chronicles, and that F2 is clearly linked to the Greek chronographic tradition, as I have shown. Second, one could entertain the possibility that Agnellus, too, relied on multiple chronicles, of which Maximian was one. This may be an alternative explanation for the fact that Agnellus does not seem to possess precise chronographic data

iv.v.vi.vii. Vol. I. Vol. 1. Ed. by T. MOMMSEN, Berlin, 1892 (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctores Antiquissimi, 9), p. 249-339.

⁶⁷ S. MUHLBERGER, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers*, p. 36-37; R. W. BURGESS and M. KULIKOWSKI, *Mosaics of Time*, p. 181.

⁶⁸ J. WAITZ, "Die Ravennatischen Annalen", p. 108-112.

⁶⁹ O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Untersuchungen", p. 312.

⁷⁰ *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 201 n 7 and p. 202 n. 3. Cf. R. PALLMANN, *Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderung von der Gothenbekehrung bis zum Tode Alarichs*, Gotha, 1863, vol. II, p. 204-210.

⁷¹ Cf. R. BENERICETTI, *Il pontificale*, p. 184.

⁷² J. WAITZ, "Die Ravennatischen Annalen", p. 108. O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Untersuchungen", p. 324 suggests that the Anonymus used Maximian. This relies, in fact, on attributing chronographic passages in Agnellus (esp. 39) to Maximian, for which there is no evidence: see the last paragraph below.

for the third quarter of the fifth century, which causes serious distortions in his *Life of John*. Deliyannis has suggested that part of the chronicle he was using had dropped out,⁷³ but one could also propose that Agnellus used various texts with differing coverage.

The gap in Agnellus' chronographic knowledge also has a bearing on Maximian. F1 relates to the second quarter of the fifth century and F2 to the early sixth. If one sees Maximian as a, or even the major, source for Agnellus, then we must accept that Maximian either did not cover the third quarter of the fifth century or that part of his chronicle had dropped out when Agnellus was using it. If one rather thinks of Agnellus as using different sources, it may be that he did not bother to plug the gap in his other sources with information from Maximian.

In section 2, I have limited myself to the fragments that are explicitly ascribed to Maximian, as this is the only secure basis for discussion of the work. Yet it has been suggested that other passages from Agnellus should be attributed to Maximian, usually relying on some version of the *Ravenna Annals*-hypothesis. Testi Rasponi suggests chapters 31, 39, 90, and 94.⁷⁴ The last two chapters record material that postdates Maximian's death, but Testi Rasponi argues that the "*Ravenna Annals*" were identical to the chronicle of Maximian and that Agnellus used an updated version of the latter. Waitz suggests chapters 39, 62, and 79.⁷⁵ Chapter 79 records events from 554 until 560, whereas Maximian died in 557 at the latest. This would force us to allocate part of chapter 79 to Maximian and another part to another source. Yet there is no clear break in the chapter. Moreover, chapter 79 immediately follows F2, which concludes with a clear statement that the quotation from Maximian has ended, and it seems unlikely that Agnellus, after such a statement, would simply continue to use Maximian. Deliyannis entertains the possibility that biographical sketches in earlier lives could derive from Maximian (including, again, 39), noting the biographical nature of F1.⁷⁶ Yet we cannot be certain that the biographical character of F1 is not due to Agnellus himself: at least in F2 we do not notice biographical features. Given that Maximian and Agnellus relied on chronicle sources, it is impossible to disentangle what belongs to whom, and any argument can only claim some probability. One can note, however, that chapters 39 and 90 record events with regnal years (of Theodoric, Justinian and Justin II). In the extant fragments, Maximian notes the length of reigns, but does not date events to specific years and certainly does not

⁷³ *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 103-105.

⁷⁴ *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, ed. by A. TESTI RASPONI, p. 202 n. 3.

⁷⁵ J. WAITZ, "Die Ravennatischen Annalen", p. 112.

⁷⁶ *Agnellus Ravennatis*, ed. by D. M. DELIYANNIS, p. 31.

use regnal years as a tool for dating. This renders it even more unlikely that chapters 39 and 90 derive from Maximian.⁷⁷ I therefore suggest caution and would counsel not to use other passages to reconstruct Maximian's work.⁷⁸

Summary

This article studies the two extant fragments of the *chronica* of Maximian of Ravenna (c. 498-557). Only attested in the *liber pontificalis* of Agnellus of Ravenna (first half of the ninth century), it was either a narrative history or a narrative chronicle. If it was the former, it may have covered the fifth and early sixth century; if the latter, it is likely that it started with Creation. In either case, it represents a rare type of historiography in the late antique Latin West: narrative histories have not survived in the West between Orosius and Gregory of Tours, whilst the narrative chronicle is attested in Latin only in the *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus, but was becoming very popular in the Greek East in the sixth century. The work also stands out by its focus on secular events and the fact that it relied on information gathered by Maximian during his travels in the East. There is no evidence to substantiate the idea that Maximian composed the chronicle to support the rise of Ravenna to a supermetropolitan status: in fact, it seems likely that it was composed in the 520s, long before Maximian became bishop of Ravenna in 546.

Lieve VAN HOOFF
Ghent University
<Lieve.VanHoof@UGent.be>

⁷⁷ O. HOLDER-EGGER, "Untersuchungen", p. 309-310 argues that annalistic material not derived from Maximian is referred to by Agnellus as coming from "old people". But in the cases he cites, the reference is to the life of bishops and not to chronographic information (31, 70).

⁷⁸ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013) / ERC Grant Agreement n. 313153.

Re-anchoring Rome's Protection in Constantinople: The *pignora imperii* in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*

Raf PRAET

(Groningen / Ghent)

1. Introduction

The *pignora imperii* were a group of talismans or tokens that functioned as guarantors of the survival of the community that hosted them – that is, the city of Rome and the Roman Empire. Several *pignora* appear prominently from the earliest instances of Roman history and literature onward. At the beginning of the fifth century AD, the grammarian Servius compiled a canonical list of seven *pignora*. However, shortly after the fifth century, the *pignora imperii* seem to vanish into the mists of history.

This paper will start by defining the otherwise vague and unexplored notion of *pignus imperii* on the basis of the list provided by Servius. We shall see that Servius imposed numerical coherence onto a concept with which many objects were linked in Antiquity. In the second section I argue that Servius imposed this coherence in a cultural context when the primacy of Rome was threatened by the rise of Constantinople. If Servius offers us a too rigid canon, the original flexibility of the concept allowed it to thrive in a new context, namely sixth-century Constantinople. In the third section, I explore how sixth-century authors used some of the earlier *pignora* and invented new ones suited for the new cultural and religious circumstances.

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This article will close with a short sketch of the development of the *pignora imperii* in the middle and late Byzantine period – a field that merits further research. This paper is a case-study on how an impression of cultural stability was created in times of profound change by linking new developments back to a distant, shared heritage – that is, by anchoring innovation in the past.¹ This paper intends to shed light on the concept of the *pignora imperii* that has, until now, been treated only cursorily. The case of the *pignora* will furthermore elucidate some of the mechanisms behind successful and failed anchoring over a longer period of time.

2. The *pignora imperii*: Restricted Canon or Loose Concept?

So far, scholarship has not subjected the concept of *pignora imperii* to a formal theorizing and definition.² Therefore, any analysis of the *pignora* as a group or concept should inevitably start with a definition of what was considered to be a *pignus imperii* in antiquity. For this we turn to the canonical list of seven *pignora* that was compiled by the late antique grammarian Maurus Servius Honoratus (early fourth – beginning of the fifth centuries) (*Commentary on the Aeneid*. VII.188). After a historical overview of the traditions on these seven *pignora*, we will provide in this section a definition of the concept of *pignus imperii* on the basis of the characteristics of these seven *pignora*.

There were seven *pignora* that maintained the Roman empire: the stone of the Mother of the Gods, the terracotta chariot of the Veientes, the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, the veil of Iliona, the *palladium*, and the *ancilia*.³

¹ Anchoring Innovation is the new research agenda of OIKOS, the National Research School in Classical Studies, the Netherlands. It is being developed with the financial support of Leiden University, Radboud University, the University of Amsterdam and the University of Groningen. For the concept of “anchoring”, see the website <http://www.ru.nl/oikos/anchoring-innovation/> under further reading.

² Partial definitions and characteristics have to be gleaned from C. ANDO, “The Palladium and the Pentateuch: Towards a Sacred Topography of the Later Roman Empire”, *Phoenix*, 55 (2001), p. 394-395; R. J. LITTLEWOOD, “*imperii pignora certa*: The Role of Numa in Ovid’s *Fasti*”, in *Ovid’s Fasti: Historical Readings at Its Bimillennium* – ed. G. HERBERT-BROWN, Oxford, 2002, p. 186-187. See also A. HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie: Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in Antiken Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt am Main, 2010, p. 545-548.

³ Servius, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii: Vol. II Aeneidos librorum VI-VII commentarii* – ed. G. THILO, Leipzig, 1923, p. 141: “septem fuerunt pignora, quae imperium Romanum tenent: + aiuis matris deum, quadriga fictilis Veientanorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, velum Ilionae, palladium, ancilia”, Servius, *Servio Commento al libro VII dell’ Eneide di Virgilio: Con le aggiunte del cosiddetto Servio Danielino* – ed. G. RAMIRES, Bologna, 2003, p. 31: “septem fuerunt paria, quae imperium Romanum tenent:

1. The Palladium⁴ was a cult statue of the goddess Athena that pertained to the city of Troy and granted the city divine protection. Shortly before or after the end of the Trojan War, the statue was taken from the city. Older traditions have claims of different Greek cities to the Palladium after its removal from the city of Troy,⁵ but from the Hellenistic period onward, the claim of the city of Rome became the most vociferous.⁶

acus Matris deum, quadriga fictilis Veientorum, cineres Orestis, sceptrum Priami, velum Ilionae, palladium, ancilia". trans. ANDO, "The Palladium", p. 394. Even if one accepts with Ramires the reading *paria*, "similar objects" for *pignora*, this remains a list of *pignora*. The preceding commentary describes the *ancile*, an object that was designated in the tradition as a *pignus imperii*, and the six other objects as similar to it. This part of the commentary pertains to the so-called Servius auctus or Servius Danielis, of which the textual origin and its relation to Servius' works is uncertain. Hypotheses on the Servius auctus range from the work being a genuine part of Servius' work, a lost commentary of Donatus serving as a source to Servius, a compilation of Servius and a source prior to Servius, to the work being a combination of scholia with the work of Servius from a later date: Servius, *Servius: Commentaire sur l'Enéide de Virgile livre VI* – ed. E. JEUNET-MANCY, Paris, 2012 (CB, 403), p. xxi-xxvii. In spite of these textual difficulties, I consider this passage to be a genuine expression of Roman aristocratic concerns in the early fifth century, as the analysis will show.

⁴ For a list of witnesses, see Appendix 1.

⁵ C. W. VOLLGRAFF, "Le Palladium de Rome", *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques / Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5.24 (1938), p. 35-38; L. ZIEHEN, "Palladion", in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* – ed. W. KROLL (et al.), Waldsee, 1949, p. 172-185; E. WOERNER, "Palladion", in *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* – ed. W. H. ROSCHER, HILDESHEIM, 1965, p. 3413-3443; A. DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines et le développement du culte des pénates à Rome*, Paris, 1989, p. 466; A. BAUDOU, "Le vol du Palladium, Servius et les événements du IV^e siècle après J.-C.", *Latomus: revue d'études latines*, 68 (2009), p. 984-986; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555-556. Among the different claimants to the Palladium were the cities of Argos, Athens, Sparta, Pallantion, Luceria and Siris.

⁶ The Roman claim to the Palladium is indirectly found for the first time in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* I.68-69, who derives the narrative from the Alexandrian grammarians Callistratus and Satyrus. They, in their turn, based their claims on an anonymous source from the beginning of the third century BC: VOLLGRAFF, "Le Palladium", p. 49-51. The testimony of Lucius Cassius Hemina (FRH 6 F 8) stems from the middle of the second century BC and can be found in Solinus *De mirabilibus mundi* II.14-15. In spite of Hartmann's assertion: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 557; not Hemina but the anonymous source of Callistratus and Satyrus is the eldest testimony on the Roman claims to the Palladium. From the imperial age onwards, the Roman claim to the Palladium became indisputable: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 557. There are five versions of how the Palladium made the journey from Troy to the new Troy on the river Tiber: P. ASSENMAKER, "Pignus salutis atque imperii: l'enjeu du Palladium dans les luttes politiques de la fin de la République", *Les Études Classiques*, 75 (2007), p. 382-383. 1) Diomedes took the Palladium and handed it over to Aeneas later on, on the instigation of an oracle: Silius Italicus *Pun.* XIII 61-78, Solinus II.14-15, maybe based on Cassius Hemina P. ASSENMAKER, "La place du Palladium dans l'idéologie augustéenne: entre mythologie, religion et politique", in *Storia delle religioni e archeologia: discipline a confronto* – ed. I. BAGLIONI, Roma, 2010, p. 39; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553. 2) Diomedes took the Palladium and handed it over to Nautes, a companion of Ae-

From the start of the republican period onward, the Roman claim to the Palladium is corroborated by different testimonies which attest with certainty to the presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta on the Palatine in Rome.⁷ It became the object of vehement ideological debates during the Late Republic,⁸ after which Augustus wisely decided to pass

neas: Servius *Ad Aen.* II.166, III.407, V.704 – based on Varro –, *Mythographi Vaticani* I.40 and II.224; *Mythographi Vaticani I et II* – ed. P. KULCSAR, Turnhout, 1987 (CC SL, 91 c), p. 19, 261-262 – based on Servius *Ad Aen.* II.166 –; and *Mythographi Vaticani* I.139, p. 58 – based on Servius *Ad Aen.* III.407. 3) There were two Palladia, of which one was taken to Rome by Aeneas and one was stolen by Diomedes and Ulysses: Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* I.68-69: ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553. Different claims to the Palladium were often resolved in certain rationalising traditions by the creation of different Palladia: VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”, p. 38; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987-988. 4) The true Palladium was salvaged by Aeneas whereas a copy was taken by Ulysses and Diomedes: Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* I.68-69, based on Arctinus: ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553; p. 555. 5) The Palladium was introduced in Rome by Ulysses, who accompanied Aeneas on his voyages. This version is a hypothetical reconstruction made by DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 464. This reconstruction is based on the traditions attributing the stealing of the Palladium to Ulysses on the one hand and passages of Dionysius of Halicarnassus which mention Ulysses accompanying Aeneas on the other hand (*Ant. Rom.* I.72.2). Dubourdieu’s hypothesis is furthermore corroborated by two passages in Servius, which mention how the Palladium was given to Aeneas by Diomedes or Ulysses (*Ad Aen.* III.545, III.550). These different versions illustrate nicely the uncertainty surrounding the whereabouts of the Palladium between Aeneas and the republican period: BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986-987. An exception to these uncertainties is the later account of George Cedrenus *Comp. Hist.*: Giorgius Cedrenus – Ioannes Scylitzes, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae Ope ab Immanuele Bekkero suppletus et emendatus: Tomus prior* – ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1838 (CSHB), p. 238.

⁷ DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461. The Palladium is said to have saved the Romans from the Gallic siege in 390 BC. In 241 BC Caecilius Metellus saved the statue from a fire in the temple, and in 210 BC, slaves do the same when the temple was ignited by rebelling Campanian nobles: ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 390. In 47 BC the Vestal Virgins had to evacuate the Palladium, together with the other temple treasures, because of riots: ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 403. After a fire at the temple of Vesta, the Palladium is transferred, along with the other *sacra*, to the house of the *flamen Dialis* on the Palatine. Two years later, Augustus, in the capacity of *pontifex maximus* transferred a copy of the Palladium to his own house: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559.

⁸ For an overview of different opinions on the date of this Roman interest in the Palladium, see Dubourdieu, who traces the Roman interest in the Palladium to the middle of the fourth century BC: DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 466-467. Likewise, HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 556-557; traces the Roman interest in the Palladium to the Roman subjugation of other claimants to the *pignus* in the eastern Mediterranean, beginning from the second half of the fourth century BC. Contra ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 399; according to whom the Romans only first exhibited interest in the Palladium between 85-79 BC. The dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla claimed that he himself had discovered and sent to Rome the Palladium that had remained in Ilion after the Trojan War: ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 394-400; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555. Nevertheless the version of Aeneas was actively promoted by Caesarean propaganda – in defiance of the prevalence of the version of

over the discussion on the transfer of the Palladium.⁹ Also from the Augustan period onward, the Palladium was considered to be a *pignus imperii*.¹⁰

The Palladium was transferred several times during the imperial period. In AD 181 Commodus moved the Palladium to the Palatine after a fire in the temple of Vesta, on which occasion the statue was seen for the first time by the public, and another transfer was envisaged by the Emperor Heliogabalus.¹¹ The Palladium was finally transferred in secret by Constantine from Rome to Constantinople, where it was buried under his column in the forum of Constantine during the inauguration of his city – an act that sparked again an intense debate on the true whereabouts of this *pignus*.¹²

A noteworthy feature of the Palladium is that its material form was enshrouded in a mist of mystery and religious taboo.¹³ Access to the Palladium was forbidden for the general public. Therefore, few descriptions of the Palladium as a material object are extant, and uncertainties on the precise whereabouts of the Palladium lingered on during the republican period.¹⁴ Located on the Palatine,¹⁵ the Palladium was firmly fixed in the symbolic topography of Rome until its transfer to Constantinople. Indeed, the multiple transfers of the statue are thematised in the different extant accounts of the Palladium.

DIOMEDES in contemporary art: ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 400-405; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546, p. 554.

⁹ ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39-55; p. 60-62. Ovid eloquently sums up the terms of the Augustan compromise (*Fasti* IV.435): “Auctor in incerto, res est Romana” HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 554.

¹⁰ Lucan *Phars.* IX.994, Silius Italicus *Pun.* IX.530: ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387. See also A. AUDIN, “Le Palladium de Rome”, *Revue archéologique*, 30 (1929), p. 49; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546.

¹¹ DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 462; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 381-382; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559.

¹² ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 398-399; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 989; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560.

¹³ ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 381-382; p. 389; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 983-984.

¹⁴ DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461-463; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558. “On sait que l'intérieur de l'*Aedes Vestae* était interdit aux profanes, sauf au moment des *Vestalia* où les matrones avaient sans doute accès au moins au *penus exterior*, sinon au *penetræ*. En revanche, l'intérieur du temple semble avoir été absolument interdit aux hommes [...]”. DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 488. For an analysis of the different strategies of Ovid and Dionysius of Halicarnassus to cope with these uncertainties, see ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 36-38. For Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see also DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 490-493 and HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558.

¹⁵ AUDIN, “Le Palladium”, p. 52-56.

2. The statue of Cybele.¹⁶ At the end of the Second Punic War, in 205 BC, several ominous portents urged the Senate to consult the Sibylline Oracles. The sibyls declared that, in order to rid Rome of the invading Carthaginians, the Romans had to fetch the Idaean Mother from the city of Pessinus in Asia Minor. A delegation was sent to king Attalus I of Pergamum, who consented to hand over the meteorite representing the goddess Cybele.¹⁷ A solemn procession received the goddess on the fourth of April 204 BC. She resided in the temple of Victory on the Palatine until the dedication of her proper abode, on the same hill, on the 10 April 191 BC by Marcus Junius Brutus. The Mother of the gods enjoyed a high popularity in the Augustan age and was intensely associated with the person of Augustus himself.¹⁸ Although Constantine is not reported to have taken the meteorite from Rome to Constantinople, he did foster the association between his new city and this *pignus imperii*.¹⁹

¹⁶ AUDIN, "Le Palladium", p. 46-48; p. 52; T. P. WISEMAN, "Cybele, Virgil, and Augustus", in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* – ed. T. WOODMAN – D. WEST, Cambridge, 1984, p. 118; R. MCKAY WILHELM, "Cybele: The Great Mother of Augustan Order", *Virgilius*, 34 (1988), p. 80-82; p. 91; P. BORGEAUD, *Mother of the Gods: From Cybele to the Virgin Mary*, Baltimore, 2004, p. 57-62; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 547-548; M. RAUHALA, "Devotion and Deviance: The Cult of Cybele and the Others Within", in *The Faces of the Other: Religious Rivalry and Ethnic Encounters in the Later Roman World* – ed. M. KAHLOS, Turnhout, 2011, p. 52-53. A list of testimonies on Cybele in Rome can be found in HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 547-548; and RAUHALA, "Devotion and Deviance", p. 52-54. Of specific interest is the account by Livy XXIX.10.4, XXIX.14.13, XXXVI.36; MCKAY WILHELM, "Cybele", p. 80-81; and Ovid *Fasti* IV.291-328; J. N. BREMMER, "The Legend of Cybele's Arrival in Rome", in *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* – ed. J. M. VERMASEREN, Leiden, 1979, p. 9-10.

¹⁷ A supplementary oracle in Delphi stipulated that the Mother of the gods be welcomed by the best man of the Romans. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica was selected for the job. The vessel with the meteorite ran aground just before reaching Rome and was miraculously salvaged by Claudia Quinta.

¹⁸ For instance, in AD 3 Augustus restored her temple after a fire: MCKAY WILHELM, "Cybele", p. 91. Virgil was the first to subject the character of Cybele to a thorough Romanisation in a context of popularity of the goddess in the Augustan period. He also explicitly associates Augustus with Cybele, and was followed in these attitudes to Cybele by Ovid: WISEMAN, "Cybele, Virgil"; MCKAY WILHELM, "Cybele". For an intertextual analysis of the passage on the arrival of Cybele in Ovid, *Fasti* IV.247-348, see M. PFAFF, "Théorie et pratique du 'récit des origines': l'arrivée de Cybèle dans le Latium", in *L'ultima parola: l'analisi dei testi: teorie e pratiche nell'antichità greca e latina* – ed. L. SPINA – F. CONTI BIZARRO – G. AB-BAMONTE, Napoli, 2004, p. 261-272.

¹⁹ He built a temple of Rhea and Fortuna on the Tetrastoon, where the old sanctuary of Rhea, built by the mythological Byzas, was allegedly located. He also brought in a statue of Cybele from nearby Cyzicus, where the cult of Cybele was founded: BORGEAUD, *Mother*, p. 130-131. On the temples see Hesychius *Patria* 390 (FGrHist 390 F 7; BNJ 390 F 7). On the statue see Zosimus *Hist. Nov.* II.31.1-3.

As in the case of the Palladium, the material form of Cybele is problematic. The aniconic representation of a goddess by a meteorite stone defied the habitual Greco-Roman anthropomorphic representations of deities.²⁰ Almost all ancient accounts of the Roman reception of Cybele speak of the reception of a *goddess*, without mentioning her material form. Only in later Christian polemicists do we find descriptions of the meteorite stone representing the goddess.²¹ Like the Palladium, the Mother of the gods was installed on the Palatine, in the heart of the city of Rome.²² The accounts of Cybele's arrival stress the transfer of the object from Asia Minor to the city of Rome.²³

3. The *ancile*.²⁴ When a plague threatened Rome, King Numa prayed to the gods and a shield fell from the sky into his arms. A voice from above proclaimed that the Romans would gain and keep sovereignty over the world as long as they remained in possession of this *pignus imperii*.²⁵ Anxious to prevent the theft of the *ancile*, king Numa ordered the smith Mamurius Veturius to forge eleven replicas of it. Mamurius complied on

²⁰ ANDO, "The Palladium", p. 349-395; M. GAIFMAN, *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity*, Oxford, 2012, p. 114-115; p. 305.

²¹ For instance in Arnobius of Sicca *Adv. nat.* VII.49; GAIFMAN, *Aniconism*, p. 114 n. 157.

²² AUDIN, "Le Palladium", p. 52-56; WISEMAN, "Cybele, Virgil", p. 126-127; MCKAY WILHELM, "Cybele", p. 81; p. 91; PFAFF, "Théorie et pratique", p. 264; BORGEAUD, *Mother*, p. 66; RAUHALA, "Devotion and Deviance", p. 55.

²³ The transfer of Cybele is thematised, for instance, in Ovid's narrative: PFAFF, "Théorie et pratique", p. 262-263.

²⁴ The narrative of the *ancilia* can be found in L. AIGNER-FORESTI, "Oggetti di profezia politica: gli ancilia del collegium saliorum", in *La profezia nel mondo antico* – ed. M. SORDI, Milano, 1993, p. 159-161; J. N. BREMMER, "Three Roman Aetiological Myths", in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: Das Paradigma Roms* – ed. F. GRAF, Stuttgart, 1993, p. 160-165; F. STOK, "Lo spettacolo degli 'ancilia'", in "Nunc teritur nostris area maior equis": *riflessioni sull'intertestualità OVIDIANA* – ed. L. LANDOLFI, Palermo, 2004, p. 70-71; and HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 548-553. E. BORGNA, "'Ancile' e 'arma ancilia': osservazioni sullo scudo dei Salii", *Ostraka: rivista di antichità*, 2 (1993), p. 38-42; has an appendix with a list of antique testimonies on the *ancilia*. She does not, however, include two passages on the *ancilia* from the *Mythographi Vaticani*, namely II.243: *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 272-273; and *Mythographus II Supplementum B A: Mythographi Vaticani*. For Mamurius specifically see Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* II.71.1-2, Ovid *Fasti* III 373-388, Plutarch *Numa XIII*, Festus *Epitome* p. 117 s.v. *Mamuri*: Sextus Pompeius Festus, *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* – ed. W. M. LINDSAY, Leipzig, 1933 (BT); Servius *Ad Aen.* VII.188, *Ad Aen.* VIII 664, Lydus *Mens.* IV.49. A shorter list can also be found in: STOK, "Lo spettacolo", p. 71.

²⁵ The concept of the *ancile* as a *pignus imperii* originated with the Etruscans: AIGNER-FORESTI, "Oggetti di profezia", p. 164-168. According to HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546; the *ancilia* are considered to be *pignora imperii* in Roman sources from the Augustan period onwards. The *ancilia* are explicitly labelled as *pignora imperii* by Ovid: STOK, "Lo spettacolo", p. 72-73.

the condition that he be mentioned in the *Carmen Saliare*, the ritual chant that is sung by the Salii, the college of priests that guarded the *ancilia*, when they took the twelve shields in procession.²⁶ As in the case of the cult of Cybele, the cult of Mamurius was highly popular in the Augustan period.²⁷

Also in the case of the *ancilia*, the form of the *pignus* is problematized, this time deliberately. In order to impede a theft of the *ancile*, king Numa ordered the fabrication of different copies. Although one can look at the *ancilia* as a group, one is never sure which shield is the true *pignus*. The problematizing of the form of the object also refers to its special status as an intermediary between the divine level of providence or prophesy and the level of mortal humans.²⁸ The *ancilia* were also firmly anchored in the religious topography of the city they protected; they were housed by the Salii on the Palatine and Quirinal in Rome.²⁹

4. The terracotta chariot of Veii.³⁰ Shortly before completion of the Capitoline temple, Tarquinius Superbus commissioned craftsmen from Veii to make a terracotta chariot. After the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus a first prodigy took place. When baked in the oven, the statue did not shrink but grew in size. The oven had to be dismantled in order to recover

²⁶ On Mamurius, his connection with cult of the Salii, and his Etruscan name and origin, see A. ILLUMINATI, "Mamurius Veturius", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 32 (1961), p. 41-51. The later John of Lydia, *Mens.* IV.49, mentions a ritual in which a scapegoat character Mamurius is ritually beaten. In this passage Mamurius is represented as a carnival figure: ILLUMINATI, "Mamurius Veturius", p. 70-71. Most possibly, Lydus' account is a representation of a later, changed form of the Mamurius ritual, influenced by Greek *pharmacos* rituals: BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 162.

²⁷ BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 160-165; states that the cult of Mamurius was an Augustan reinvention with a close connection to the cult of Vesta, in which Augustus was also highly interested: "The Arval myth, then, would be contemporary, in my reconstruction, with the myth of the Salii. Both must have originated, I suggest, in a mythological 'workshop' employed by Augustus and/or his supporters". BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 164. Initially, there were two separate traditions, one on the evocation of Jupiter by Numa and one on Mamurius and the *ancilia*, that was combined in the Augustan period by authors as Ovid and Dionysius of Halicarnassus: BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 160-165; STOK, "Lo spettacolo", p. 71. For an analysis of the *ancilia* narrative in Ovid, see LITTLEWOOD, "*imperii pignora*"; and STOK, "Lo spettacolo".

²⁸ "L'ancile è un oggetto fatto simbolo, o un simbolo concepito con i contorni di un oggetto concreto [...]". BORGNA, "Ancile", p. 9.

²⁹ AIGNER-FORESTI, "Oggetti di profezia", p. 163; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 552. For an analysis of the *ancilia* and other cultic objects as aniconic representations of Mars, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 552-553.

³⁰ Festus *Epitome* 274 M, 378 L, Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* VIII.161, XXVIII.16, Plutarch *Popl.* 13, Servius *Ad Aen.* VII.188, *Ad Ecl.* VI.22, Solinus XLV.15, Varro in Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* XXXV.157: K. LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1960, p. 292 n. 5; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 547; A. THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter and the Historiography of Roman World Rule", *Histos*, 8 (2014), p. 308-313.

the statue. Because of this sign of good fortune, the city of Veii was reluctant to relinquish the statue to Rome until after a second miracle. During a horse race the horses of the winning chariot took fright and carried the charioteer to the Capitoline in Rome. This omen finally persuaded Veii to transfer the statue to Rome. An account by Festus has it that Rome had to recover the statue from Veii in a war.³¹ The chariot stood on display on the roof of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, in the heart of the city of Rome.

As in the case of the Palladium and the statue of Cybele, the terracotta chariot of Veii was the object of a reluctant or even violent transfer.

5. The ashes of Orestes do not appear in any source other than Servius. According to Hartmann this *pignus* is part of a tradition which has it that Orestes transported the statue of the Taurian Artemis to Aricia in Latium. Orestes afterwards died in the same city, and his remains were transferred to the city of Rome and interred before the temple of Saturn on the *forum Romanum*.³²

Also in this tradition, the *pignus* is subject to a transfer. Its relocation in the vicinity of the temple of Saturn on the *forum Romanum* intimately connects the *pignus* with the sacred topography of Rome.

In the light of the scanty testimonies to this tradition, however, Hartmann suggests the possibility of other antiquarian traditions underlying Servius' mention of this *pignus*.³³ In my opinion, a possible candidate for such an underlying tradition is the narrative on the bones of Orestes. Orestes' bones figure prominently in Herodotus' account of the ascendancy of the Spartan polity (*Histories* I.66-68).³⁴ Prompted by the continu-

³¹ Festus *De verborum significatu*, p. 340-342; THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter", p. 310.

³² For a discussion of this tradition with a list of attestations in ancient sources, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 548.

³³ HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 548: "Tief verwurzelt kann die Oresteslegende in Latium daher nicht gewesen sein, und es bleibt fraglich, ob der servianische Katalog auf eine gute antiquarische Quelle wie Varro zurückzuführen ist".

³⁴ F. PEISTER, *Der Reliquienkult in Altertum: Erster Halbband. Das Objekt der Reliquienkultes*, Königsberg, 1909, p. 196-197; E. ROHDE, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks. Volume I. Introduction to the Torchbook edition by W. K. C. Guthrie Translated from the Eighth edition by W. B. Willis*, New York, 1966, p. 122 n. 35; J. FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*, London, 1978, p. 75; G. HUXLEY, "Bones for Orestes", *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979), p. 145; J. VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab des Theseus und andere Gräber", in *Antike in der Moderne* – ed. W. SCHULLER, Konstanz, 1985, p. 322; D. BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult and Politics in Herodotus: The Bones Of Orestes", in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics* – ed. C. DOUGHERTY – L. KURKE, Oxford, 1998, p. 165; T. HARRISON, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus*, Oxford, 2000, p. 138-139; D. PHILLIPS, "The Bones of Orestes and Spartan Foreign Policy", in *Gestures: Essays in Ancient History, Literature, and Philosophy Presented to Alan L. Boegehold* – ed.

ing resistance of the city of Tegea in around 560 BC, the Spartans consult the oracle at Delphi that suggests them to retrieve the body of Orestes. The Spartan Lichas infiltrates in Tegean territory by impersonating himself as an exile, rents the plot where Orestes is buried and surreptitiously brings the bones to Sparta. Shortly thereafter, the Spartans are able to subdue the Tegeans.

Just like Cybele, the Spartan initiative to fetch the bones of Orestes was elicited by the advice of an oracle.³⁵ Also as in the case of the other *pignora*, the secretive transfer of the bones of Orestes robs the city of Tegea from its protection,³⁶ ensuing in Spartan supremacy.³⁷ The protective power of the remains of ancient Greek heroes made them a coveted asset to a city state. Therefore, in other cases of hero cults,³⁸ the owners protected themselves against possible thieves of the hero's remains by keeping the location of the grave secret.³⁹ These protective strategies that we also have seen for the *ancile*, might even explain Servius' mention of Orestes' ashes instead of his bones. For a special way to prevent the theft of the hero's remains was to burn the bones and to scatter the ashes on a central part of the city.⁴⁰ Servius' conflation of different sources could account for the fact that he included in his list of Roman *pignora* a *pignus* that is not related to the city of Rome but to Sparta.

6-7. The two remaining *pignora* of Servius' list – the sceptre of Priam and the veil of Iliona – do not appear in any other source and are most possibly literary creations by the author. I shall discuss these below.⁴¹

G. W. BAKWELL – J. P. SICKINGER, Oxford, 2003, p. 301-302. I would like to thank Aniek van den Eersten for this suggestion.

³⁵ ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 165; HARRISON, *Divinity and History*, p. 78.

³⁶ ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122: "Hence, when it was thought desirable to attach a Hero and his protective power to a city his bones (or what were taken for such) on the command of an oracle were brought from a foreign land and laid to rest in his native country".

³⁷ HUXLEY, "Bones", p. 148.

³⁸ A list of other examples of transfers of the remains of heroes can be found in Appendix 2. Another useful overview can be found in B. MCCAULEY, "The Transfer of Hippodameia's Bones: A Historical Context", *The Classical Journal*, 93 (1998), p. 225-239.

³⁹ ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122: "Since the possession of the corporeal remains of the Hero secured the possession of the Hero himself, the cities often protected themselves against strangers, who might remove the treasured bones, by keeping the position of the grave a secret".

⁴⁰ ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 38: "Very occasionally the possession of the relics of the Hero was secured by burning the bones and scattering the ashes in the market place of the city".

⁴¹ LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 292 n. 5; AL. CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford, 2011, p. 613. HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546: "Völlig rätselhaft bleiben zudem das Szepter des Priamos und der Schleier der Ilione, zu denen sich in der gesamten vorliegenden Überlieferung nichts Weiteres finden lässt". For a discussion of mentions of these two *pignora* see also HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546 n. 307.

The descriptions of these *pignora* allow for an empirical definition of the concept. The *pignora imperii* are objects that function as vouchers or guarantees for the survival of the city in which they reside – more specifically the city of Rome and the Roman Empire.⁴² The material appearance of these objects is problematized, either from the nature of the object itself (Cybele) or consciously (restricted access to the Palladium, copies of the *ancile*, scattered ashes of Orestes). This problematic appearance can be explained from the function of these *pignora* as intermediaries between the world of the gods and the world of men.⁴³ Furthermore, the problematizing of the material appearance of the *pignus* is also a means of defence against the stealing or transferring of the object. This notion of secretive, illegal, forced, or negotiated transfer is thematised in the narratives of these *pignora* summarized above.

In spite of the coherence the *pignora* of Servius possess, the notion remains in essence a very fluid concept.⁴⁴ The *pignora* are a collection of which the appearance of one *pignus* does not exclude the functioning of the other.⁴⁵ We know of other objects, passed over by Servius,⁴⁶ which could also function as *pignora imperii*,⁴⁷ but which are in general not associated

⁴² AIGNER-FORESTI, “Oggetti di profezia”, p. 162.

⁴³ AIGNER-FORESTI, “Oggetti di profezia”, p. 159.

⁴⁴ ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387.

⁴⁵ ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 392. The flexible group of Roman *pignora* protecting its existence is by no means unique. For instance, the city of Troy was also protected by, next to the Palladium, a number of different *pignora*. A list of these can be found in Servius, *Ad Aen.* II.13.

⁴⁶ HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 545.

⁴⁷ AIGNER-FORESTI, “Oggetti di profezia”, p. 159: “a Roma, in età storica, si ha una vera e propria proliferazione di suppellettili sacre inviate da forze superiori, o comunque ad esse legate, quali il Palladio di Troia, la silex di Giove, l’hasta di Marte, il lituo di Romolo e gli ancilia [...]”. For instance, Ovid designates the whole of the temple treasure in the sanctuary of Vesta as a *pignus imperii* in his *Fasti* III.422, VI.365 and VI.437-454: DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 487-490; AIGNER-FORESTI, “Oggetti di profezia”, p. 168. Other objects which could take on the same function as a *pignus* are the following: The Penates – on the associations between the Penates, the Palladium and the whole of the temple treasure of the *Aedes Vestae* as *pignora imperii*, see DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 460-467; p. 487-502; more specifically DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 493; p. 502. The altars of Terminus and Juventas: THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 291-293. The horns of a cow in the Aventine temple of Diana: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 545-546; THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 289-290. Notable parallels between the horns of the cow and other *pignora* are its talismanic qualities as a guarantee of imperial domination and its surreptitious claiming by the Romans: THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 290. The head of Olus Vulcentanus: THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 294-308; AIGNER-FORESTI, “Oggetti di profezia”, p. 168; C. EDWARDS, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 84-85. Also in this case the foiled attempt of the Etruscan seer to transfer the possession of the head from the Romans to the Etruscans mirrors the stress on the transferability of the *pignora imperii*. The Roman portent of a bur-

with the term *pignus imperii*, or only in a vague and generalizing fashion.⁴⁸ Furthermore, within this fluid group of *pignora*, there are many overlapping characteristics and mutual influences.⁴⁹ These high levels of overlap even allow a certain degree of interchangeability between the *pignora*.⁵⁰ Some of the characteristics of the *pignora* are actually to some extent generic in the sense that they also appear for other cultic objects.⁵¹

ied head has its Carthaginian counterpart in the discovery of the head of an ox and a horse during the foundation of Carthage: THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter", p. 305-306. The stone of Jupiter and the spear of Mars: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 552. The staff of Romulus.

⁴⁸ This is the case for the Penates and the temple treasure of Vesta's temple.

⁴⁹ For example, Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* XXVIII.16) draws an explicit parallel between the head of Olus Vulcentanus and the chariot of Veii as both transferable omens which were subject to attempted Etruscan fraud: THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter", p. 308 n. 99. On the parallel functions of both talismans see THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter", p. 313. Another example is the resemblance between the Palladium, the *ancile* and the meteorite of Cybele which are said to have fallen from the sky: AUDIN, "Le Palladium", p. 49; ASSENMAKER, "Pignus salutis", p. 391; p. 397; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 549. For instance, according to one tradition mentioned in the *Mythographi Vaticani* I.40; *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 19; p. 261-262; the Palladium fell from the sky in Athens. Also the theme of producing different copies of the *ancile* to elude thieves is a recurring feature that possibly influenced the versions of the Palladium narrative that mention different copies: BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 161; ASSENMAKER, "Pignus salutis", p. 397; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 549; p. 560. Servius mentions how different exemplars of the Palladium were made by Mamurius: ANDO, "The Palladium", p. 399. This tradition recorded by Servius is later taken up in the *Mythographi Vaticani* I.40 and II.224: *Mythographi Vaticani*, p. 19; p. 261-262. The motive of the copying also allowed for rationalizing explanations of the existence of different contradictory claims to the Palladium: VOLLGRAFF, "Le Palladium", p. 38; BAUDOU, "Le vol", p. 987-988.

⁵⁰ The Palladium and the stone of Cybele are cases in point. The fetching of the Mother of the gods in 205 BC can be explained by the millennial fears of the Romans who suspected that the protecting power of the Palladium from Troy was waning under Carthaginian pressure. In order to renew the expiring force of the Palladium, the Romans fetched another *pignus* from the same region. Cybele appears for the Romans as a second Palladium – notice, for instance the fact that both Palladia were located on the same hill in the city: AUDIN, "Le Palladium", p. 49; p. 51-52; p. 55-56.

⁵¹ For a list of interesting parallels between the Palladium and other cultic objects, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560-561. The narrative of the retrieval of Orestes' bones exhibits many parallels with the transfer of Theseus' remains to Athens: A. J. PODLECKI, "Cimon, Skyros and 'Theseus' Bones", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 91 (1971), p. 142. The Palladium, the stone of Cybele, the *ancile* and the bones of Orestes share many similarities with a generic plots that underlie many of the narratives on hero cults in Greek antiquity. An outline of two of these plots can be found in FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 75; and BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 171. See also T. SCHEER, *Die Gottheit und ihr Bild: Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik*, München, 2000, p. 295; and HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 557. In general, cultic objects have the proclivity in Greco-Roman antiquity to appear in a strange way. Some cultic objects, such as the statues of Athena Polias in Athens and of Dionysus Cadmus in Thebes fell from the sky: M. PAPINI, "Un idolo caduto dal cielo in cerca di un tempio: l'Eretteo, il naos di Atena Polias e l'itinerario di Pausania sull'acropoli di Atene", in *Storia delle religioni e archeologia: discipline a*

As this first section has shown, the concept of *pignora imperii* is a very fluid one that belies the canon of Servius that started this section. In the light of this fluidity, it is not the concept itself, but the strict canon of Servius that must be seen as the exception to the rule. The next section will focus on the first period under scrutiny in this article: Servius' re-anchoring of the *pignora imperii* in the ideological context of early fifth-century Rome.

3. A Contentious Canon

The otherwise enigmatic Servius⁵² was born around 370, possibly in Africa. He is best known for his monumental commentary on the works of Virgil, from which the list of seven *pignora* derives.⁵³ He was active as a *grammaticus* and cultivated close ties with the aristocracy in Rome. These Roman aristocratic circles with pagan cultural and/or confessional interests had to face different challenges to their tradition. First, in an increasingly Christianizing context, these aristocrats and intellectuals saw themselves as the defenders of their pagan culture, literature and heritage.⁵⁴ Second,

confronto – ed. I. BAGLIONI, Roma, 2010, p. 191-210; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555. Others arrived from the seas on a raft; as in the case of the Mother of the gods, in a local Erythraean legend the statue of Hercules runs aground: BREMMER, "The legend". Another example of the strange appearance of a cultic object is the statue of Artemis in Sparta: BREMMER, "Three Roman", p. 161.

⁵² We have to sift biographical data from Servius' appearance as a literary character in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. For the scanty biographical data available on Servius, see the introduction in the volume of JEUNET-MANCY, *Servius*; see also R. A. KASTER, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1988, p. 356-359.

⁵³ The commentary was known to Rutilius Namatianus and is therefore to be dated before AD 417. Servius' other works are the grammatical treatises *De finalibus (syllabis)*, *De centum metris* and *De metris Horatii*.

⁵⁴ In Cameron's magnum opus (2011), Servius is depicted as a moderate or centre pagan; "the people brought up as pagans but with no deep investment in the cults themselves (people like Servius)". CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 177. Cameron analyses Servius' commentaries on pagan cult in the works of Vergil as pertaining to a continued tradition of Vergilian scholarship which is bereft of any deep involvement in pagan rituals on the part of the author: CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 567-626. However, the all too pacifistic views of Cameron on the interaction between Christians and pagans have received numerous criticisms in recent scholarship, such as S. RATTI, *Polémiques entre païens et chrétiens*, Paris, 2012; S. RATTI, *L'Histoire Auguste: les païens et les chrétiens dans l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris, 2016; and the volume edited by Lizzi Testa: R. LIZZI TESTA, *The Strange Death of Pagan Rome: Reflections on a Historiographical Controversy*, Turnhout, 2013. Together with these critics of Cameron, it is safe to say that Servius and the circles which he frequented did exhibit an interest in the preservation of pagan heritage – regardless of, or perhaps in interaction with their confessional views – as the analysis will show.

the gradual transmission of imperial power from the west to the east confronted the aristocratic outlook of the late antique Roman intellectual.⁵⁵ We can interpret Servius' list of *pignora imperii* as a carefully elaborated yet implicit answer to these two challenges to the outlook of the Roman intellectual.⁵⁶

The compilation of a list of *pignora* can be seen as an effort to systematically codify and preserve the pagan heritage of Rome that was perceived to be under threat.⁵⁷ For instance, Baudou interprets Servius' discussion of the Palladium as motivated by the controversy surrounding the removal of the altar of Victory in the Senate of Rome.⁵⁸ Just as the Palladium, the

⁵⁵ An overview of previous scholarly debates on the comparison and competition between Rome and Constantinople can be found in L. GRIG – G. KELLY, "Introduction: From Rome to Constantinople", in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* – ed. L. GRIG – G. KELLY, Oxford, 2012, p. 3-4. For further reading on the shifting power relations between the two cities see R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1964; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris, 1974; H. CHANTRAINE, "Konstantinopel: vom Zweiten Rom zum Neuen Rom", *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht: Zeitschrift des Verbandes der Geschichtslehrer Deutschlands*, 43 (1992), p. 3-15; EDWARDS, *Writing Rome*; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge, 2004; U. EIGLER, "Drei Städte – ein Kaiser: Trier, Rom und Konstantinopel", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht: Latein, Griechisch*, 50 (2007), p. 4-11; F. SCHWEIZER, "Konstantinopel: das neue Rom am Bosphorus", *Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*, 38 (2007), p. 31-34; G. BOWERSOCK, "Old and New Rome in the Late Antique Near East", in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* – ed. P. ROUSSEAU – M. PAPOUTSAKIS, Farnham, 2009, p. 37-49; GRIG – KELLY, "Introduction"; and B. WARD-PERKINS, "Old and New Rome Compared", in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* – ed. L. GRIG – G. KELLY, Oxford, 2012, p. 53-78.

⁵⁶ HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 545.

⁵⁷ In his discussion of Servius' canon of seven *pignora imperii*, Cameron doubts the cultic and symbolic significance of these objects as talismans for the wellbeing of the Roman Empire: CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610-613. However, his analysis has some serious shortcomings. 1) CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610; balances the few instances of the Palladium in Servius against the prominent role of the Palladium in Vergil to conclude a lack of interest by Servius in this motive. However, the Palladium played only a very marginal role in the Aeneid: ASSENMAKER, "Pignus salutis", p. 411; ASSENMAKER, "La place", p. 41-43. Therefore, the instances which are devoted to the Palladium in Servius (see Appendix 1) can be, on the contrary, interpreted as a sign of Servius' interest in this object. 2) CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610; sees a contradiction in the tradition mentioned by Servius which continuously had the Palladium in Troy on the one hand, and the fact that Troy did fall on the other hand. This apparent contradiction becomes more logical when we see how Servius mentions different traditions as regards to the factors preserving the city of Troy in *Ad Aen.* II.13. 3) CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 613; says the ashes of Orestes do not appear to have had any grounds in previous traditions. However, several possible traditions have been presented above. 4) On the attribution of CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 613; of this catalogue to Varro on the basis of the number seven, see n. 62.

⁵⁸ BAUDOU, "Le vol", p. 990-996.

altar of Victory is a pagan voucher for Rome's safety and success – even if the altar was not included in the list of seven *pignora*.⁵⁹ Likewise, Servius' conspicuous codification of pagan *pignora* can be interpreted as a means to defend the pagan tradition.

Servius' pagan agenda can even explain one of his more fantastical inventions; the veil of Iliona – *velum Ilionae* in Latin – could refer to the Christian use of ἀχειροποίητα, miraculous imprints of the face of Jesus on cloth that were used as relics from an early stage onward.⁶⁰ Perhaps Servius wanted to present the *pignora* as a viable pagan alternative to Christian relics.

The list of Servius can also be read as an implicit answer to the gradual shift from Rome to Constantinople under the Theodosian dynasty;⁶¹ the five attested *pignora* mentioned by Servius are intricately connected to the sacred topography of Rome; the Palladium resided together with the stone of the Mother of the gods on the Palatine, the *ancilia* were to be found on the Palatine and Quirinal, the chariot of Veii resided on the Capitoline, and the ashes of Orestes were buried in the vicinity of the temple of Saturn on the *forum Romanum*. Notice also how the additions of two invented *pignora* to the extant five objects results in a list of seven; seven *pignora imperii* that mirror nicely the Seven Hills of Rome.⁶² This focus on Rome is an implicit yet clear answer to the claims to sovereignty of Constantinople as the new capital of the Empire; the city of Rome, as the host of the *pignora imperii*, becomes herself a *pignus*, a guarantee for the survival of the Empire, and cannot be exchanged for her younger sister on the Bosphorus.⁶³

⁵⁹ "L'Autel de la Victoire passait ainsi, tout comme le Palladium, pour un symbole majeur de la pérennité et de la prospérité de l'Empire". BAUDOU, "Le vol", p. 993.

⁶⁰ E. KITZINGER, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), p. 112-115; B. V. PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*, Louisville, 2006, p. 43-44. "Das Palladion galt oft als ἀχειροποίητον, d. h. 'nicht von Menschenhand gemacht', den es war einst vom Himmel gefallen. Dieses Motiv sollte später im christlichen Bilderkult wiederkehren". HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555.

⁶¹ RAUHALA, "Devotion and Deviance", p. 69.

⁶² The hypothesis of LATTE, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 292 n. 5; and CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 613; that traces the passage in Servius to Varro on account of the latter's presumed predilection for the number seven seems farfetched, certainly when we consider the general predilection for number symbolism in antiquity and late antiquity specifically.

⁶³ For an analysis of Servius' treatment of the Palladium as a similar form of resistance to the claims of Constantinople, see A. PELLIZZARI, *Servio: storia, cultura e istituzioni nell'opera di un grammatico tardoantico*, Firenze, 2003, p. 49-60. Servius' depiction of the whole of the city of Rome as a *pignus imperii* has its precedents in traditions describing the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline as a symbol of Rome and *pignus imperii*, and the city of Rome as a *pignus* for the whole of the empire: EDWARDS, *Writing Rome*, p. 79-88; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 545; THEIN, "Capitoline Jupiter", p. 286-293; p. 313-315.

In the light of the struggle between Rome and Constantinople, Servius' fictional additions to the canon also become logical; the sceptre of Priam and the veil of Iliona, the daughter of Priam, are clearly linked to the mythological predecessor of Rome, namely the city of Troy. By adding these objects to the list of *pignora*, Servius reasserts the connection between Troy and Rome – a connection that strained since Constantinople also claimed Trojan parentage.⁶⁴

In the context of his resistance to the political and religious shifts of his own age, Servius shrewdly selected from a loose group of talismans, added several others to serve his agenda, and presented the whole as an authoritative group, as a canon, the authority of which is also underscored by the number seven.⁶⁵ Servius actually re-anchored the otherwise loose and rather antiquated concept of the *pignora imperii* in the contemporary context of the fifth century, as a means to bolster the pagan heritage of Rome. As such, the presentation of the *pignora imperii* as a restricted canon by Servius is an exception to the rule; this canon will evaporate again in the second period which we will consider, namely the sixth century.

4. From *pignora imperii* to Emblems of Empire

The elaborate canon of Servius did not survive the passing of the century. In sixth century sources, only the Palladium is subjected to extensive treatment in the chronicle of John Malalas (c. 490-c. 570), along with some references in the historian Procopius (c. 500-c. 554) and the philosopher Olympiodorus the Younger (c. 495-570).⁶⁶ The *ancile* is only referred to

⁶⁴ See n. 72.

⁶⁵ Some historical acts of collecting different *pignora* possibly provided a precedent for Servius' canon. For instance, Emperor Heliogabalus transferred the Palladium, the *ancilia*, the sacred fire of Vesta and the statue of Cybele to the Elegabalium near his palace on the Palatine: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559.

⁶⁶ For Olympiodorus and Procopius, see Appendix 1. In *Chron.* V.12-15, Malalas recounts the quarrel between Ajax Telamonius, Diomedes and Ulysses over the Palladium. The Palladium is an image of Pallas, given by the wonder worker Asios to Tros when building Troy. Tros gives the name Asia given to his lands in honour of Asios. During the siege of Troy, the Palladium is stolen on advice of Antenor by Ulysses and Diomedes during a festival. The Palladium is claimed by Ajax, and Ulysses pleads in favour of him receiving the statue. Because the Greeks do not attain an agreement on the question, the Palladium is taken into custody by Diomedes. Ajax is murdered the same night and riots occur against Ulysses. Diomedes sets off from Troy with the Palladium (*Chron.* V.22). In book six, (*Chron.* VI.22-23), Diomedes meets Aeneas and hands over the statue to him, therefore complying with an oracle from the Pythia to give the Palladium to the Trojans. Thereafter Aeneas founds the city of Albania and deposits the Palladium there. Ascanius Iulius, son of Aeneas and Creousa, builds the city of Lavinia, and transfers the Palladium from Albania to Lavinium (*Chron.* VI.24-25). At

in passing in several passages in the antiquarian works of John of Lydia (c. 490-c. 565).⁶⁷ We could also suspect that Servius' ashes of Orestes influenced a passage in Malalas where he couples the survival of the Persian Empire to the Persians safekeeping the ashes of Zoroaster (*Chronicle* I.11):

From his family was born Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who when on the point of death prayed that he should be consumed by fire from heaven. He said to the Persians, "If the fire burns me up, take some of my charred bones and preserve them; empire will not depart from you as long as you preserve my bones". Then he prayed to Orion and was consumed by fire from heaven. The Persians did as he told them and they have preserved his incinerated remains until now.⁶⁸

Apparently, after the fifth century, the Servian canon of *pignora imperii* evaporated. Only a few *pignora* are mentioned to a limited extent and in a restricted number of sources from the otherwise abundantly documented sixth century. At first sight, the survival of the *pignora imperii* was indeed coupled to the survival of the city of Rome as the centre of the Empire.

However, the picture turns out to be more complex. One of the explanations of the ostensible disappearance of the *pignora* is the fact that the concept as such is intricately tied to the Latin word *pignus*, a rather untranslatable word that stems from Roman legal vocabulary. Indeed, in Greek accounts of the classical *pignora*, the term *pignus* is circumscribed

the end of book six (*Chron.* VI.29) Albas transfers the Palladium from Lavinia to Silva. At the beginning of book seven (*Chron.* VII.1) the two brothers Romulus – called Romus by Malalas – and Remus take the Palladium to their newly founded city of Rome. The account of the Palladium comes to an end in book thirteen that digresses on the dedication of Byzantium by Emperor Constantine (*Chron.* XIII.7). Constantine took in secret the Palladium from Rome and buried it under the column at the centre of his forum.

⁶⁷ In *Mens.* I.36 (Bandy IV.104) John of Lydia expounds on the units stationed at the Palatine, namely sixty Patricians to guard the *ancilia* and thirty Patricians to guard the Sibylline Oracles. *Mens.* IV.49 (Bandy IV.45) digresses on the ritual beating of Mamurius and origin of this ritual. Mamurius was the smith who forged the replicas of the *ancilia*. In *Mens.* IV.55 (Bandy IV.63) John of Lydia mentions the Salii, appointed by Numa Pompilius, as responsible for the safeguarding of the *ancilia* that were paraded in honour of Ares. The Lydian also explicitly couples the preservation of Rome to the preservation of the *ancilia*. *Magistr.* I.11 mentions the *ancile* and its etymologies in a discussion on different types of shields.

⁶⁸ "ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ζωροάστριος ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ᾗχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἰπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις, ὅτι 'ἐὰν καύσει με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὁστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὁστέα'. καὶ εὐχόμενος τὸν Ὀρίωνα ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀνελήθη ἀερίου. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ὡς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔχουσιν φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν". Ioannes Malalas, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* – ed. H. THURN, Berlin, 2000 (*CFHB*, 35), p. 12; trans. E. JEFFREYS (*et al.*), *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*, Melbourne, 1986, p. 7-8.

instead of translated.⁶⁹ For instance, in Plutarch's account of the *ancilia* (Plut. *Numa* XIII), the *ancilia* are described as functioning "for the salvation of the city", "ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως".⁷⁰ Similar circumscriptions of the *pignora* as vouchers for the safety of a city or community can be found in John of Lydia's description of the *ancilia* and Malalas' account of Zoroaster's ashes.⁷¹ In short, the disappearance of the term *pignus* in sixth-century Greek sources does not imply a disappearance of the concept of *pignus imperii*.

Indeed, in this third section, I will argue in favour of a continuing existence of the concept of the *pignora imperii* in sixth-century Constantinople. On the one hand, the east-Romans re-anchor the remaining *pignora* of Servius' canon in order to fit the cultural exigencies of an Empire that defined itself as Christian and as centred on Constantinople. On the other hand, they construe new, generalized *emblems of Empire* that suit the same cultural exigencies.

The shift from a pagan Empire with its capital in Rome to a Christian Empire with its capital on the shores of the Bosphorus made it impossible to retain those *pignora* that were conspicuously pagan and intricately tied to the city of Rome. Indeed, the only *pignus* that is treated extensively by a sixth-century author, namely John Malalas, is the Palladium, precisely because it allows for a focus on the transfer of imperial protection on two axes; from Rome to Constantinople and from a pagan to a Christian context. With this focus on the transfer of a *pignus*, John Malalas foregrounds one of the characteristics of the *pignora imperii* in order to re-anchor the Palladium in the context of sixth-century Constantinople.

The Palladium is mentioned in different books of Malalas' chronicle (Books V, VI, VII, XIII) as a leitmotif, giving coherence to his historical narrative and emphasizing the continuity between the mythical past of Troy,⁷² the imperial legacy of Rome and the city of Constantinople.⁷³ In

⁶⁹ AIGNER-FORESTI, "Oggetti di profezia", p. 161-162.

⁷⁰ BORGNA, "Ancile", p. 40.

⁷¹ John of Lydia, *Mens.* IV.55 (Bandy IV.63): "ἕως τότε σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὰ ἀγκίλια". Ioannes Lydis, *Joannis Laurentii Lydi liber de mensibus* – ed. R. WUENSCH, Leipzig, 1898 (BT), p. 112. Malalas, *Chron.* I.11: "ἐὰν κάψει με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὁστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάττετε καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὁστᾶ" THURN, *Ioannis Malalae*, p. 12.

⁷² On the ideological connections between Troy and Rome, see EDWARDS, *Writing Rome*, p. 63-66. BOWERSOCK, "Old and New Rome", p. 38-40; analyses how the special relationship between Rome and Troy in the Augustan foundational myth of Rome elicited late antique reports on Constantine's envisaging Alexandria Troas as an alternative location to Byzantium for his new city.

⁷³ E. JEFFREYS, "Malalas' World View", in *Studies in John Malalas* – ed. E. JEFFREYS – B. CROKE – R. SCOTT, Sydney, 1990, p. 58-59; p. 61; A. MOFFATT, "A Record of Public Build-

this succession of three cities, Constantinople is presented as the natural ending point⁷⁴ – in opposition to Servius' canon that uses the *pignora* to emphasize the bond between Troy and Rome. The spectacular wanderings of the Palladium come to an end in Malalas' *Chron.* XIII.7 with Constantine literally anchoring the object under the pillar of the forum of Constantine in his new city. The connection between Constantinople and Troy is in this passage emphasised by the fact that Constantine put on the column a statue of himself that he took from the city of Troy.⁷⁵ As the wanderings of the Palladium illustrate, the city of Rome is only a transitory station on the road of history that began in Troy, and the end of history is reached with Constantine's foundation of the new Rome.⁷⁶

Chron. XIII.7 also expresses the moral superiority of Constantinople as a Christian city. Constantine's act of transferring in secret the Palladium from Rome to Constantinople can be interpreted as the triumph of Christianity over paganism; Constantine literally detains the pagan heritage of the city of Rome under his feet in the forum of Constantine, and emulates in his thievery the pagan heroes Diomedes, Ulysses and Aeneas, whose struggles to transfer the Palladium were thematised in other accounts.⁷⁷ In fact, the triumphalist associations brought about by the transfer of the Palladium by Constantine are etched in a strange way onto *the person of Constantine himself* in the following section. In *Chron.* XIII.8, Malalas describes the rituals surrounding the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople. A wooden statue of Emperor Constantine with the *tyche* of the city Anthousa in its hand is paraded in the hippodrome.⁷⁸ This passage is a nice

ings and Monuments", in *Studies in John Malalas* – ed. E. JEFFREYS – B. CROKE – R. SCOTT, Sydney, 1990, p. 98; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560. "Thus, the Palladion, together with other statues of its ilk, referred to Rome and through it to Troy, rooting the new city's history deep in the soil of the heroic past". S. BASSETT, "Ancient Statuary in Fourth-Century Constantinople: Subject, Style, and Function", in *Statuen in der Spätantike* – ed. F. ALTO BAUER – C. WITSCHER, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 194.

⁷⁴ As said above, Constantine also associated his new city with Cybele, thereby possibly alluding to the tensions in classical descriptions of Cybele's arrival in Rome that on the one hand picture Rome as a possible end station of Cybele's travels while on the other hand mentioning the possibility of a further transfer: PFAFF, "Théorie et pratique", p. 270-272.

⁷⁵ BOWERSOCK, "Old and New Rome", p. 40.

⁷⁶ On the deliberate reuse of statuary by Constantine to underscore the role of Constantinople as transcending the local history to become the heir to the universal Roman history, see BASSETT, "Ancient Statuary", p. 194-195.

⁷⁷ On the blurring of pagan and Christian symbolism in the site of the column of Constantine, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 561-562. These associations were fostered by the apparent presence of Christian relics on the site of the column.

⁷⁸ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 17-18. Notice how the description of the statue of Constantine underscores the parallelism between it and the Palladium; just as the Palladium, the statue of Constantine is described as a wooden statue or ξοανόν. Malalas *Chron.* XIII.8:

witness to the gradual shift in meaning of the Palladium as *pignus imperii* in sixth-century Constantinople: the emperor Constantine, as emperor and founder of the city *himself becomes a pignus imperii*.

This shift of the *pignus*, from a talismanic object to the person of the ruler, might seem at first sight as an innovation in the sixth century, but is in fact rooted deeply in the history of the *pignora*. The first living *pignus* was Troilus, the son of king Priam, who was one of the *pignora* guaranteeing the existence of Troy.⁷⁹ Also in the Roman tradition, there are associations between persons and *pignora*. A mythical precedent was created by Ovid, when he pictures Anchises, when carried by Aeneas, together with the Penates as a *sacrum alterum*.⁸⁰ Yet already from the end of the republic onward, different political players emphasized the association between the Palladium and a person to serve their political agendas. Caesar is associated with the Palladium in order to appear as the personal guarantee for Rome's safety,⁸¹ whereas Cicero compares Marcus Junius Brutus with the Palladium as the last voucher for the wellbeing of the republic.⁸²

These associations between the Palladium and the person of the ruler reach their summit during the reign of Augustus, who associates himself with the stone of Cybele and the Palladium through topographic connections; Augustus lives amongst the *pignora imperii* on the Palatine and, as such, becomes a *pignus imperii* himself.⁸³ Augustus' association between the

“ποίησας ἑαυτῷ ἄλλην στήλην ξοάνου κεχρυσωμένην βαστάζουσιν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὴν τύχην τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτὴν κεχρυσωμένην, (ἣν) ἐκάλεσεν Ἀνθούσαν” THURN, *Ioannis Malalae*, p. 247; “He had another statue made of himself in gilded wood, bearing in its right hand the *tyche* of the city, itself gilded, which he called Anthousa”. trans. JEFFREYS (*et al.*), *The Chronicle*, p. 175. I would like to thank Raphael Hunsucker for this suggestion.

⁷⁹ See, for instance, Servius *Ad Aen.* II.13.

⁸⁰ ASSENNAKER, “La place”, p. 41-42.

⁸¹ ASSENNAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 404; p. 410.

⁸² Cicero *Phil.* XI.24 and XII: ASSENNAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 408-410; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 546.

⁸³ On the association between Cybele and Augustus through topographical connections, see MCKAY WILHELM, “Cybele”, p. 91-93; see also WISEMAN, “Cybele, Virgil”, p. 126-127: “Octavian, that is, chose to live next to the precinct of Victoria, and developed his property in such a way as to give himself two divine neighbours: the goddess of Victory on one side and Apollo of Actium on the other. [...] The Great Mother had been part of this topographical complex since 204 BC, when her image was installed in the temple of Victoria until a permanent home could be built for it [...]”. On the association between the Palladium and Augustus through the cult of Vesta, see ASSENNAKER, “La place”, p. 55-62; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559; Augustus houses Vesta in the same way as the Romans housed Cybele. “Avec une grande habilité, donc, Ovide rapproche, au niveau symbolique et allégorique, Auguste du Palladium et range le Prince au nombre des ‘garants de souveraineté’ de Rome. [...] Auguste, nouveau *pignus imperii*, est placé sous la protection de Vesta au même titre que le Palladium [...]. Ovide va plus loin et présente même le souverain comme un des *pignora im-*

Palladium and the emperor as a living *pignus imperii* is part of the representation of the emperor throughout the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties, and becomes, under influence of an intense use by Hadrian, part of the standard repertoire of imperial imagery in the second century AD that in turn also explains Constantine's focus on the Palladium.⁸⁴

To sum up the first part of this third section: Malalas' treatment of the Palladium makes Constantine, as a Christian emperor, emulate not only the pagan heroes Diomedes, Ulysses and Aeneas, the first founder of Rome, but also Augustus, the second founder of Rome. Malalas re-anchors the Palladium in the context of the sixth century only by foregrounding elements that *were already present* in its previous history, namely the stress on the transferability of the Palladium and the reactivation of the association between the Palladium and the person of the ruler as *pignus imperii*.⁸⁵

Not only did sources in the sixth century re-anchor the existing *pignora* to suit the cultural and ideological exigencies of their own age, but we can also see how in the same period, authors such as John of Lydia singled out new *emblems of Empire* that were connected to the preservation of Rome.

The Latin language is a case in point. In his antiquarian discussions on what constitutes the essence of the Roman legacy, John of Lydia singles out this abstract notion, the preservation of which he couples to the existence of the Roman Empire as such.⁸⁶ Indeed, in the second book of his *De Mag-*

perii, lui aussi placé sous la protection particulière de Vesta. L'intégration du Palladium dans la construction idéologique du Principat aboutit donc finalement au transfert de la notion même de 'gage de souveraineté' à la personne du Prince". ASSEMAKER, "La place", p. 59-60.

⁸⁴ ASSEMAKER, "La place", p. 62.

⁸⁵ This shift of the Palladium from a material statue to the person of the emperor also explains the sixth-century focus on the colour purple as an emblem of Empire – antiquarian accounts of the origin and use of the colour purple can be found in John of Lydia *Mens.* I.21 (Bandy I.12), *Magistr.* I.4, I.17, I.32, II.2, II.4, II.13, Cassiodorus *Variae* I.2, and Malalas *Chron.* II.8. Not the specific material entity of the individual emperor is the guarantee for the perpetuation of the sixth-century Empire; the immaterial *idea* of the emperor, the ἀρχέτυπον εἶδος, in the words of John of Lydia, and the purple colour that symbolises it, becomes the new *pignus imperii* in the early Byzantine Empire – notice, for instance, the use of the term *porphyrogenniti*, or "those who are born in the purple" for emperors in the Byzantine period.

⁸⁶ For John of Lydia's use of Latin in order to distinguish between and connect with the Roman past, see S. DMITRIEV, "John Lydus and His Contemporaries on Identities and Cultures of Sixth-Century Byzantium", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 64 (2010), p. 31-33. For similar attitudes towards the Latin language in sixth-century legislation to reasserting the Romanness of the Eastern Roman Empire after 476, see C. ROUECHE, "Provincial Governors and Their Titulature in the Sixth Century", *Antiquité Tardive*, 6 (1998), p. 83-89. G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria*, Paris, 1984, p. 146; makes mention of an instance from the *Patria* in which the two prophetic emblems of Empire – namely statues and Latin – combine to form a powerful prediction on the doom of Constantinople: "Sur la colonne portant une croix au Philadelphion, Constantin fit sculpter non seulement les

istratibus (II.12), John of Lydia recounts a grim prediction on the fate of the praetorian prefecture that also returns later on in the work (*Magistr.* III.42):⁸⁷

If one should accept to take into account also the speculations from the predictions which some call oracles, whatever had been proclaimed at one time by Fonteius the Roman attained fulfilment, for he mentions some verses manifestly given to Romulus at one time in his ancestral words which clearly foretold that Fortune would desert the Romans at that time when they forgot their ancestral language. And, while I have inserted the so-called oracle in what I wrote *On Months*, oracles of this sort in truth were fulfilled. For, when a certain Cyrus, an Egyptian, who even today continues to be admired for poetic art, was administering both the city prefecture and that of the *praetoria*, although he knew nothing but poetry, ventured to transgress the ancient practice and produced his decrees in the Greek language, the magistracy threw away along with the language of the Romans also its Fortune.⁸⁸

événements de son règne mais des lettres latines qui indiquent les derniers temps (τὰ ἔσχατα σημαινόντα).

⁸⁷ B. BALDWIN, "Vergil in Byzantium", *Antike und Abendland: Beiträge zum Verständnis der Griechen und Römer und ihres Nachlebens*, 28 (1982), p. 88; B. BALDWIN, "Latin in Byzantium", in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium: Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference* – ed. V. VAVRINEK, Prague, 1985, p. 239; B. ROCHETTE, *Le latin dans le monde grec: recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain*, Brussel, 1997, p. 135-139; J. SCHAMP, "Remarques sur Jean le Lydien et le lexique latin à Constantinople", in *Lexicologica byzantina. Beiträge zum Kolloquium zur byzantinischen Lexicographie* – ed. E. TRAPP – S. SCHOENAUER, Göttingen, 2008, p. 48. DMITRIEV, "John Lydus", p. 40-41: "The dichotomy between the cultural and the political, however, also concealed a potential danger, which Lydus demonstrates by relating prophesy once given to Romulus [...]. Lydus used this story – which he probably had made up – to illustrate the fall of the praetorian prefecture [...]. But those who, like him, distinguished between Greek and Roman works on the basis of their language could apply this prophesy to Justinian's Empire as a whole: the loss of Roman culture and, first and foremost, the language of the Romans, was equal to the loss of the Roman political inheritance".

⁸⁸ "Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προρρήσεων στοχασμούς, οὓς τινες καλοῦσι χρησμούς, ἐν ἀριθμῷ λόγων παραλαβεῖν ὑπομένοι, πέρας ἔλαβε (τὰ) Φοντηῖω τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ ῥηθέντα ποτέ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ στίχους τινὰς δοθέντας δῆθεν Ῥωμύλῳ ποτὲ πατρίοις ῥήμασιν ἀναφέρει τοὺς ἀναφανδὸν προλέγοντας, τότε Ῥωμαίους τὴν Τύχην ἀπολείψειν ὅταν αὐτοὶ τῆς πατρίου φωνῆς ἐπιλάβωνται. καὶ τὸν μὲν λεγόμενον χρησμὸν τοῖς Περὶ Μηνῶν γραφεῖσιν ἐπεθείκαμεν, πέρας δὲ μᾶλλον ἔσχε τὰ τοιαῦτα μαντεύματα. Κύρου γάρ τινος Αἰγυπτίου, ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ νῦν θαυμαζομένου, ἅμα τὴν πολίταρχον ἅμα τὴν τῶν πραιτωρίων ἐπαρχότητα διέποντος, καὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἐπισταμένου, εἶτα παραβῆναι θαρρήσαντος τὴν παλαιὰν συνήθειαν καὶ τὰς ψήφους Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ προεγνεχότος, σὺν τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ τὴν Τύχην ἀπέλαβεν ἡ ἀρχή". Ioannes Lydus, *De magistratibus reipublicae Romanae* – ed. A. C. BANDY, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 100; p. 102; trans. BANDY, *De magistratibus*, p. 100; p. 102.

The prediction, most likely an invention by John of Lydia himself, frames the Latin language as a *pignus imperii*; its existence is coupled to the existence of the Roman Empire, and the origins of this *pignus* are coupled to Rome's mythological past through the character of Romulus. We can see how the singling out of the Latin language as a *pignus imperii* neatly fits the cultural exigencies of sixth-century Constantinople. The Latin language was – by virtue of its immateriality – a transferable *emblem of Empire* that could be taken from Rome to Constantinople. Moreover, the abstract notion of a language also allowed for a shift from a pagan to a Christian context; whereas one has to invest a certain amount of creativity to denude a pagan cult statue of its pagan character, a language is religiously neutral. The Latin language could be used by both pagans and Christians alike.

John of Lydia uses another mechanism to fit the *pignora imperii* into the context of sixth-century Constantinople; instead of mentioning a specific pagan cult statue as a *pignus imperii*, he considers *statues in general* to be the guarantees of the survival of Rome. In *De Mensibus* IV.145 (Bandy IV.53), he recounts prophecy made by the sibyls related to the care of statues in Rome:

An oracle from the *The Sibylline Books* declared that the Romans would preserve their sovereignty as long as they continuously cared for the statues of the city, which oracle clearly also has been fulfilled, for, after Avitus has reigned as emperor of Rome for the last time and dared to melt down the statues, the imperial seat was removed far from Italia.⁸⁹

Also in this instance, John of Lydia carefully models his new *pignus* on the framework of the classical *pignora imperii*. For instance, the source of this prophecy was the sibyls, who were also responsible for the predictions on the Palladium and the stone of Cybele.⁹⁰ John of Lydia gives his definition of statues as *pignora imperii* a philosophical basis in his *De Ostentis* (47, Bandy 93):

If [a thunderbolt] descends upon statues, it threatens various and serious calamities to public affairs, for, since statues were thought by the ancients to be physical representations of ideal forms and ornaments of the cities, insolence to them is a curse to public affairs.⁹¹

⁸⁹ “Ὅτι χρησμός ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ἐδήλου, μέχρι τότε Ῥωμαίοις φυλάττεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἄχρις ἂν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς πόλεως φροντίζωσιν· ὃς δὲ χρησμός καὶ πεπέρασται· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀβίτου πύματον βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἀγάλματα χωνεῦσαι τολμήσαντος, πόρρω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἢ βασιλεία”. WUENSCH, *Joannis Laurentii*, p. 165; trans. Ioannes Lydus, *De mensibus* – ed. A. C. BANDY, Lewiston, 2013, p. 237.

⁹⁰ AUDIN, “Le Palladium”, p. 46-51.

⁹¹ “εἰ δὲ κατ’ ἀγαλμάτων κατενεχθῇ, ποικίλας καὶ ἐπαλλήλους τὰς συμφορὰς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειλεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χαρακτηρὲς ἰδεῶν τινῶν καὶ κόσμια πόλεων τὰ ἀγάλματα

John of Lydia's focus on statues in general as *pignora imperii* also specifically suits the context of urban development of Constantinople in late antiquity. During the foundation of the city under Constantine, the conscious collection and assembly⁹² of statues from all parts of the Empire was a vital means to emphasize the new civic identity of Constantinople as the new capital and ruling city of the Roman world.⁹³ Although the practice of sculptural appropriation was a common habit in antiquity and especially late antiquity,⁹⁴ the consistency and scope of Constantine's statuary collection was unprecedented.⁹⁵ John of Lydia must have been acutely aware of the importance of Constantinople's statues, especially because he worked in the department of the praetorian prefecture that was responsible for the gathering and assembly of the collection under Constantine.⁹⁶ As in the case of the Palladium and the stone of Cybele, a transfer of statues lay at the heart of the Constantinopolitan sculpture collection, and the transfer of these statues is central to the definition of these statues as *pignora imperii*.

ὁπωπεύθη τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἀρὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡ περὶ αὐτὰ ὕβρις". Ioannes Lydus, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber de ostentis et calendaria Graeca omnia* – ed. C. WACHSMUTH, Leipzig, 1897 (BT), p. 102; trans. Ioannes Lydus, *De ostentis* – ed. A. C. BANDY, Lewiston, 2013, p. 203.

⁹² For a general overview of the collection, its history and early Byzantine attitudes towards it, see Bassett, *The Urban Image*; DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire*, p. 128-143.

⁹³ C. MANGO, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), p. 55-59; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 37; p. 45-49; BASSETT, "Ancient Statuary"; L. STIRLING, "Collections, Canons, and Context: The Afterlife of Greek Masterpieces in Late Antiquity", in *Using Images in Late Antiquity* – ed. S. BIRK – T. KRISTENSEN – B. POULSEN, Oxford, 2014, p. 101-105; F. ALTO BAUER – C. WITSCHER, "Statuen in der Spätantike", in *Statuen in der Spätantike* – ed. F. ALTO BAUER – C. WITSCHER, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 5; p. 7. "In [transporting statues to his new capital] the emperor proclaimed both his own authority as the sole ruler of the Roman world, and urban primacy for his city [Constantinople]. In an age when the city of Rome still held sway in the collective imagination as the capital and other centres such as Milan and Trier vied for imperial favour this was a necessary step" BASSETT, "Ancient Statuary", p. 196.

⁹⁴ C. MACHADO, "Religion as Antiquarianism: Pagan Dedications in Late Antique Rome", in *Dediche sacre nel mondo Greco-romano: Diffusione, funzione, tipologia* – ed. J. BODEL – M. KAJAVA, Roma, 2009, p. 350 n. 102; p. 350-353; STIRLING, "Collections", p. 96-114. For an introduction to the late antique attitude towards statues with extensive bibliography, see ALTO BAUER – WITSCHER, "Statuen". Archaeological findings confirm the late antique cultivation of antique statues was also established well beyond the official cultural mainstream of literature and architecture. In the French municipality Dax, for instance, the remains of the workshop of an antique-dealer and restorer of statues have been unearthed: J. SANTROT, "Bronzes et fers de Dax, Landes: la cachette d'un 'antiquaire-restaurateur' au 4e s. après J.-C.", *Gallia: archéologie de la France antique*, 53 (1996), p. 251-343.

⁹⁵ BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 39-40; BASSETT, "Ancient Statuary", p. 190.

⁹⁶ BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 42-45.

As such, John of Lydia also provides a theoretical framework for the chronicle of John Malalas. Malalas' extensive focus on the transfer of the Palladium becomes entirely logical from the theoretical viewpoint of John of Lydia; with the secretive transfer of the Palladium, the statue of Athena, from Rome to Constantinople, Constantine actually transferred the representation of the ideal form of Rome from the old to the new capital.

To conclude this third section: sixth-century east-Romans shrewdly re-anchored the *pignora imperii* to fit their own cultural exigencies of a Christian and Constantinople-based Empire. In case the known *pignora* were not fit for this new context, sources from the sixth century devise, as Servius did in the fifth century, new *pignora imperii* that accentuated the transfer of imperial power from Rome to Constantinople.

5. *Pignora imperii*: The Remarkable Longevity of a Flexible Concept

As this paper hopes to show, the concept of *pignora imperii* was highly flexible, which allowed for its longevity throughout the history of Rome, the Roman Empire and late antiquity. The *pignora* appeared as a loose group of talismans in antiquity, and Servius' composition of a canon of *pignora* appeared to be more of a restrictive act, serving Servius' own agenda, rather than describing an antique religious and ideological reality. The flexibility of the concept proved it fit for the profound shifts in the ideological landscape of late antiquity from a pagan and Rome-centered to a Christian and Constantinople-centered Empire. The sixth-century east-Romans selected and re-anchored which *pignora* they thought useful for their own cultural context, and created new *emblems of empire* which suited the same cultural exigencies. In fact, the remarkable longevity of the flexible concept of the *pignora imperii* invites us to consider long-term continuities between the Roman Empire proper and its successor in the east, the Byzantine Empire. By way of an epilogue, I conclude this paper with a short case study of a field which merits further research; the afterlife of the *pignora imperii* in the Byzantine Empire.

6. Epilogue: the Theotokos as a Byzantine *pignus imperii*?

When the Christians did discover a Christian method for sacralising Constantinople, they merely found their own palladia, among which the icon of Camuliana held pride of place, and insofar as their palladia were not made by human hands, they shared with the stone of the Great Mother a power and agency that transcended their materiality.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ ANDO, "The Palladium", p. 403.

In AD 626, the city of Constantinople was under siege by Avars, Persians and Slavs. With the emperor Heraclius gone on campaign, the garrison outnumbered and a blockade of seven days, the situation seemed desperate. Yet on the seventh of August the enemies lifted the siege. This miraculous turn of events was attributed to the divine intervention of the Theotokos herself.⁹⁸ Although the three contemporary accounts do not mention any icon of the Theotokos being involved in the resolution of the siege,⁹⁹ the icon of the Virgin figures prominently as the cause of the siege breaking from the second half of the tenth century onwards.¹⁰⁰ Icons of the Theotokos also begin to play a role in accounts of other sieges, such as the Arabic siege of the city in 719, and by the middle of the eleventh century, the cult of the Theotokos became central to the protection of the Byzantine Empire; the Blachernitissa icon protected the emperor in battle whereas the Hodegetria icon resided in Constantinople to protect the city.¹⁰¹

In this epilogue, it will be argued that the Theotokos gradually usurped the role and function that the *pignora imperii* had in antiquity and late antiquity, in order to become the Byzantine *pignus imperii* par excellence.¹⁰² The formation of this Byzantine *pignus* actually came about by a Christianisation of the preceding pagan *pignora*.¹⁰³ Early Christian polemicists already saw the similarities between the Mother of God on the one hand and Cybele, the mother of the gods on the other hand, and warned

⁹⁸ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Namely Georgius Pisides *Bellum Avaricum* v. 366-389, Theodorus Syncellus *De obsidione Constantinopolitana sub Heraclio imperatori* and *Chronicon Paschale* 716-726: PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 38-43.

¹⁰⁰ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 50-52.

¹⁰¹ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 52-59. "By the middle of the eleventh century a new practice with new cult images had appeared, one of which was the *Blachernitissa*, the icon carried in battle by the Byzantine emperors. Yet it is the Hodegetria icon, staying in the city at all times, that eventually became the *palladion* of Constantinople, the emperor and the state. As a result, this icon was placed in the center of the narratives of the Avar and Arab sieges". PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 59.

¹⁰² A. FROLOW, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 127 (1944), p. 61-127; KITZINGER, "The Cult of Images", p. 111-115; N. BAYNES, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London, 1955, p. 240-260; S. MACCORMACK, "Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor, and His Genius", *The Classical Quarterly*, 25.1 (1975), p. 148-149; S. MACCORMACK, "Loca Sancta: The organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity", in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* – ed. R. OUSTERHOUT, Urbana, 1990, p. 17-18; p. 28; Av. CAMERON, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 29 (1978), p. 79-108; P. GEARY, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* – ed. A. APPADURAI, Cambridge, 1986, p. 169-191.

¹⁰³ For a comparable process of Christianisation of the Palladium in Constantinople, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 563.

for the danger of association.¹⁰⁴ In the late fifth and early sixth centuries, the Virgin Mary usurped the functions and form of the pagan Tyche and Victoria, for instance, in the Akathistos Hymn.¹⁰⁵ Later on, the Theotokos appropriated the imagery of Victoria and Tyche in the public sphere.¹⁰⁶

Also the terminology surrounding the *pignora imperii* shimmers throughout the accounts of the miraculous interventions of the Theotokos. One of the first accounts of the Avar siege of the city (Georgius Pisides *Bellum Avaricum* v. 366-389) frames the intervention of the Theotokos in the context of a trial, using the language of Roman law, a process that evokes the legal origin of the Latin term *pignus*.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the eleventh-century chronicler Skylitzes describes the icon of the Theotokos, paraded during a triumph, as πολιοῦχος, “protector of the city”,¹⁰⁸ a description that is reminiscent of the Greek circumscriptions of the *pignora* – cf. Plut. *Numa* XIII “for the salvation of the city”, “ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως”.

The Theotokos also functioned in the same way as the *pignora* did in the city of Rome. Just as Augustus associated himself closely with the Palladium and the stone of Cybele by living in their proximity on the Palatine, the Byzantine emperors shared their abodes with the Theotokos. The imperial patronage of the Virgin Mary started in the first half of the fifth century and enjoyed a steady growth in the sixth century.¹⁰⁹ During the second half of the fifth century, the emperors constructed a chapel to the Theotokos, the *protocistis*, in the Daphne palace.¹¹⁰ This chapel was replaced with the construction of a new part of the palace, the *chrysotriclinus* under the Isaurian dynasty (717-802). This part of the palace also had a church of Mary, the church of Mary at the Pharos that was close to the *porphyrogenitus* chamber, where legitimate heirs to the throne were born under the Isaurian and Macedonian dynasties (876-1056).¹¹¹ As in the case of Augustus, in Byzantium there were close topographical links between the person of the emperor and the Theotokos as *pignus imperii*.

One of the characteristics of the *pignora imperii* was their problematized form that was the result of their functioning as an intermediary between the supernatural world and the world of humans. The same goes for the icons of the Theotokos; as an intermediary between God and the natu-

¹⁰⁴ BORGEAUD, *Mother*, p. 120-130; RAUHALA, “Devotion and Deviance”, p. 80.

¹⁰⁵ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 11-16.

¹⁰⁶ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 16-21.

¹⁰⁷ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 38-40.

¹⁰⁸ Skylitzes *Synopsis historiarum* 310 (Emperor Tzimiskes, sect. 18): PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁹ CAMERON, “The Theotokos”.

¹¹⁰ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 12.

¹¹¹ PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, p. 27-31.

ral world, the permissibility of producing icons was subject to acrimonious theological debates during the infamous period of Byzantine iconoclasm (c. 726-787 and 814-842).¹¹²

Icons of the Theotokos were, like the *pignora imperii*, vouchers for the safety of the city, and ensured the invulnerability of it during different sieges. The transfer of the Theotokos also allowed in later narratives for the eventual fall of the city in 1453; according to an early sixteenth-century account, *The Tale of Miracles of the Icon of the Tikhvin Mother of God*,¹¹³ the miraculous Theotokos icon of Tikhvin appeared hovering over the lake Ladoga in the principality of Novgorod in 1383. The account has it that the Theotokos, perhaps foreseeing the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, *transferred herself* to the principality of Novgorod, thereby robbing Constantinople of her *pignus imperii*. This notion of *pignora* transferring themselves also has an ancient pedigree; the Penates which were installed by Aeneas in Lavinium were twice transferred to Alba Longa in vain, as at night they flew back to their original abode.¹¹⁴ Also the terracotta chariot of Veii is believed to have flew from Veii to Rome.¹¹⁵

As this epilogue hopes to show, the continuing existence of the concept of *pignus imperii* in the Byzantine Empire can provide fertile ground for the assessment of ritual and religious continuities between antiquity and the middle ages. During the Byzantine period, the *pignus imperii* etched itself onto the Theotokos, placing itself at the center of Orthodox spirituality until, or even after, the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Summary

This paper uses the conceptual framework of “Anchoring Innovation”, which is being developed by OIKOS, the Dutch National Research School in Classical Studies, in order to assess matters of religious continuity and change in the late antique and Byzantine attitudes towards the *pignora im-*

¹¹² A standard overview of this period is L. BRUBAKER – J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680-850: A History*, Cambridge, 2011.

¹¹³ A. JÄÄSKINEN, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, Helsinki, 1976, p. 43-49.

¹¹⁴ Attestations to this tradition can be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* I.67.1-4 and the *Origo gentis Romanae* 17.1: DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 465; p. 498.

¹¹⁵ J. HUBAUX, “Ratūmena”, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5 (1950), p. 352-353; J. HUBAUX, *Rome et Véies: Recherches sur la chronologie légendaire du moyen âge romain*, Paris, 1958, p. 213-215; THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 311.

perii, or talismans which vouched for the safety of the Roman Empire. Notable *pignora* are the Palladium, the *ancilia*, and the stone of Cybele. The paper focuses on two periods. In the first section, a close reading of a passage of Servius from the early fifth century AD discloses how the author re-anchored the *pignora* in the contemporary context of anxieties over the preservation of pagan heritage and the imminent shift of power and prestige from Rome to Constantinople. The second section focuses on the works of John Malalas and John of Lydia in order to trace the vicissitudes of the *pignora* in sixth century Constantinople. Servius' *pignora* are re-anchored in the context of an Empire which saw itself increasingly as Christian and centred on Constantinople. Also new *pignora*, such as the Latin language and statues in Constantinople are being construed in the sixth century. The paper concludes with a short sketch of a field which merits further research; the continuity in religious attitudes towards *pignora* between late antiquity and the Byzantine period. It will be argued that icons of the Theotokos or Virgin Mary in Byzantium gradually usurp the role and function of the antique *pignora*. The paper has in two appendices 1) a list of testimonies to the Palladium, and 2) a list of transfers of Hero remains in antiquity.

Raf PRAET

University of Groningen / Ghent University
<r.g.l.praet@rug.nl>

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APPENDIX 1 : TESTIMONIES OF THE PALLADIUM

As, to my knowledge, there is no list of testimonies of the Roman tradition on the Palladium, I provide the reader with a list below – testimonies focusing on Greek narratives of the transfer of the Palladium or the whereabouts of the Palladium before the transfer to Rome have deliberately been left out. Another, incomplete list of testimonies can be found in ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 389 n. 34. The list is in chronological order, with each instance having the following scheme: Author – *Work* – [contents] – (mentions in secondary literature).

Arctinus of Miletus – see Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Aristides of Miletus – FGrHist 286 F 15; BNJ 286 F 15 – [variant of Metellus episode; Antylus rescues Palladium from burning temple of Vesta, blinded and later healed by Vesta] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 375.

Lucius Cassius Hemina – see Solinus.

Domitius Callistratus – see Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Satyrus – see Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus – *Ant. Rom.* I.68-69 – [whereabouts of the Palladium before Troy, different versions of the transfer to Rome by Aeneas] – VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”; DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 463 n. 59; p. 492 n. 162; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 206; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 981-982; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 9; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 374.

= Arctinus of Miletus – *Aethiopis* Fr. 7 (Bernabé 1987: 66) – [whereabouts of the Palladium before Troy, different versions of the transfer to Rome by Aeneas] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 981 n. 2; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 361.

= Domitius Callistratus – *περὶ Σαμοθράκης* FGrH 433 F 10 – [whereabouts of the Palladium before Troy, transfer to Rome by Aeneas] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 981 n. 2.

= Satyrus – FGrH 20 F 1 – [whereabouts of the Palladium before Troy, transfer to Rome by Aeneas].

Dionysius of Halicarnassus – *Ant. Rom.* II.66 – [Discussion on the contents of the temple treasure of the temple of Vesta, hypothesis of presence of Palladium, brought by Aeneas from Troy, copy of the Palladium taken from Troy by the Greeks] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 490-493; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 37; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; p. 555 n. 358; p. 558 n. 374; p. 558 n. 375; p. 558 n. 376; *Ant. Rom.* VI.69.1 – [transfer of Palladium to Rome by Nautes] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350.

Plautus – *Bacchides* v. 953-955, 994, 998 – [allusions] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 24.

Cicero – *Scaur.* 47-48 – [episode Caecilius Metellus] – VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”, p. 48-49; DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 460; p. 495 n. 174; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387; p. 389-390; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 56 n. 69; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 24; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 374; p. 559 n. 378; *Phil.* XI.24 – [comparison of Brutus with the Palladium] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 460 n. 48; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 24; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 37 n. 7; p. 56 n. 69; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 358; p. 558 n. 374; p. 559 n. 378.

Varro – *De familiis Troianis* see Augustine, Servius.

Strabo – *Geographica* XIII.1.27 – [the Palladium in Troy during wars between Rome and Mithridates VI of Pontus] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 362; VI.1.14 – [criticisms on claims of the cities of Heraclea, Rome, Lavinium and Luceria on the Palladium] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 988 n. 34.

Livy – *Ab urbe condita* V.52.7 – [Palladium in the temple of Vesta during the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BC] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 460-461; THEIN, “Capitoline Jupiter”, p. 289; *Ab urbe condita* XXVI.27.14 – [the temple was burned by Campanian nobles and the Palladium saved by slaves in 210 BC] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461; p. 496 n. 182; Livy in Augustine *Civ.* III.7 – [The Palladium was discovered in 86 BC by Sulla in Ilion and sent to Rome] – BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 206; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387 n. 7; p. 389; p. 390; p. 394; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 362; *Perioch.* 19 – [the Palladium saves Rome from the invading Gauls in 390 BC] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 487 n. 146; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 26.

Seneca the Elder – *Contr.* I.3.1 – [presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43; *Contr.* IV.2 – [episode Caecilius Metellus] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 495 n. 176; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 375.

Propertius – IV.4.45 – [presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43.

Ovid – *Fasti* IV.949-951 – [copy of the Palladium in the house of Augustus on the Palatine in 12 BC] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 380; VI.419-422/60 – [Palladium taken possibly by either Diomedes, Ulysses or Aeneas, Palladium in Rome, episode Caecilius Metellus] – VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”, p. 51; DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43; p. 487-490; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 206; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 36, 38 n. 8; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 554 n. 355; p. 555 n. 358; p. 557, p. 558 n. 375; p. 560 n. 391; *Trist.* III.1.29 – [Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 374; *Met.* XV.864-865 – [copy of the Palladium in the house of Augustus on the Palatine in 12 BC] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 380.

Pliny the Elder – *Naturalis Historia* VII.45.141 – [the Palladium saves Rome from the invading Gauls in 390 BC, episode Caecilius Metellus] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43; p. 495 n. 177; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 26; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 375.

Valerius Maximus – I.4.4. – [episode Caecilius Metellus] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 495 n. 175.

Silius Italicus – *Punica* XIII.30-81 – [Palladium given by Diomedes to Aeneas in Calabria, the Palladium saves Rome from the invading Gauls in 390 BC] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 26; p. 989 n. 39; p. 991 n. 51; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11; p. 49 n. 47; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; p. 555 n. 358.

Lucan – *Phars.* I.598 – [presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43; IX.993-994 – [presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 374.

Plutarch of Chaeronea – *Cam.* XX.5-6 – [transfer of Palladium to Italy by Aeneas] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 463 n. 61; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 23; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 9; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350.

Juvenal – *Sat.* III.138-139 – [episode Caecilius Metellus, presence of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 461 n. 43; p. 495 n. 179.

Appian – *Mithr.* LIII – [The Palladium was discovered in 85 BC by Flavius Fimbria in Ilion and sent to Rome (possibly by Sulla)] – ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 395; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 27; *Mithr.* CCXIII-CCXIV – [the Palladium in Troy during wars between Rome and Mithridates VI of Pontus] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 362.

Pausanias – *Periegesis* II.22-23 – [Palladium brought to Italy by Aeneas] – ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 9; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350.

Festus – *De verborum significatu*, p. 164 s.v. *Nautiorum familia* – [Palladium transferred to Rome by Nautes] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350.

Cassius Dio – *Hist. Rom.* XLII.31.3 – [The Vestal virgins evacuate the temple treasure because of riots in 47 BC] – ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 403; LIV.24.2 – [Palladium moved to the house of the *flamen Dialis* on the Palatine after a fire in the temple of Vesta in 14 BC] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 379.

Herodian – *Hist.* I.14.4-5 – [transfer by Heliogabalus] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 462 n. 53; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 206; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 28; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 382; *Hist.* V.6.3 – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 29; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 382.

Ampelius – *Liber Memorialis* XX.11 – [episode Caecilius Metellus] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 495 n. 178; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 375.

Solinus – *De mirabilibus mundi* II.14-15 – [Aeneas receives the Palladium from Diomedes in Calabria] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 463 n. 58; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 991 n. 51; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11.

= Lucius Cassius Hemina – FRH 6 F 8 – [Aeneas receives the Palladium from Diomedes in Calabria] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 463 n. 58; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 991 n. 51; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11; p. 49 n. 46; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350: p. 557.

Historia Augusta III.4, VI.9 – [transfer by Heliogabalus] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 29; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 559 n. 384.

Firmicus Maternus – *De err. prof. rel.* XV.2-3 – [invective against the Palladium, Palladium as protective *pignus imperii*] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 981 n. 1; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 359; p. 460 n. 387; p. 560 n. 388.

Prudentius – *Contr. Symm.* I.192-5, II.965-7 – [invective against the Palladium], *Persit.* 509-512 – [Palladium still in Rome] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 31; p. 992 n. 58.

Servius¹¹⁶ – *Ad Aen.* II.13 – [The Palladium is one of the fateful protectors of Troy], *Ad Aen.* II.162 – [theft of the Palladium by the Greeks].

Servius – *Ad Aen.* II.166 – [Palladium stolen from Troy by Ulysses and Diomedes, given to Nautes by Diomedes, The Palladium was discovered in 85 BC by Flavius Fimbria in Ilion and sent to Rome (possibly by Sulla), copies by Mamurius] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 496-497; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 395; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 27; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; p. 555 n. 362; p. 560 n. 392; CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610 n. 200; p. 610 n. 201.

= Varro – *De familiis Troianis* – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610 n. 200.

Servius – *Ad Aen.* II.167, *Ad Aen.* II.172-173, 175, 178-179, 183-184 – [theft of the Palladium by the Greeks], *Ad Aen.* II.188 [The Palladium is one of the fateful protectors of the city which houses it] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 348; *Ad Aen.* II.227, 241, 717.

Servius – *Ad Aen.* III.407 – [Palladium given to Nautes by Diomedes] – ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11.

¹¹⁶ For a list of passages on the treatment of the Palladium in Servius, see BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 990 n. 43. For a list of instances in which Servius discusses the copies of the Palladium made by Mamurius, see ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 399 n. 180.

= Varro – *De familiis Troianis* – CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610 n. 200.

Servius – *Ad Aen.* III.545 – [Palladium given to Aeneas by Diomedes or Ulysses] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; *Ad Aen.* III.550 – [Palladium given to Aeneas by Diomedes or Ulysses in Calabria] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; *Ad Aen.* V.81 – [Palladium given to Aeneas by Diomedes] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350.

Servius – *Ad Aen.* V.704 – [transfer of Palladium to Rome by Nautes] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 988 n. 37; ASSENMAKER, “La place”, p. 39 n. 11; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 533 n. 350.

= Varro – *De familiis Troianis* – CAMERON, *The Last Pagans*, p. 610 n. 200.

Servius – *Ad Aen.* VII.188 – [Palladium in list of *pignora*] – DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 466; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 545.

Augustine of Hippo – *Civ.* VI.2 – [On Varro’s interpretation of the Palladium] – VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”, p. 34; DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 493-495; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387; p. 406; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 26; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 375.

= Varro – *De familiis Troianis* – VOLLGRAFF, “Le Palladium”, p. 34; DUBOURDIEU, *Les origines*, p. 493-495; ASSENMAKER, “Pignus salutis”, p. 387; p. 406; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 26; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 558 n. 375.

Olympiodorus – *Olympiodori in Aristotelis Meteora commentaria* – ed. G. STUEVE, Berlin, 1900 (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 12), p. 3 – [Constantinople] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 32; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560 n. 389.

Malalas – [narrative of transfers Troy, Rome, Constantinople, see n. 66] – ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 399; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 192-193; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 30; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560 n. 389.

Procopius – *Bell. Goth.* I.15.8-14 – [Aeneas receives the Palladium from Diomedes in Calabria, Romans: whereabouts of Palladium unknown and copy in temple of Fortune, Byzantines: Palladium transferred from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine] – ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 399; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 205; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987 n. 31; p. 989 n. 42; p. 991 n. 51; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560 n. 386; *Bell. Goth.* V.15.9-14 – [Palladium taken by Diomedes and Ulysses, Aeneas receives the Palladium from Diomedes in Benevento, Romans: whereabouts of Palladium unknown and copy in temple of Fortune, Byzantines: Palladium transferred from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine] – HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 553 n. 350; p. 560 n. 389.

Later sources – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 982 n. 3 (= list of Byzantine analyses of the Palladium).

Chronicon Paschale: Vol. I – ed. L. DINDORF, Bonn, 1832 (*CSHB*), p. 204 – [transfer of the Palladium from Lavinium to Silva by Romulus and Remus] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 25; DINDORF, *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 528 – [transfer to Constantinople] – ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 399; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 193; BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 987; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560 n. 389.

Patria II.45 – [transfer to Constantinople] – ANDO, “The Palladium”, p. 399; BASSETT, *The Urban Image*, p. 198; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 560 n. 389; p. 561 n. 398.

Suda s.v. Καπιτώλιον – [transfer of the Palladium from Silva to the Capitoline in Rome by Romulus] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 25; s.v. Διομήδεις ἀνάγκη [Aeneas receives the Palladium from Diomedes in Calabria] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 991 n. 51.

Mythographi Vaticani I.40 – [Palladium stolen from Troy by Ulysses and Diomedes, given to Nautes by Diomedes, The Palladium was discovered in 85 BC by Flavius Fimbria in Ilion and sent to Rome (possibly by Sulla), copies by Mamurius, one Palladium which fell from sky in Athens, two Palladia, one in Athens, one in Troy] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 27; I.139 – [Palladium given to Nautes by Diomedes], II.224 – [Palladium stolen from Troy by Ulysses and Diomedes, given to Nautes by Diomedes, The Palladium was discovered in 85 BC by Flavius Fimbria in Ilion and sent to Rome (possibly by Sulla), copies by Mamurius] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 27.

Georgius Cedrenus – *Compendium Historiarum* p. 229-238 – [origin of the Palladium, stolen by Ulysses and Ajax, kept by Diomedes and given to Aeneas in Calabria, transfer to Rome] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 986 n. 25; p. 995 n. 69.

Zonaras – *Epitome Historiarum* XIII, 3, 28 – [Palladium directly transferred from Troy to Constantinople] – BAUDOU, “Le vol”, p. 992 n. 55; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555 n. 362; p. 560 n. 389; p. 561 n. 398.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ For a list of instances of Christian relics in the column of Constantine in later Byzantine sources, see HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 561 n. 398.

APPENDIX 2: THE TRANSFERS OF BONES OF MYTHOLOGICAL HEROES.¹¹⁸

Here follows, in alphabetical order, a list of the transfer of the remains of heroes, together with a selection of secondary literature.

Alcmene: from Haliartos to Sparta: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 196; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Aristomenes: from Rhodes to Messene: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 206-207; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 323; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Arcas: from Maenalus to Mantinea: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 204-206; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; (Parke and Wormell 1956: 197-198; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 171; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Hector: from Ilion to Thebes: ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; (Parke and Wormell 1956: 349; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 171; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Hesiod: from Naupactus to Orchomenus and from Ascrea to Orchomenus: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 209-210; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; (Parke and Wormell 1956: 395-396), BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 171; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Hippodamia: from Mida in Argolis to Olympia: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 210; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer".

Linus: from Thebes to Macedonia: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 196; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 168.

Melanippus: from Thebes to Sikyon: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 210-211; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 164-165; PHILLIPS, "The Bones", p. 303-304; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Minos: from Acragas to Crete: VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 322; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Oedipus: from Thebes to Athens: MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Orestes: from Tegea to Sparta and from Aricia to Rome: (for references, see above).

Orpheus: from Libethra to Dion: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 209-210; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

¹¹⁸ A detailed overview, also for examples from classical, Hellenistic, Roman and late antique history can be found in HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 246-393. Examples from Hellenistic history can also be found in VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 323.

Pelops:¹¹⁹ from the Peloponnesus to Troy and from Euboea to Olympia: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 208-209; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; (Parke and Wormell 1956: 349-350; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 171; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1; HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555.

Rhesus: from Troy to Amphipolis: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 197-198; FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 75; VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 322-323; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Theseus: from Skyros to Athens: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 198-204; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122; PODLECKI, "Cimon, Skyros"; FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 74-75; VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 323-324; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 170-171; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1.

Tisamenus: from Helice to Sparta: PFISTER, *Der Reliquienkult*, p. 196-197; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 122 n. 35; FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 75; VON UNGERN-STERNBERG, "Das Grab", p. 322; BOEDEKER, "Hero Cult", p. 169; p. 170; MCCAULEY, "The Transfer", figure 1; PHILLIPS, "The Bones", p. 311-312.

¹¹⁹ One tradition connects the remains of Pelops to the Palladium; the statue of Athena was carved out of the shoulder bone of Pelops: HARTMANN, *Zwischen Relikt*, p. 555.

The Mediaeval Question-and-Answer Collection *Sententiae de floratibus diuersis*: Standard and Non-Standard Versions*

Javier SOAGE

(Salamanca)

The article “Zwei Florilegien von theologischen *interrogationes* und *responsiones* in Monte Cassino: *Item alie questiones in quibus sunt nonnulle de Genesi* (Bibl. Abb. 29) und *Item questionem veteris testamenti* (Bibl. Abb. 187)”, by Lukas J. Dorfbauer,¹ carries out a meticulous comparison between the contents of the treatises mentioned in its title.² Parallel contents are numerous, as well as individual ones. Dorfbauer points out (p. 270) that the text in the questions number 91-134 of Monte Cassino, Bibl. Abb. 29, (absent in Monte Cassino, Bibl. Abb. 187), approximately matches those of a mediaeval florilegium transmitted under the title *Sententiae de floratibus diuersis* (*SFD*) or similar ones.³

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¹ L. J. DORFBAUER, “Zwei Florilegien von theologischen *interrogationes* und *responsiones* in Monte Cassino: *Item alie questiones in quibus sunt nonnulle de Genesi* (Bibl. Abb. 29) und *Item questionem veteris testamenti* (Bibl. Abb. 187)”, *Sacris Erudiri* 51, 2012, p. 257-285.

² The first one is available in J. C. MARTÍN IGLESIAS, “El tratado *Item aliae quaestiones in quibus sunt nonnulle de Genesi* conservado en Montecassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, 29. Edición y estudio”, *Sacris Erudiri* 50, 2011, p. 341-412. The differing contents of Montecassino, Bibl. Abb. 187 are offered in appendix in Dorfbauer’s article.

³ The collection was first noticed by A. WILMART, “Les messes de la Collection de Saint Amand”, in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3, 1923, p. 69, n. 15. Some years later, a short register of MSS was offered by W. SUCHIER, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrian und Epictitus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum)*, Tübingen, 1955, p. 41. The text was recently mentioned in L. J. DORFBAUER (ed.), Ps.-Augustinus, *De Oratione et Elemosina. De Sobrietate et Castitate. De Incarnatione et Deitate Christi ad Ianuarium. Dialogus quaestionum*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011 (*CSEL* 99), p. 252-253, n. 43. For the relations between the manuscript tradition of the *Sententiae de*

The manuscript tradition of this florilegium comprises 23 MSS. My personal research, parallel to that commenced by Dorfbauer, allows me to dress the following list of MSS containing either the complete text or long excerpts of the work. Items marked with * offer (or are suspected to offer) no more than large parts of the florilegium:

- (A) Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40, saec. IX, fol. 13v-18v
- (E) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281, saec. VIII-IX, p. 60-77
- * (C) El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8, c. 860/870, fol. 77r-78r
- * Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 288, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 55r-59r (not inspected)
- (Q) Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 29, saec. X, fol. 78v-81r (not inspected; text from Martín's edition)
- * München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8439, saec. XV, fol. 190ra-191va (not inspected)
- (M) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410, saec. IX^{med}, p. 1-6
- * Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 116, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 63rv (not inspected)
- Osek, Knihovna Kláštera, MS 48, saec. XIV, fol. 204v-206r (not inspected)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 399, saec. XV, fol. 88v-90v (not inspected)
- * (D) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A, saec. IX-X, fol. 2r (formerly a single codex together with Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2787 and lat. 2817, both saec. XI; the last one, not yet inspected, seems to offer excerpts from the *SFD* at fol. 94r-98v)
- (P) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1603, saec. VIII-IX, fol. 152v-159v

floratibus diuersis and that of the *Dialogus quaestionum LXV*, see the critical study of group *α* (p. 231-255). According to G. DE VILLEFROY'S *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Paris: Typographia Regia, 1744, vol. 3, Isidore's *Sententiae* (CPL 1199) are copied under the similar title *Liber sententiarum de diuersis floratibus* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1539 and lat. 1540. Moreover, in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230 (fol. 420-437), and MS 225 (fol. 62-113), Isidore's *Allegoriae* (CPL 1190) are offered under the headline *De floratibus sancti Isidori*.

- * (R) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 137v-139v
 - (G) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225, saec. VIII-IX, p. 461-473
 - (T) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230, saec. VIII^{2/2}, p. 316-325
 - (S) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 426, saec. IX^{med}, p. 274-287
 - (K) Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682, saec. IX^{1/2}, p. 399-408
 - (V) Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 846, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 104r-106r
 - (W) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1114, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 60v-65v
 - * (Z) Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 104, saec. IXⁱⁿ, p. 94-99
- The list prepared by Dorfbauer took into account the following MSS unknown to me:⁴
- (N) Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 34r-37r
 - * (L) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 129, saec. IXⁱⁿ, fol. 16rv
 - (F) Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat., 6018, saec. IX¹, fol. 100r-103v

While they are still related to each other, the texts of the copies that I have inspected notably differ from one another: entire groups of questions arise and appear to be absent, the order of individual questions slightly varies, the whole text is rephrased, etc. Nevertheless, a standardised version seems to have acquired general acceptance, since it is accurately transmitted by a large number of MSS. The main aim of this article is to provide a description and a critical edition of this standardised version. Secondly, it seeks to define as precisely as possible the relationships between this widespread standard text and the remaining versions. In order to do so, I will first focus on the distinctive features of the standard version as well as on its textual tradition, especially on the most aberrant witnesses; then, the non-standard versions will be compared to the standard one. A superficial source study will shed some light on the conformation of the collection and on the relations between its different preserved states.

⁴ Some of these references will appear in L. J. DORFBAUER's forthcoming article "Umformungen patristischer Texte zu Frage-und-Antworten-Sammlungen: Fundamenta des Unterrichts in frühmittelalterlicher und karolingischer Zeit?", n. 14, whose text the author has gently put to my disposal.

1. The Standard Version (MSS *EPWATVCSGFQMD*)

The standard version, which has reached this status solely due to widespread use, is fully or partially copied in the following 13 MSS, provisionally arranged according to their stemmatical grouping and relevance: *EPWATVCSGFQMD*. One should not overlook the fact that some unseen MSS mentioned above may belong to this group.

While without any indication, the 46 questions and answers of the standard version are clearly distributed in two different sections, namely the first part (questions 1-20) and the second part (questions 21-46).⁵ The latter deals with the Trinity, with dogmatic, Christology, questions on the Old Testament and more. Its questions are grouped both by content and by structure,⁶ and they chiefly depend on the same patristic and mediaeval sources (see below). However, the items are grouped in a rather simple way, as a mere collection of *interrogationes* and *responsiones*. On the other hand, the first part does present a connected series of questions. Questions from 1 to 12 (first group) deal with the human being, primarily regarding the individual parts of its body and the elements which it is made of.⁷ Next, questions from 13 to 17 (second group) deal with the Christian man and baptism, and a remarkable interest is taken in sin, a recurring theme in homiletic literature. Then, questions 18 and 19 (third group) approach the belief in resurrection. Finally, question number 20 (fourth group) offers the Creed. The *interrogationes* in each group of the first part are more or less deduced from the previous *responsiones*. In fact, the wording “*quomodo?*” or “*pro quid?*”, sometimes followed by the text of the previous answer, is clear enough as an *interrogatio* (see questions 3, 4, 8, 9, 16, 19). Furthermore, a few words smooth the transition between some groups by

⁵ Exceptionally, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225 (G) leaves a two-lines blank between questions number 20 and 21, at p. 466.

⁶ Questions 21-24: “*Inter X and Y?*”; questions 25-28: “*X pro quid dicitur?*”; questions 29-33: “*Quibus modis... Deus?*”; questions 34-36: compound questionnaires; questions 41 and 42: “*Quo tempore...?*”; questions 43-46: the books of the Bible.

⁷ This is quite a widespread motif in Latin mediaeval exegetical and homiletical works. Its appearance might be justified by the profitable use of this knowledge in allegorical interpretation (see the pseudo-Hieronymian *Expositio IV Euangeliorum* [CPL 631], PL 30, col. 546D, 554B; and DE BRUYNE’s *Collectario de diuersis sententiis*, as cited below, n. 27, p. 332, bottom), as well as in the conciliation of apparently divergent motifs by means of numerical agreement (see PL 30, col. 533AB, here in the usual form of a list). This practical use of pseudo-scientific knowledge seems supported by systematic collections of more or less fantastic definitions, such as the one in the *Prebium de multorum exemplaribus* (as cited below, n. 9), questions from 38 to 48, almost exactly paralleled in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 426 (our S), p. 287-289. More parallels in L. W. DALY & W. SUCHIER, *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi* (CPL 1155f.i), Urbana (Illinois), 1939, p. 126-127.

briefly summarising the previous subject: quest. 13 (i.e. first question of the second group): “*Tu, qui homo es, sub qua lege uiuis?*” (thus summarising the first group: human being); quest. 20 (i.e. the fourth group): “*Quatenus dicis homo es, Christianus es, baptizatus es, resurrectionem credis, expone mihi fidem tuam...*” (thus summarising the first, the second, and the third groups).

Nevertheless, the structure of the standard version cannot be taken as a decisive feature which determines the ascription of a copy to this group, especially of the partial copies, such as *C* (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8), *M* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410), *D* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A), and *Q* (Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, MS 29). The following critical observations may be taken into account in order to distinguish the standard version from the non-standard ones. The standard samples are taken from the edition in appendix.

- Question 17: “*De sex peccatis Adae*”. The patristic and ultimate source of this excerpt is Augustine’s *Enchiridion* (CPL 295) 13.45. In the latter, Adam’s *superbia* is illustrated by means of the following sentence: “*nam et superbia est illic, qua homo in sua potius esse quam in dei potestate dilexit*”. The widespread independent transmission of this excerpt has subsequently modified its wording and extent (see below). However, the substitution of “*potestate*” by “*uoluntate(m)*” is solely found in the standard-version witnesses of the *SFD*. This word “*uoluntate(m)*” constitutes the first critical reading in the standard text. On the contrary, the non-standard-version MSS of the *SFD* including this question, namely *N* (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324), *K* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682), *Z* (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 104), and *L* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 129) do read *potestate*.⁸ The non-standard ms. *R* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718) does not read this question.

⁸ Exceptionally, MSS *A* (Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40) and *G* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225) do read “*potestate*” against the standard-version consensus (*A* rather copies: “*in sua potestate esse uoluntarie*”, where “*uoluntarie*” may be a trace of “*uoluntate*” in its model). Still, their belonging to the standard version is sufficiently proven by means of additional evidences. It is noteworthy that these two MSS also share a common reading against both the standard and non-standard versions in this very question: *sanguine pretioso] sanctum sanguinem AG*. Both readings are shared by Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, MS 78, olim 18, saec. X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ, fol. 213v (see J. LECLERCQ, O.S.B., “Textes et manuscrits de quelques

- Question 32: “*Quibus modis creditur Deus?*” Mediaeval latin literature has traditionally attributed four epithets to God, namely “*bonus*”, “*perfectus*”, “*omnipotens*” and “*sempiternus*”.⁹ None of the standard-version MSS read the third adjective, “*perfectum*”. They instead list, at most, three items, paradoxically preceded by the numerals “*quinque*” or, exceptionally for Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281, “*quattuor*”. This omission constitutes the second critical reading in the standard text. On the other hand, the non-standard-version MSS including this question, namely *R* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718), and *N* (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324), do copy the four epithets, paradoxically introduced by “*quinque*” or “*tribus*”, respectively. The remaining non-standard-version MSS (*Z*, *K*, and *L*) are defective at this point.
- Question 40: the “*Hexameron*”. Judging by the non-standard versions including this question, namely *R* and *N*, the remaining non-standard MSS being defective at this point, one can assume that the whole *interrogatio* (“*ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus quales creaturas ex nihilo condidit omnipotens Deus?*”), headlined (40.) in the edition, has been omitted in the standard version, probably by accident, since its text was repeated almost word by word at the beginning of the *responsio* (“*ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus duas creaturas ex nihilo condidit Deus*”), before the proper answer (“*angelicam uidelicet creaturam et informem materiam...*”). In fact, homoioteleuton may then have been the reason why *N* omitted the first sentence of the *responsio* (“*ante... condidit Deus*”). This omission constitutes the third critical reading in the standard text. Attention must be paid to the reading of the standard-version witness *Q* (Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, MS 29), where the

bibliothèques d’Espagne”, *Hispania Sacra* 2, 1949, fasc. 1, p. 91-118, esp. 96-97). For more information about the indirect tradition of this question, see below.

⁹ Mediaeval parallel passages: “Questiones tam de uetere quam de nouo testamento” (*CPL* 1194) (quest. 20), in R. E. McNALLY (ed.), *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores, pars I*, Turnhout, 1973 (*CCSL* 108B), p. 199; “the Irish Commentary on the Catholic Epistles” (Stegmüller 6, nos 9381-9387) (l. 69-72), *ibidem*, p. 4; “Prebium de multorum exemplaribus” (quest. 12), *ibidem*, p. 162; and *Liber de Numeris* (*CPL* 1193°) 4.23 (cf. R. E. McNALLY, *Der irische Liber de Numeris: eine Quellenanalyse des Pseudo-Isidorischen Liber de Numeris* [unpublished dissertation], München, 1957, p. 82).

same first sentence has been rephrased to form an independent question (“*ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus quas creaturas ex nihilo condidit Deus?*”), followed by a proper answer (“*angelicam uidelicet creaturam...*”).¹⁰

- Some discursive characteristics are shared by all these 13 MSS. Firstly, in questions that seek to explain the individual members of a group (e.g.: “*Pater dicitur...*”, “*Filius dicitur...*”, “*Spiritus Sanctus dicitur...*”), individual *interrogationes* are expected (“*Pater pro quid dicitur?*”, “*Filius pro quid dicitur?*”, etc.), as found in MSS not ascribed to the standard version. Nevertheless, the standard-version MSS place all the responses in reply to one single *interrogatio*, namely the first one of the group (e.g.: “*Pater pro quid dicitur?*”).¹¹ Similarly, the standard version sometimes supplies profitable extra information within the answer to a generic question without being expressly asked to do so.

¹⁰ Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, MS 29 (*Q*) inserts the *SFD* in a much wider collection of questions (see above, n. 2). It is perhaps due to this new location that several passages offer a wording not shared by any other witness. Besides some minimal variations surprisingly close to Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40 (quest. 1: *formatus*] *factus AQ*; quest. 30: *Paulus dicit*] *Paulus ait AQ*), the particular readings of *Q* may concern the whole text of an answer (e.g.: quest. 39, see below), as well as the selection of biblical quotes used to illustrate a theological idea, e.g.: quest. 29-30 (51 in Martín’s edition, outside the excerpt corresponding to the *SFD*):

<i>SFD</i> (standard version)	Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, MS 29 (<i>Q</i>)
(29) Quibus modis dicitur Deus? Tribus modis dicitur Deus: essentialiter, nuncupatiue et falso.	(51) INT. Quot modis dicitur deus? RP. Tribus: essentialiter, nuncupatiue ac falso.
(30) Quomodo? Essentialiter, ut Paulus dicit: <i>Qui est benedictus Deus in saecula</i> . Nuncupatiue, ut Dominus dicit ad Moysen: <i>Deum te constitui pharaonis</i> . False, ut dicitur: <i>Dii qui non fecerunt caelum et terram pereant de terra!</i>	Essentialiter, ut Paulus ait: <i>Qui est <u>super omnia</u> deus benedictus in saecula. Amen</i> . Nuncupatiue, sicut ad Moysen dicitur: <i>Constitui te deum pharaoni, et illud: <u>Ego dixi: di estis</u></i> . False, ut di qui non fecerunt caelum et terram, <i><u>de quibus dicitur: Et non erat cum eis deus alienus</u></i> .

¹¹ This happens in questions 26 (*Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus*) and 38 (*fides, spes, caritas*). The disunited, non-standard wording is found in MSS *R* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718), *K* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682), and *N* (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324). The remaining non-standard witnesses, namely *Z* (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 104) and *L* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 129) do not copy those questions (see the comparative grid below). Both questions are also missing from the partial copies *C* (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8) and *D* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A).

Manuscripts not ascribed to the standard version explicitly request this information by means of intermediate questions.¹²

Before going on with the close study of the standard-version, a last discrepancy between the latter and the non-standard versions should be pointed out. It is found in question number 40 (above referred to as *Hexameron*). In the standard version, the text of this question is closed by a glose to Gn 1.26 (“*ad imaginem et similitudinem suam*”), which is as follows: “*id est, ad aeternitatem et immortalitatem*”. Among the five non-standard witnesses known up to the moment (*R*, *K*, *N*, *L*, and *Z*), only two of them offer this question, namely *R* and *N*. There, the glose is followed by the words “*liberi arbitrii uoluntatem*”. It is hard to determine whether these words are a non-standard addition or an omission of the standard-version.¹³ On the

¹² This happens in questions 4 (the extra information starts at “*anima proprie dicta...*”) and 16 (the extra information starts at “*id est superbia...*”). The explicitly asked questions of the non-standard versions are found in *K* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682), *N* (Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324), and *Z* (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 104). The remaining non-standard witnesses, namely *R* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718) and *L* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 129) do not copy those questions (see the comparative grid below).

¹³ The only parallel identified in my research is found in an unedited work under the title (among others) *Excarpsus de diuersis auctoribus*, first discussed by W. LEVISON, *England and the continent in the Eighth Century*, Oxford, 1946, p. 302-214, Appendix X: “Venus, a Man, from an Unpublished Sermon”. To the MSS mentioned by Levison five more should be added, namely Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Q. Theol 10, saec. IX^{1/3}, fol. 73v-88r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 5600, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 103v-114v (closely related to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2817, saec. XI, mentioned above); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A, saec. IX-X, fol. 179v-180r, partial; Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, MS CXCVI, saec. IX, fol. 189v-191v, partial; and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 22225, saec. XII (ca. 1154-1159), fol. 153r-154r, partial. The first part of the work is a brief commentary on Genesis 1-3.8 formed by a series of glosses to single verses. It is abruptly interrupted by two excerpts found in the *SFD*: firstly, there is a brief exposition on the six sins of Adam, followed by a digression on the Passion, death and resurrection of Christ (cf. *SFD* 17); the whole text is very close to the one in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 78, olim 18, saec. X^{ex}-XIⁱⁿ, fol. 213v (see n. 8); and secondly, we find the *Hexameron* which we are dealing with (cf. *SFD* 40). On these two excerpts, see n. 18. In the *Excarpsus*, the glose “*id est, ad aeternitatem et immortalitatem*” is not followed by the three words in *R* and *N*, “*liberi arbitrii uoluntatem*”. Given that, one could accept that “*liberi arbitrii uoluntatem*” is a common addition of the non-standard witnesses *R* and *N*. However, one may not reject the possibility that the *Excarpsus* and the standard version of the *SFD* have individually or jointly omitted the three words. Note that the *Excarpsus* shows a remarkable similarity to Pirmin’s *Scarapsus*, a work transmitted by three MSS of the *SFD*, namely Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, 40; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1603; and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 199, formerly, a single codex together with MS 281 (E. HAUSWALD [ed.], Pirmin, *Scarapsus*, [MGH, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 25], Hanover, 2010). The proximity of the three works seems clear to me. It

other hand, most of the standard witnesses, namely *PWATVCSGFQM*, can be classified.

PWATVC Group

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1603 (*P*); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1114 (*W*) Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40 (*A*); St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230 (*T*); Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 846 (*V*); and El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8 (*C*), form a group recognised by the fact that the Creed (question 20) is interrupted at *patrem omnipotentem* by the formula *et reliqua quae sequuntur de symbolo Nicaeno* (with orthographic divergences). Since an exemplar is not required for the Creed to be written down, its truncation in a codex would not prevent future copyists from reestablishing it. The grouping should then lay on more subtle common errors:

- 19. credo postquam moriar quod resurgam] *om.* credo *PWATVC*
- 19. ascendit Christus Filius Dei] Christus Filius Dei ascendit *PWATVC* (*om.* Christus *A*)
- 23. inter id quod (in both question and answer)] *om.* id *PWATVC* (in the answer)
- 23. enim... enim... (correlative construction)] *om.* enim² *PWATV* (*deest C*).

A closer relation between *T* and *V* may be pointed out:

- 4. quomodo¹ – corpore (the entire *interrogatio*)] *om.* *TV*
- 12. [caput namque] datum[que] est illi hoc nomen] caput namque ei datum est quia est illi hoc nomen *T*, caput namque dictum est que est illi hoc nomen *V* (*deest C*). The resulting readings suggest problems regarding the comprehension of their model(s).
- 17. (*l.* 9) nos] *om.* *TV*
- 24. (*l.* 6/7) Pater – fuit] *om.* *TV* (*homoioleuton*)
- 34. (*l.* 4) erat¹] *om.* *TV*
- 35. a Iudaeis ut adultera] adultera ut a Iudaeis *V*, *om.* ut adultera *T*. The reading of *V* suggests a defective model in which the words *ut adultera* would have been added in later, in the margin.
- 39. quia fides] *om.* *TV*
- 39. (*l.* 3) spes] ipse *TV*
- 42. roborandam] –um *TV*

would be interesting to study the *SFD* in light of both texts and their main sources, Martin of Bracara's *De correctione rusticorum* and Caesarius of Arles' *Sermons*, but this will be undertaken on another occasion.

42. Hebrea] hebreica *TV*

42. (*l.* 9/10) an legislatorem] angelum latoris *T*, angelis latoris *V*

46. Iohannis] *om.* *TV*

It should be pointed out that *P*, *W*, *A*, *T*, and *V* also share some similar readings which do not lead to a more precise *stemma*. However, a single error (not necessarily a *common error*) deserves to be mentioned:

9. flatus] factus *P¹WAV*; flatus *P²T*; *deest C*. As it happened in *P*, the reading *flatus* in *T* may have resulted from a correction.

SGFQM Group

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 426 (*S*); St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225 (*G*); Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 6018 (*F*); the reformulated version of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410 (*M*);¹⁴ and the version included in Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 29 (*Q*) (see n. 2) ultimately depend on a common model. Despite the deeply transformed text of *M*, many common errors exist between this MS and the remaining witnesses of the group *SGFQM*, as shown below. Due to the lack of text in both *M* and *Q*, a single common divergence supports the existence of the *SGFQM* group:

24. nihil... nihil] non enim... non *SGFQM*.

More divergences common to *SGFQ* (*deest M*) or *SGFM* (*deest Q*) are:

21. nam quis considerare sufficiat Trinitatis interna mysteria] *om.* *SGFM* (*deest Q*)

21. a nobis ita] ita a nobis *SGFM* (*deest Q*)

28. Vnitas] *om.* *SGFQ* (in *M*, the merging of the answers 27 and 28 in response to question 27 makes it impossible to determine whether the model of *M* read *unitas* or not)

¹⁴ Some texts of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410 (*M*), among which the *SFD*, not identified as such, have been edited and studied by F. BRUNHÖLZL, *Studien zum geistigen Leben in Passau im achten und neunten Jahrhundert* (Abhandlungen der Marburger Gelehrten Gesellschaft Nr. 26), München, 2000. In contrast to the standard version, *M* does not offer the following questions: 10-11, 14, 23, 29-46. It offers quite a different and shortened version of the text (fol. 1-6, p. 52-54 on Brunhölzl's edition) based on the standard version. Speech and style have been deeply transformed, but the text is still recognisable. In the light of recent research, Brunhölzl's conjectural elimination of the following passage should be rejected (p. 52, *l.* 9; *SFD*8): "*Quomodo caeli terrae aeris maris*", considered at the time as a crude repetition of the similar text which follows it: "*Quomodo caeli et terre et reliqua*". Judging by the standard version, the erased part does belong to the text, and should be understood this way: "*INT Quomodo? RP. Caeli, terrae, aeris, maris. INT. Quomodo caeli et terre et reliqua?*".

35. etiam] *om. SGFQ* (same remark for *M*)
 42. primus ordo lex] primo ordine legitur *S*, primo ordo legitur *F*
 (*desunt GQM*)
 46. (*L*. 14) libri – Testamenti¹] *om. SF* (*desunt GQM*)

A closer relation between *S* and *G* is easily remarkable:

9. refertur] reuertitur *SG* (exceptionally, this reading is also shared by *W*)
 10. regat] regnat *SG*
 12. datumque] cumque *S*, tumque *G*
 14. potestatis] *om. SG*
 17. semet ipsum] se ipsum *SG*
 21. originem sumpsit] origine sumito *S*, origine sumpto *G*
 30. qui¹] *praem.* ut *SG*
 34. quando erat] *om. SG*
 40. condidit] dedit *SG*

A direct dependence of *S* on *G* or viceversa is not possible. The text from *G* stops at question 42, which makes it impossible for it to be used as a model for *S*. Conversely, some of the text which appears in *G* is missing from *S* (question 3), which makes it impossible for *G* to be dependent on the latter.

Other deviations only concern *S*, *G*, and *M*:

17. usurpatus est] usurpauit *GM* (and *L*), urumpauit *S*; usurpatus est *F* (*deest Q*)
 17. uiginti et octo] xuiii *SGM*², xxuiii *F*² (*deest Q*). The readings *ante correctionem* of *M* and *F* are not clear. In *M*, something has been scraped off before the extant *x*: it may have been another *x*, or the letters *ti*, for *CCti* (*ducenti*). In *F*, an unrecognisable character has been removed before the extant *u*.

However, these two deviations concerning *S*, *G*, and *M* cannot be classified as common errors, as they may be due to independent causes.

At question 21, MSS *S*, *G*, *F*, and *M* (*deest Q*) offer four different wordings for the standard-version and Isidorian text “*si enim*”: *se nisi S*, *si nos G*, *si F*, *si autem M*. Similarly, question 4, MSS *S*, *G*, *F*, *Q* and *M* offer four different wordings for the suspect but standard text “*agit corpore*”: *cogitat corpore SG*, *agitat corpore F*, *animet corpus, id est uiuificet Q*, *uegitat corpus M*.¹⁵ Whilst these divergences from the standard-version text cannot be

¹⁵ The word “*cogitat*” (as in *S* and *G*) may have been derived from “*agitat*” (as in *F*). As for the readings of *M* and *Q*, they may be explained by the use of supplementary literature: “*uegitat corpus*” (as in *M*) is used by Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 11.1.3 and *Diff. [II]* 27.97, *l.* 20-24) and by the anonymous authors of the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* (2.13) and “*Quaestiones*”, as in n. 9, quest. 51; the reading “*animet corpus, id est uiuificet*” (as in *Q*)

taken as common errors, they suggest that the common model of *SGFQM* was unclear on these points, or that its scribe deliberately tried to improve the text of the model.

In fact, there are some forceful reasons that suggest conscious reworking by the copyist. At question 24, the correlative reading shared by these five MSS (“*non enim... non*”) against the original reading (“*nihil... nihil*”) – supported by the remaining standard and non-standard *SFD* MS tradition and by the *Expositio fidei catholicae* (CPL 1052) of pseudo-Venantius Fortunatus – does not seem to be a mistake, but a learned alternative. In addition to this, the sporadical use of “*conditio*” instead of “*causa*” when the latter is being continuously repeated is equally stylish.¹⁶ This feature is solely found in *S*, *G*, and *F*, since *Q* and *M* are defective at these points. This example of *variatio*, which avoids the rhetorically poor repetition of the word “*causa*”, seems the rework of a plain original wording, rather than a preciosity rejected by a less lenient scribe.

It should also be pointed out that in question 41, the witnesses *S*, *F*, and *Q* (*deest M*) share the reading “*in die dominico*”, against the multiple solutions proposed by the remainings standard and non-standard witnesses (*in di[a]e quo PTVR*, *in die qua N*, *in quo A*, *quo E*). The reading of *G*, “*in die*”, cannot be categorised under any group. Only the non-standard witness *K* (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682) reads “*in die dominico*” as well. This reading seems supported by the structure of the *responsio* (“*in die dominico dixit Deus ‘Fiat lux!’*, *in die dominico resurrexit a mortuis*, *in die dominico factus est mundus*”). However, its information is repetitive (“*indicatur ex traditione ecclesiastica: mense martio, die dominico, VIII kalendas aprilis... in die dominico factus est mundus*”). Given that, this would lead one to believe that there was a conscious modification of an unsatisfactory model.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A (*D*)

An excerpt of the collection (questions number 11-17 of the standard version) was published in 2000 by G. MacGinty in *Pauca Problemmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis* (CCCM 173), p. 220-221, l. 60-79. This text, originating “rather earlier than 750 AD” according to the editor, is part of a long commentary to the whole text of the Bible, usually called

is close to Augustine’s *De natura et origine animae* 4.23.37: “*animae nomen est ab eo, quod corpus animet, hoc est uiuificet*”.

¹⁶ This happens in questions 34, 35 and 36. In 34 “*condition*” is used instead of the first ‘*causa*’; in 35, instead of the third “*causa*”; in 36, instead of the fourth “*causa*”.

das Bibelwerk or *the Reference Bible*.¹⁷ It is edited according to two recensions: the *textus longior*, the original compilation; and the *textus breuior*, a shorter version of the previous one. Among the three MSS containing the *textus breuior*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A (our *C*) individually offers a brief collection of texts preceeding *Pauca problesmata* (p. 219-223 in the edition, twelve paragraphs). The excerpt of the *SFD* can be found at fol. 2r, sixth paragraph of the edition. The last two questions, on the six sins of Adam (*SFD* 16 and 17, until “*usurpatus est*”), show some standard-version distinctive features discussed above. The short nature of the text actually available in *C* prevents us from ascribing the witness to one of the previously studied groups of MSS. At least, it can be said that it cannot be ascribed to the *SG* group.¹⁸

Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281 (*E*)

Whilst belonging to the standard version, this MS does not offer any evidence to justify its inclusion in one of the stemmatical groups discussed above. Furthermore, it offers some affinities with the non-standard MSS *R* and *N* against the standard consensus. Most of these readings are more reliable than the common standard ones, therefore no evidence is truly furnished to support a common origin for *E*, *R*, and *N*. All the excerpts concerned are absent in the remaining non-standard MSS.

¹⁷ G. MACGINTY (ed.), Anonymus, *Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*, Turnhout, 2000 (CCCM 173), usually referred to as *Pauca Problesmata*, *De aenigmatibus* or the Pentateuch of the *Reference Bible* (*Wendepunkte* 1A-C). On its full dependence on the *Commemoratio Geneseos* (*Wendepunkte* 3), see M. M. GORMAN, “Frigulus: Hiberno-latin Author or Pseudo-Irish Phantom? – Comments on the edition of the *Liber questionum in euangeliiis* (CCSL 108F)”, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 100, 2005, p. 425-456, esp. 427.

¹⁸ As the excerpt from *SFD* here discussed, both long and short versions of *Pauca Problesmata* offer a list of the seven sins of Adam (including gluttony) parting from Augustine's *Enchiridion* 13.45 (*textus longior* §211α; *textus breuior* §51β). If the twelve paragraphs preceding the *textus breuior* had been a proper introduction singularly conserved in the Paris ms., as stated by MacGinty, the list of sins would not have been copied twice and in two different ways. I then believe that this brief collection of texts should be taken as an independent collection of interrogative excerpts. Furthermore, there is an important fact which deserves to be mentioned. This manuscript includes the so-called “Carolingian miscellany” (M. M. GORMAN, “The Carolingian miscellany of exegetical texts in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175”, *Scriptorium* 51, 1997, p. 336-355). Along its eighth item, the “Interrogationes de littera et de singulis causis”, the Paris MS independently supplies two abrupt interpolations, one at fol. 182rv, of uncertain origin; the other one at fol. 179v-180r, whose text corresponds to the *Hexameron* and the six sins of Adam (cf. *SFD* 17 and 40; cf. also the *Excursus*, as in n. 13, more precisely as copied in Paris, BnF, lat. 5600). Both interpolations have been left unnoticed and unedited in N. EVERETT's study, “The *Interrogationes de littera et de singulis causis*: An Early Medieval School Text”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16, 2006, p. 227-275.

42. quando uerba decalogi accepit *RNE* ~ quando decalogi accepit (*st. vers. consensus*)
46. primi namque *RE* (*deest N*) ~ primaque (*st. vers. consensus*, with minimal changes)
23. primum... alter enim³ *R*, primum... alter uni (-um³) *E* (*deest N*) ~ primum... alteri (*st. vers. consensus*). The reading *alterum* used in the edition, not attested in any witness of the *SFD*, comes directly from the patristic source, Isidore's *Differentiae* [II] 5.13, l. 1-7.
23. in forma enim serui in qua factus est *R*, *om.* in² *E* (*deest N*) ~ *om.* in qua (*st. vers. consensus*)

Question number 40 (the *Hexameron*) offers another interesting reading shared by *E*, *R*, and *N*. The Christian doctrine on the Creation associates the first day to the apparition of light, as it is found in every known witness of this particular *Hexameron* except for *R*, *N*, and *E* (see n. 13). Instead, *R*, *N*, and *E* all read “*prima die condedit caelum*” (the orthography is that of *E*). This wording is evidently mistaken in relation to the doctrine. However, it is not clear whether it is mistaken with regard to the original text of the *SFD*, since the doctrinal teaching was popular enough to have suggested a correction from “*caelum*” to “*lucem*” at a certain point of the transmission. Therefore, in the light of this remark, one cannot adduce the existence of an *ERN* group.

Some MSS listed at the beginning of the article have been inaccessible to me; however, they may also be part of the standard version. For instance, judging by S. Keefe's *Explanations symboli aevi carolini*,¹⁹ <textus 15>, the codex Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 116 (94), fol. 63r – containing excerpts from questions 21-39 under the title *De Trinitate* – may be connected to Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281 (*E*), thus to the standard version as well. This is due to the fact that they both share the divergent reading “*proinde ergo Pater*”, where “*ergo*” seems to be an addition.

2. The Non-Standard Versions

Besides this standardised text, we should point out the existence of different versions. As discussed above, the standard version is formed by two parts (firstly, questions from 1 to 20; and then questions from 21 to 46). The manuscripts of the non-standard versions can be arranged into two categories, on the one hand those including just one part (either the first or the second) and on the other hand those with both parts.

¹⁹ S. KEEFE (ed.), *Explanations Symboli Aevi Carolini*, Turnhout, 2012 (CCCM, 254), p. 83-87.

Manuscripts Containing Both Parts

i. *Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682 (K)*, p. 399-408 contains a shorter florilegium related to the *SFD* (the following questions are missing: 5-12, 21-24, 29-33, 35, 40, 42-46). This does not match the standard version. Firstly, it offers the reading *potestate* in question number 17, not *uoluntate*, as usual in the standard version. Secondly, multiple answers are not merged in response to a single question, as usual in the standard text.²⁰ Question 32, to which the second main critical observation is devoted, is not copied in this MS. As for the rest, the wording of *K* is quite close to the standard-version text.

ii. *Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324 (N)*, fol. 34r-37r, contains an almost complete version of the *SFD* (questions 18-23 and 43-46 are absent)²¹ under the title “*Item interrogationes ex diuersis libris scripturarum sententialiter defloratas*”. This does not match the standard version either. As *Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682 (K)*, it does not offer any distinctive feature of the standard version.²² Furthermore, *N* offers the following major divergences of its own:

Question number 36, which deals with the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist, is answered in the standard version and other non-standard versions by using the text found in the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* 4.22 (CPL 1193^o).²³ Part of this text is used in *N*, but some differences in *causas* number 1 and 3 should be noted.

²⁰ Besides questions number 4, 16, 26, and 38, already pointed out in nn. 11 and 12, attention must be paid to question number 34 (cf. S. KEEFE [ed.], *Explanationes*, as in n. 19, (textus 1)). This question is a compound of eight little *interrogationes* concerning the generation of Christ. Those *interrogationes* are repeated in the *responsio* before the proper answer. There, *K* individually adds the common abbreviations *INT* and *RP* before repeated *interrogatio* and its respective *responsio*.

²¹ Judging by the standard version, an additional item is found after question number 25. It is as follows: “*Dominus pro quid dicitur? Dominus dicitur ad dominando*” (see below, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718). There are more questions following the last question that matches our collection.

²² Besides the readings “*potestate*” (question 17) and “*perfectum*” (question 37), *N* does not merge individual answers in response to a single question. An unusual itemisation is evident in question 42. As in question number 34 (see n. 20), the *responsio* repeats every single *interrogatio* before the proper answer. In the *responsio* of the Gent ms., three (out of six) of these repeated *interrogationes* are preceded by *INT*.

²³ The wording of the patristic source for this passage, D. HURST – M. ADRIAEN (eds), Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, Turnhout, 1969 (CCSL 77), 1.3.13, l. 276-283, notably differs from the copied text which appears in both *SFD* and the *Liber de numeris*. In the absence of a full edition of the *Liber de Numeris*, all the samples from it offered in this article are simply those from a transcription of the text in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14392, fol. 41v-116r, available online. Chapter and paragraph indica-

<i>Liber de Numeris</i> (clm 14392)	<i>SFD</i> (standard version)	Gent, UB, MS 324 (<i>N</i>)
Prima causa ut qui homo natus erat omnem iustitiam et humilitatem impleret. [...]	Prima causa fuit ut qui homo natus erat omnem iustitiam et humilitatem impleret. [...]	Prima causa fuit ut <u>in nobis iniciaret baptismum ut nos uerum baptismum crederemus</u> . [...]
Tertia causa ut per lauacrum suum aquas <u>iordanis et non solum iordanis sed totius mundi fluenda</u> sanctificaret <u>et benediceret</u> quia maledictae erant in preuaricatione primi hominis Adam.	Tertia causa fuit ut per lauacrum suum aquas Iordanis sanctificaret, quia maledictae erant propter preuaricationem Adae, primi hominis.	Tertia causa fuit ut <u>tactu illius</u> sanctificaret <u>omnes</u> aquas.

In question number 39, in which the three Christian virtues are discussed (namely *fides*, *spes*, and *charitas*), approximately three or four lines have been left blank in *N* after the *interrogatio* (until “*ubi separantur*”). The answer has been consciously omitted. The challenges which arise from this problematic answer will be dealt with later.

Manuscripts Containing a Single Part

i. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 129 (L), fol. 16rv, offers an excerpt of the collection (questions 1-7, 9-11, 13 and 15-17) nearly matching the first part of the *SFD*, under the title “*Incipit de diuersis interpretaationum*”. A distinctive feature of the Oxford MS is that several answers have been joined together to form a single discourse (questions number 2-3, 5-7, 9-11 and 15-16), and the fact that it rewords questions 13, 15, and 16.²⁴ Due to this reworking, the absence in *L* of the “extra” questions which distinguished some non-standard versions from the standard one (see above, p. 4-6 and n. 12) is not enough evidence to conclude that *L* is related to the standard version. Furthermore, its reading “*potestate*” in question 17,

tions will be made according to R. E. McNALLY, *Der irische*, as in note n. 9. On the use of this pseudo-Isidorian work, see below.

²⁴ The strange reading “*propheta illa sex peccata*” (question 16) is perhaps a misunderstanding of “*propter illa sex peccata*”. This suggests that the copyist of *L* consulted a similar text to the one used by the *SFD*, if not from the *SFD*.

<i>SFD</i> (standard version)	Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Laud misc. 129 (<i>L</i>)
13. Tu, qui homo es, sub qua lege uis? Sub lege Christi uiuo, quia Christianus sum.	Tu, qui homo es, sub qua lege uis militare ut placeas Christo, cui adsimilatus es? Iam christianus es: caue ne committas peccata [<i>in marg.</i> : quae primus homo adam commisit] et in baptisterio abnegasti, hoc est, propheta (<i>forsan</i> propter) illa sex peccata quae commisit primus homo id est
15. Es baptizatus? Sic sum.	
16. Pro quid? Propter illa sex peccata quod commisit Adam, primus homo quem fecit Deus de limo terrae, id est...	

while not really sufficient on its own, seems to prevent any dependence of *L* on the standard version, as this copy is by no means dependent on *A* (Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40) or *G* (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225). For particular readings of these texts see n. 8.

The text of *L* sometimes differs from both the standard and non-standard versions. However, its relation with the *SFD* is reinforced when compared to a brief question-and-answer collection entitled “*De homine cur dicatur et quomodo constat*” in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS A.92.34, saec. XI-XII, fol. 2v-4v. Its similarities with *SFD* seem to be due to the use of the same source, Isidore’s *Liber Differentiarum [II]* (CPL 1202) 17.²⁵ In fact, some readings from the Bern MS are closer to the *Liber differentiarum [II]* than those from *SFD*:

<i>Diff. [II] 17.48-49</i>	<i>Bern, Burg., A.92.34</i>	<i>SFD</i> (stand. version)	<i>MS L</i>
... <u>Habet</u> enim <u>in se</u> <u>aliquid</u> ignis, aeris, aquae et terrae.	In quot elementis diuiditur? In .iiii. ^{or} : <u>habet in se aliquid</u> ignis, aeris, aquae et terrae.	(5) Quibus ele- mentis diuiditur? Diuiditur in quattuor elemen- tis, id est: ignis, ac- ris, aquae et terrae.	Quibus elimentis diuiditur? In quattuor: ignis, aeris, aquae et ter- rae.

Some other readings from the Bern MS match neither the *SFD* nor the Isidorian source:

<i>Diff. [II] 17.47</i>	<i>Bern, Burg., A.92.34</i>	<i>SFD</i> (stand. version)	<i>MS L</i>
Homo dictus ab humo.	Homo enim ab humo appellatus est sicut et in Genesi dicitur: “Et creauit Deus hominem [eras. et sim] de humo”.	(1) Homo dictus ab humo, quia de limo terrae factus est.	Homo dictus est ab humo et homo <i>Adam</i> , qui de limo terrae factus est

Thus, it seems reasonable to ascribe the Oxford MS to the indirect tradition of the first part of the *SFD*, while Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS A.92.34 may be seen as proof of the success of both Isidore’s *Liber Differentiarum [II]* and the question-and-answer method for the transformation of patristic literature.

²⁵ M. A. ANDRÉS SANZ (ed.), Isidorus, *Liber differentiarum [II]*, Turnhout, 2006 (CCSL, 111A).

ii. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rb. 104 (Z), p. 84-99, offers the entire first part of the *SFD* under the title “*Incipit liber sententiarum de diuersis floratibus*”.²⁶ Unlike the Oxford MS (L), the wording of the Zürich MS is that of the standard version. However, its ascription to this group is prevented by the reading “*potestate*” in question 17 and the use of independent *interrogationes* for compound answers. Besides the itemisations of question 4 and 16, common to some other non-standard versions, the Zürich MS detaches the contents of questions 2 and 5 into four independent items.

iii. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718 (R), offers a multitude of texts in question-and-answer form (fol. 135r-140v).²⁷ There, the entire second part of the *SFD* (questions 21-46) is copied without any title.²⁸ Comparing it to the standard version, there are two additional questions. The first one, “*Dominus pro quid dicitur? Dominus dicitur de dominatione*”, which immediately follows question 24, is shared by Gent, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 324 (N), however with a slightly different answer. The second one, “*Quae sunt causas...*”, mostly incomplete due to the loss of

²⁶ A single question (number 8) is omitted in Z, as in *E* and *L*, perhaps by homoioteleuton. A single non-standard witness (namely *N*) offers question 8. MSS *R* and *K* are too incomplete in these areas to judge whether their models may have offered this item.

²⁷ D. GANZ, “Paris BN Latin 2718: Theological Texts in the Chapel and the Chancery of Louis the Pious”, O. MÜNSCH – T. ZOTZ (eds), *Scientia Veritatis: Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag*, Ostfildern, 2004, p. 137-152. Part of this miscellanea is also found in Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40 (*A*), fol. 4r-10r, 13v-18v; and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410, p. 1-8. It includes an unedited version of the pseudo-Isidorian “*Quaestiones*”, as in note 9, nearly matching the one in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 4886, saec. XI, fol. 71rv. The aforementioned MSS from Albi and München also include grammatical contents parallel to those in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230 (our *T*) and Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 6018 (our *F*, in which there are excerpts from the “*Interrogationes*” from the Carolingian miscellany, edited by Everett, as in n. 18). A preliminary study of all these texts using different MSS has been undertaken by L. MUNZI, “*Littera legitima*”. *Testi grammaticali latini dell’alto Medioevo*, Roma, 2007; editions at p. 84, 89-90, and 123-128. It is interesting to note that the same texts have been included in both standard and non-standard witnesses of the *SFD*, as well as in MSS belonging to the *PATVC* and *SGFQM* groups; I am currently carrying out a close study of all these texts and their links. More parallels for the remaining texts in these folios from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718 can be found in Ch. D. WRIGHT, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge-New York-Oakleigh, 1993, p. 73 and D. DE BRUYNE, “Fragments retrouvés d’apocryphes priscillianistes”, *Revue Bénédictine* 24, 1907, p. 318-335, esp. 329-330.

²⁸ It should be noted that in this ms., question 34 is placed immediately after question 21. The order of the remaining questions being the same as in the standard and non-standard versions, a straightforward explanation may suffice: it is possible that the scribe, having turned two pages instead of one, started copying question 34, then, having noticed the mistake, decided to finish the entire item before coming back to question 22. The hypothesis of deliberate modification would be hard to prove.

the parchment (some 10-12 words), appears after question 35. Two more additions from *R* can be found in question 21, which draws from Isidore's *Liber Differentiarum* [II]. The first one appears between the words "*misteria*" and "*si enim*", and it restores an Isidorian excerpt left out by the *SFD* (*Diff.* [II] 3.8-11, l. 11-24). The second addition is found after "*capiemus*", the last word of the standard answer.²⁹ As this MS includes "*perfectum*" as an epithet for God in question 32 and copies independent questions corresponding to each part of a compound answer, it should not be ascribed to the standard version.

Comparative Grid

The grid below offers a comparison between the standard and non-standard versions studied in this article. Indications such as x2, x3, x8 signify that the text of the standard answer has been arranged in response to 2, 3 or 8 different *interrogationes*. The single words "*Dominus*" and "*causas*" indicate that the questions concerned are followed by those of "*Dominus pro quid dicitur?*" or "*Quae sunt causas...?*"

Standard version		Paris, BN, lat. 2718 (<i>R</i>)	Gent, UB, 324 (<i>N</i>)	St. Gallen, SB, 682 (<i>K</i>)	Zürich, ZB, Rh. 104 (<i>Z</i>)	Oxford, Laud misc. 129 (<i>L</i>)
Notes on the stand. wit- nesses						
<i>First part</i>						
1			+	+	+	+
2			+	+	+	+
3	<i>om. S</i>		+		+	
4	<i>only ans. TV</i>		+	+	+	+
5	<i>om. Q</i>		+		+	+
6			+		+	+
7			+		+	+
8	<i>om. E</i>		+			
9			+		+	+
10	<i>om. M</i>		+		+	+

²⁹ The second addition from *R* is as follows: "*Audi ergo: Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum sunt, trina maiestas, una deitas. Nam sicut Filius ex corde Patris procedit, ita et Spiritus Sanctus de Patre est. Propterea tres confitemur personas et unam credimus fidem; et sicut Pater in Filio, ita et Filius in Spiritu Sancto. Vides ergo et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ex Patre procedentem: propterea nobis unus Deus colitur et Trinitas uera cognoscitur. Sicut enim Pater et Spiritus Sanctus in Filio, ita Pater et Filius in Spiritu Sancto. Quicquid operatur Spiritus Sanctus unum est cum Patre et Filio*".

11	<i>inc. D; om. M</i>		+		+	+
12	<i>only answ. A</i>		+		+	
13	<i>om. Q</i>		+	+	+	+ (approx.)
14	<i>om. M</i>		+	+	+	
15	<i>incipit C</i>		+	+	+	+ (approx.)
16			+ (x2)	+ (x2)	+ (x2)	+ (approx.)
17	<i>finit D</i>		+	+	+	
18	<i>om. Q</i>			+	+	
19	<i>om. Q</i>			+		
20	<i>om. Q</i>			+	+	
<i>Second part</i>						
21	<i>om. Q</i>	+				
22	<i>finit D</i>	+				
23	<i>om. Q</i>	+				
24		+ (<i>dominus</i>)	+			
25		+	+ (<i>dominus</i>)	+		
26		+ (x3)	+ (x2)	+ (x3)		
27		+	+	+		
28	<i>finit M</i>	+	+	+		
29		+	+			
30		+	+			
31	<i>om. Q</i>	+	+			
32		+	+			
33		+	+			
34	<i>om. Q</i>	+ (<i>after 21</i>)	+	+ (x8)		
35		+ (<i>causas</i>)	+			
36		+	+	+		
37	<i>om. Q</i>	+	+	+		
38		+ (x3)	+ (x3)	+ (x3)		
39		+	+ (<i>no answ.</i>)	+		
40		+	+			
41	<i>only answ. A</i>	+	+	+		
42	<i>finit G</i>	+	+ (x3)			
43	<i>finit A, om. P</i>	+				
44		+				
45		+				
46	<i>om. Q</i>	+				

The bipartite structure of the standard version proposed at the beginning of the article seems to be confirmed by the separate transmission of each part, as is the case in copies *R*, *Z*, and *L*. However, it is noticeable that both parts were subject to change, proven in part by the fact that questions 18-24 and 43-46 were either entirely included or omitted.

In spite of the absence of one entire part in *R*, *Z*, and *L*, and of some individual particularities noted on the grid, all these MSS offer some similarities. These have served to establish some of the distinctive features of the standard version. In the absence of *K*, *Z*, and *L*, the non-standard witnesses *R* and *N* share some more resemblances; however, these are not necessarily more reliable than the ones offered by the standard version. Therefore, no version can be assumed to diverge from a more accurate model. Moreover, since *K*, *Z*, and *L* are incomplete in these areas, the scope of the following readings cannot be restricted to *R* and *N*, nor applied to every non-standard witness.

- Question 25bis: "*Dominus pro quid dicitur?*". This question, which appears to be absent in the standard version, is consistent with the surrounding items (quest. 25. "*Deus pro quid dicitur?*", quest. 26. "*Pater...*", quest. 27. "*Trinitas...*"). Furthermore, it emphasises the closeness of questions 25-30 and the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* 3.2-3 (PL 83, col. 1603BC), where "*Deus dicitur propter potestatem et dilectionem*" is immediately followed by "*Dominus dicitur propter dominationem*" (see the source study below). Nevertheless, its ascription to the original *SFD* compilation is uncertain. In fact, the two MSS which offer this item, namely *R* and *N*, include it in two different places: in *R*, the additional item precedes question 25, whereas in *N*, it comes after question 25. This change of order leads one to consider the existence of a marginal note in a hypothetical ancestor shared by *R* and *N*. Nevertheless, each MS reads a slightly different answer: "*Dominus dicitur de dominatione*" (*R*) and "*Dominus dicitur ad (sic) dominando*" (*N*), which weakens this theory of them having a common origin. Furthermore, the passage from the *Liber de Numeris* which is paralleled here includes another similarly structured sentence which has also not entered the *SFD*: "*omnipotens dicitur quia omnia potest cui nihil impossibile est*".
- Question 27: "*Trinitas pro quid dicitur?*" The standard answers to questions 27 and 28 follow almost word by word the usual Isidorian source *Liber Differentiarum* [II] 2.3, l. 1-3, "*Vnitas propter insepa-*

rabilem deitatis substantiam, Trinitas uero propter personarum diuersitatem uocatur". In fact, even if the order has been reversed in the *SFD* (quest. 27: "*Trinitas...*"; quest. 28: "*Vnitas...*"), the implied verb "*uocatur*" has been left out in the explanation concerning the Unity, as is the case in the source. On the other hand, the wording from *R* and *N*, "*Trinitas dicitur propter personarum diuersitatem*", seems to be a reworking of the original Isidorian one, thus a common deviation in both MSS. However, both the wording "*Trinitas dicitur*" and the order "*Trinitas... Vnitas...*" are closer to the text from the *Liber de Numeris*, to which the series of questions 25-30 is closely related.

- Question 30: "*Tribus modis dicitur Deus*". In order to illustrate the third way in which the word "*Deus*" may be said, namely "*false*", the standard answer to question 30 copies the following biblical excerpt: "*dii qui non fecerunt caelum et terram pereant de terra*" (Ier 10.11). According to Jerome's *Vulgate*, the verse should have been "*dii qui caelum et terram non fecerunt pereant de terra*". The only two non-standard copies which offer this question, namely *R* and *N*, do keep the *Vulgate* word order. However, this more reliable reading should not be taken as proof of the common origin of the two MSS. Furthermore, there is no reason to reject the idea that the "reversed" reading "*non fecerunt caelum et terram*" has been part of the original compilation, later corrected by the scribes of *R* and *N*, either independently or copying from a corrected model.

By now we can state the existence of a standard version of the *SFD*, quite widespread; and some non-standard ones, of more modest circulation, which cannot be proved to be of common origin. The links between both versions remain unclear.³⁰ In fact, the apparent connections among some standard and non-standard witnesses (quest. 40, *lucem*] *caelum* *E/RN*; quest. 40, *in die quo*] *in die dominico* *SGFQ/K*) are not revealing, since

³⁰ An audacious hypothesis: if we reject the possibility of deliberate omissions in *N* and *K* (although there is no founded reason to do so), we could consider the possibility that the creation of the *SFD* was a complex process: the two main parts (namely questions 1-20 and 21-46) would have evolved independently and repeatedly been put together, thus giving birth to independent bipartite versions like *N*, *K*, and the standard version. However one must admit that this is a rather intricate process for a compilation whose relevance has not yet been determined.

they could have resulted from independent interventions. Actually, many consistent variants shared by two or more MSS have not been mentioned due to the same reason. Some of these seem to provide grammatical consistency to a suspect model:

4. esse data] est data *AKZ*; *add.* intelligitur *Q*

Some others shorten or simplify the text, either by deleting superfluous appositional phrases:

16. Adam primus homo quem fecit Deus de limo terrae] *om.* primus – terrae *DQ*

or by avoiding repeated words shared both by question and answer:

26. Pater² dicitur] *om.* *AVM*

29. tribus modis dicitur Deus] *om.* *R*; *om.* modis – Deus] *AQ*

On the other hand, additional details seem to have been judged useful by some scribes:

46. prouerbique] *add.* salomon *T* (similarly: 46. Sapientia] *add.* salomonis *R*)

46. agios] *add.* sanctus *V^{s.l.}* (similarly: 46. erumpunt] *add.* dicunt *V^{s.l.}*)

In other cases, the precise purpose of the alternative reading seems hard to determine:

4. proprie dicta eo quod] pro id dicta eo quod *A²W*

46. Micheas Naum] ante Abacuc posuerunt *WVF* (the list of the *prophetiae minores* does not come from the Isidorian source used throughout this excerpt)

The particular readings from *F* on the Books of the Bible are a good example of this behaviour:

46. duo Machabeorum] Machabeorum libri .II. *F*

46. ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses singulae] ad Galatas .I., ad Ephesios .I., ad Philippenses .I. *F*

46. Iacobi I, Petri II, Iohannis III, Iudae I] Petri .II., Iohannis .III., Iudae uel Iacobi .I. *F*

Therefore, these apparent connections, not forgetting those between *A* and *G* (see n. 8) as well as *W* and *SG* (9. refertur] reuertitur *W/SG*), are not revealing either, since they may have resulted from independent interventions, which appear to be numerous. Furthermore, the critical links resulting from these cases would be incompatible with the ones discussed throughout the article, which are much more reliable. As for the *consti-*

tutio textus, a closer study of these variants would be of little benefit. On the other hand, it would be much more interesting to focus on the relations suggested by the contents shared by standard and non-standard MSS, pointed out in nn. 13 and 27.

3. Source Study

The most frequently used source throughout the *SFD* is the Isidorian *Liber differentiarum* [II]. In many cases, compilations may have also served as a source. The pseudo-Isidorian compilation known as the *Liber de Numeris* (CPL 1193^o) parallels questions 25-32 (as discussed above) and 35-39 of the *SFD*. In addition to this, it seems to have determined the wording of some other questions, especially the first four ones.³¹

<i>Diff. [II] 17.1, l. 3-5</i>	<i>SFD (standard version)</i>	<i>Liber de Numeris (clm 14329)</i>
(l. 3) Homo dictus ab humo.	1. Homo pro quid dicitur? Homo dictus ab humo, quia de limo terrae factus est.	
(l. 3-4) Hic ex diuersis substantiis constat, <u>ex mortali et immortali</u> .	2. Quibus substantiis constat homo? Duabus: ex mortale et immortale.	(2.1) <u>Duabus</u> substantiis constat homo, imagine et similitudine Dei factus, id est,
	3. Quomodo ex mortale et quomodo immortale? Anima tantum et corpore.	anima tantum et corpore
	4. Quomodo anima et quomodo corpore? Anima uero a Deo solo est data [...] Corpus autem eius ex ossibus et carnibus constat.	[...] (2.9) anima ex Deo data est
(l. 4-5) Corpus autem eius ex ossibus et carnibus constat.		

The assertion that the *Liber de Numeris* has served as a source for the *SFD* is not without risk: its extant manuscript tradition is quite restricted (10 MSS), and its date of composition (between 760 and 794, according to Cardelle, as in n. 38, p. 34) is very close to that of the older witnesses of the *SFD*. Therefore, in spite of the many similarities between the *SFD*

³¹ J. C. MARTÍN IGLESIAS ("El tratado", as in n. 2) has employed the text in Migne, *PL* 83, col. 1293-1302 (which is mostly incomplete) to set his source apparatus. To make up for the missing text, he mentioned the patristic sources of the treatise when necessary. Due to the uniformity of its presence in the *SFD*, I consider it appropriate to propose the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de numeris* as the only parallel, where possible.

and the *Liber de Numeris* already pointed out, every apparent link should be taken as a mere parallel, and will be preceded by “cf.”, as there is an absence of evidence to suggest a stronger connection.

(1) Questions from 1 to 12 offer a physiological text drawn from the Isidorian *Liber Differentiarum* [II], which is at times closer to the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris*:

1-6 = Isidorus, *Differentiae* [II] (CPL 1202), 17.47-48, l. 3-7.

7 = cf. Isidorus, *Differentiae* [II], 17.43, l. 21 (as proposed by Martín, “El tratado”, as in n. 2)

8-12 = Isidorus, *Differentiae* [II] 17.48-50, l. 9-21.

Remarks: The *responsio* to question 1 “*homo dictus ab humo quia de limo terrae factus est*” also appears in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2024, in a question-and-answer reworking of Isidore’s *Liber differentiarum* [II], which does not match the *SFD* at all, except for some questions of Isidorian origin.³² One could claim that the wording of this first answer is not a genuine creation of the *SFD*.

The association of “Adam” to “*limus/humus/terra*” is not without biblical support (cf. Gn 2.7, Tb 8.8, and Sir 17.1). It was widely known in the Middle Ages: according to Martín Iglesias, “El tratado” as in n. 2, the standard *responsio* may have been partly drawn from Isidore’s *Liber differentiarum* [II] and then either from Gregory’s *Moralia in Iob* 12.32.37 or Bede’s *Hexaemeron* (CPL 1134) 2.5.2. However, *Etymologiae* 11.1.4 (“*Homo dictus, quia ex humo est factus*”), Martin of Bracara’s *De correctione rusticorum* 4 (“*placuit Deo de limo terrae hominem plasmare*”), and especially Ps.-Venantius Fortunatianus’ *Expositio fidei catholicae*, 24 (CPL 1052) (“*homo ab humo dicitur, id est de humo terrae factus est*”) may also be considered. The alternative wording offered by Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 129 (L), “*homo dictus est ab humo, et homo ‘Adam’, qui de limo terre formatus est*”, brings to the mind the anonymous work *De octo pondera unde factus est Adam*.³³

³² M. A. ANDRÉS SANZ, “Una reelaboración de textos isidorianos en forma de *interrogationes et responsiones*”, *Helmantica* 57, 2006, p. 29-48. In the article, the author studies and partially edits a question-and-answer text entirely derived from the Isidorian *Liber Differentiarum* [II] (whose structure is faithfully followed) and from the *Etymologiae*, with a single excerpt from Gregory’s *Moralia in Iob*. Since it draws from a single author, the work clearly illustrates the method of transforming ordinary texts into question-and-answer collections.

³³ The *De octo pondera unde factus est Adam* is a widespread, changeable text, whose history cannot be discussed here. Interesting literature on this work can be found in L. J. DORFBAUER, “Wigbod und der Dialogus Quaestionum LXV”, *Studi Medievali* 51, 2010, fasc. II, p. 910, n. 35, and J.-P. PETTORELLI, J.-D. KAESTLI, A. FREY, B. OUTTIER (eds), *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, Turnhout, 2012 (CCSA 18-19), p. 175, n. 1 and 2. The text from Paris, Bibliothèque

(2) Questions from 13 to 20 offer an explanation on the Faith, whose origin and history are uncertain.

Remarks: Questions 15-17, which present baptism as the redemption of the original sins of Adam, are closely related. In fact, according to S. Keefe,³⁴ a catechetical collection in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1008 (a witness of Pirmin's *Scarapsus*) only matches the *SFD* in these three questions (fol. 33v: "*Es baptizatus? Sic sum. Pro quid es baptizatus? Propter illa sex peccata originalia...*"). Question 17, in which the sins are individually explained, is extant in every *SFD* MSS inspected except for Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718 (*R*). Furthermore, its text exists as an independent work in more MSS.³⁵ Its text, however, fluctuates. This is the most common text from the standard version (the division in paragraphs is mine):

(1): Superbia fuit quia plus uoluit in sua esse uoluntate potius quam in Dei. Sacrilegium, quia Deum non credidit ubique esse. Homicidium, quia semetipso praecipitauit in mortem. Fornicatio, quia integritatem mentis serpentina suasionem corruptus est. Furtum, quia fructus uetitos usurpatus est. Auaritia, quia plus quam ei sufficere poterat appetiuit.

(2): Propter ista sex peccata per quinque milia ducentos uiginti et octo annos genus humanum, omnes homines iustos et peccatores, Diabolus in sua potestate habebat. Nisi Christus uenisset et formam serui accepisset et suo sanguine pretioso nos redemisset nullus poterat introire in regnum Dei.

Nationale de France, lat. 5327 is printed in the latter, p. 179. It is contained, among many others, in the following MSS, which have already been mentioned in this article: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 846, fol. 106v (our *V*, incomplete); Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 78 (olim 18), fol. 212v-213v; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230, p. 325-331 (our *T*, a longer version).

³⁴ S. KEEFE, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, Notre Dame, 2002, vol. 2, p. 66.

³⁵ It is copied as an independent work in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 78, fol. 213v, under the title *De peccata Ade*; in Kassel, UB, 8° MS theol. 4, fol. 203v-205r, under the title *De sex peccatis Adae*, according to K. WIEDEMANN, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek: Die Handschriften in Oktav*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden, 2002, p. 7; in Wolfenbüttel, Herz. Aug. Bibl. Helmst., 532 [679], fol. 55v, as a *probatio pennae*, according to S. KEEFE, *Water* (as in n. 34), vol. 2, p. 117. A single witness of the *Vita latina Adae et Evae*, "*Rédaction anglaise*" (see n. 33) includes this excerpt among the brief works devoted to Adam, namely Paris, BnF, lat. 5327, fol. 81v. A similar text is copied in Einsiedeln, SB 281, (= *E*) p. 47-49, as part of an opusculum intitled *Ratio de baptismo paruulorum*.

(3) Vnde et ipse Dominus post resurrectionem suam in Gallilea discipulis suis praecepit dicens: *Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra. Ite ergo, docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos seruare omnia quaecumque mandauit uobis. Et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.*

As it has already been pointed out in the first main critical observation on the standard version, the patristic source for the first paragraph is Augustine's *Enchiridion* 13.45, in which the same six sins are listed. It has also been noted that a similar wording is found in the *Pauca Problesmata* (see n. 17), in both *longior* (§ 211) and *breuior* (§ 51) texts. There, gluttony is added, making it amount to seven sins, as in the so-called *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, 374.³⁶ In the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* (7.2), a similar list of seven sins is given, however, it is worded completely differently; here, vainglory is used rather than gluttony.³⁷

Only the first paragraph is copied in the *De littera* from Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. CXII, edited by Munzi.³⁸ It is offered as a complete answer to question 17 by the standard-version witnesses Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 29 (Q) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A (D) (the latter until "*usurpatus est*").

I have not found any patristic source for the second and third paragraphs. Nevertheless, the first and second paragraphs are copied together in Paris,

³⁶ M. BAYLESS – M. LAPIDGE (eds), *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1998 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14), p. 180; PL 94, col. 539-576, esp. 556.

³⁷ According to München, BSB, clm 14392, fol. 101v-102r: "*Septem crimina transgressio- nis Adam haec sunt: prima superbia, secunda auaritia, tertia furtum, quarta fornicatio, quinta homicidium, sexta uana gloria, septima sacrilegium. Primo namque superbiam incurrit, quia contra praeceptum Dei, hoc quod ei Deus prohibuerat, ipse tangere et manducare praesumpsit. Secundo auaritiam incurrit, qui dum de omnibus paradisi licentiam haberet, edendi hoc, quod necesse non erat, lignum uetitum superflue concupiuit. Tertio furtum perpetravit, quoniam cibum uetitum fraudulenter comedens, inter ligna paradysi ut latro a facie Dei se abscondit. Quarto fornicatione maculatus est, quoniam in mente, ubi non solebat alium hospitem recipere praeter Dominum, suasu serpentis blandido in corde suo hospite[m] diabulum recipere, et factus est sicut mulier meretrix suum relinquens uirum et concupiscens alterum. Quinto homicidium perpetravit, qui in semetipsum mortem intulit peccando, et pertulit, dum utique a Domino conditus esset immortalis, et omni humano generi mortalis uincula dimisit. Sexto uanam gloriam incurrit, quia scientiam boni et mali, illa quae ei Dominus non dederat, ex suo ingenio habere se credidit, si hoc faceret quod ei Dominus prohibuit. Septimo sacrilegium perpetravit, quoniam plus credidit hostem antiquum quam Deum*".

³⁸ L. MUNZI, *Littera* (as in n. 27), p. 123-138. On the relations between this MS and the *Liber de Numeris*, cf. C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, "La miscelánea del Códice München, BSB, clm 14497, el 'De ortu et obitu patriarcharum' y el 'De numeris' pseudoisidoriano", *Filologia mediolatina* 19, 2012, p. 9-44.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 5327 (see n. 33; the text stops at “*accepisset*”, but its wording still makes sense), in the *Excarpsus* (see n. 13), in the Genesis commentary in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 908 (*Wendepunkte* 4), fol. 1-27, esp. 26-27, as part of a longer excerpt from the *Excarpsus*, and in Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, cod. 78. In the last three cases, the two paragraphs are followed by different excerpts on Christ’s descent to Hell and resurrection beginning with the words “*alligauit diabolium*”, as in Pirmin’s *Scarapsus*, as in n. 13, ch. 9, p. 27).

Among the non-standard versions, the answer may consist in a single paragraph (*L*), in two paragraphs (*K*), or in three paragraphs (*N*, *Z*). Whether the three-paragraphs wording is a genuine creation of the author of the *SFD* or not remains unknown.

The *Creed* (question 20) puts an end to this explanation of the Faith. This question is available in all the standard version witnesses, except for *Q* and *D*. The text is that of the *Symbolum Nicaenum*, including the “*eos autem qui dicunt*” anathema. In the *PATVC* group, the Symbol is interrupted at “*omnipotentem*” by the sentence “*et reliqua quae sequuntur de symbolo Nicaeno*”. Furthermore, apart from some minor divergences, the text from *E* individually adds some text after “*et in Spiritum Sanctum*”, immediately before the anathema: “*Patri et Filio per omnia coeternum, et coaequalem, et cooperatorem, et coesentialem*”. On the other hand, among the copies of the non-standard versions, the Symbol solely appears in *K*. Here, the text is that of the *Symbolum Constantinopolitanum*. It is interrupted at “*unigenitum, natum de patre ante omnia secula*” by the sentence “*et cetera quae secuntur hoc symbolo*”.

(3) Questions from 21 to 24 offer some texts on the Trinity, focusing on the different *personae* as well as on the indivisibility of the *Vnitas*.

21-23 = Isidorus, *Differentiae* [II]: (quest. 21) *ibid.*, 3.7-8, l. 1-11 + *ibid.* 3.11, l. 24; (quest. 22) *ibid.* 2.3, l. 1-5; (quest. 23) *ibid.* 5.13, l. 1-7.

24 = cf. Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, *Expositio fidei catholicae* (CPL 1052), 14 + Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, *Symbolum Athanasianum* (CPL 167), 24. Perhaps, the answer was circulated in this form before its inclusion in the *SFD*.

(4) Questions from 25 to 39 are short items, closely related to the third and fourth chapters from the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris*. Questions 33 and 34, which appear to be absent from the pseudo-Isidorian work, are associated to this group because of their content, form, and location.

25-28/29-30/31/32 = cf. Ps. Isidorus, *Liber de Numeris* (CPL 1193^o): (quest. 25-28) *ibid.* 3.2; (quest. 29-30) *ibid.* 3.3; (quest. 31) *ibid.* 4.24; (quest. 32) *ibid.* 4.23

33 = cf. Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, *Expositio fidei catholicae*, 30-31.

34 = Ambrosius, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* (CPL 1790), 2.40, maybe through Dionysius Exiguus, *Exempla sanctorum Patrum* (CPL 654) 36.³⁹

35/36/37-39 = cf. Ps. Isidorus, *Liber de Numeris*: (quest. 35) *ibid.*, 4.20; (quest. 36) *ibid.* 4.22; (quest. 37-39) *ibid.* 3.8-15.

Remarks: As pointed out by R. E. McNally,⁴⁰ the patristic source for questions 35 and 36 is Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV* (CPL 590) (CCSL 77) 1.1.18 and 1.3.13, respectively. However, the texts from the *SFD* are much closer to those of the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* than to the mentioned source. Both questions reached a remarkable popularity and were widely used outside the *SFD*. Thanks to Keefe's work (*Water*, see above), we know that questions 34 and 35 – as a block – are copied in several MSS.⁴¹ In addition to them, questions 34, 35, and 36 are copied together in a catechetical collection from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 22053, fol. 41v-43r.⁴² The diversity of the sources for these questions – in contrast to the usual source uniformity throughout the *SFD* – leads one to consider the use of a compound model, such as the München ms.

As for question 39, some parts of its *responsio* seem to be missing, since it does not fully answer the *interrogatio* “*Dic mihi: spes, fides, caritas, ubi coniunguntur? Vbi separantur? Vbi singillatim ponuntur?*” The questions “*ubi separantur?*” and “*ubi singillatim ponuntur?*” remain unanswered. This fact seems to have been noticed by some copyists. As mentioned above, Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324 (*N*) consciously omits this answer by leaving a blank. Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 29 (*Q*) – or a previous MS which *Q* would depend on – supplies the common text with a similar excerpt whose source is unknown to me.

³⁹ M. ADRIAEN, P. A. BALLERINI (eds), Ambrosius, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam* (CPL 143), Turnhout, 1957 (CCSL 14), p. 48; F. GLORIE (ed.), Dionysius Exiguus (*dub.*), “*Exempla sanctorum partum*” (CPL 654), *Scriptores “Illyrici” Minores*, Turnhout, 1972, (CCSL 85), p. 98-99.

⁴⁰ R. E. McNALLY, *Der irische*, as in n. 9, p. 80-82.

⁴¹ Namely: Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, MS H 387, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 48r-49r (which I have had access to thanks to the kind collaboration of Dr Carine van Rhijn); in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 27, saec. VIII-IX², fol. 49rv; and in Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 27, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 122-124r (not inspected).

⁴² On the relations between this MS and the *Liber de Numeris*, cf. C. CARDELLE DE HART-MANN, “La miscelánea”, as in n. 37; on its contents, cf. Ch. D. WRIGHT, *The Irish Tradition*, as in n. 27, second chapter.

<i>SFD</i>	<i>Monte Cassino, BA, MS 29 (Q)</i>
<p>(39) Dic mihi: spes, fides, caritas ubi coniunguntur? Ubi separantur? Ubi singillatim ponuntur? Descendit fides ad infernum, similiter et spes, quia <u>fides credit tormenta impiorum</u> et <u>spes similiter sperat</u>. Hic <u>caritas non sociatur quia bonorum rerum dilectio est</u>.</p> <p><u>Coniunguntur in resurrectione: fides quod credit uidit et spes praemia quod sperat recipit</u>. Caritas ista omnia diligit. Modo <u>caritas dicit ad fidem et ad spem: Tu, fides, quod credidisti uidisti, et tu, spes, quod sperasti recepisti. Recedite uos! Ego modo sola regnabo</u>.</p>	<p>Dic mihi: spes, fides, caritas ubi coniunguntur et ubi separantur, ubi singillatim ponuntur?</p> <p><u>Fides credit tormenta impiorum</u> et gaudia sanctorum. <u>Spes</u> autem tantum ea, quae bona sunt, sibi <u>sperat</u>. His uero <u>caritas sociatur quia bonarum rerum dilectio est</u>.</p> <p>Fides et praesens et praeteritum et futurum tempus habet. Credimus enim Christum post resurrectionem ascendisse in caelum et nunc sedere ad dexteram patris et iudicem esse uenturum. Spes igitur tantum ad futurum pertinet tempus et ad ea quae bona et utilia sunt et ad eum qui ipsam spem gerit. <u>Coniunguntur autem in resurrectione quia fides, quod credit, uidebit et spes praemia, quae sperat, recipiet</u>. Tunc <u>caritas dicit ad fidem et ad spem: Tu fides, quod credidisti, uidisti et tu spes, quod sperasti, recepisti. Recedite uos, ego iam sola regnabo</u>. Hinc et apostolus: Nunc autem manet fides, spes, caritas. His autem maior est caritas.</p>

The pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris* offers a similar text in McNally's paragraphs 3.8-15, with no known parallel at the time. This text, if used in response to item 39, would fully answer every single question in it ("*ubi coniunguntur? ubi separantur? ubi singillatim ponuntur?*").

Liber de Numeris (clm 14327, fol. 69v-70r) The text in brackets is mine.

Miro itaque modo haec trea, id est fides, spes, caritas, et coniunguntur, et separantur.

[*Coniunguntur*] Coniunguntur etenim in hoc saeculo, quia fides et spes sine caritate nihil ualent, et ueram agnitionem uere caritatis sine fide et spe nemo hominum in hoc saeculo ualet recte tenere.

[*Separantur*] Separantur uero, quia caritas sola ante saecula et post saecula regnat, fides autem et spes ad infernum descendunt, quia fides tormenta impiorum credit, similiter et spes sperat, et ambae ibi sunt usque ad iudicium, quia daemones credunt, et contremescunt, et sperant iudicia Dei dura super eos, et eorum socios, et impios.

[*Singillatim ponuntur*] Post uero iudicium nec fides, nec spes in inferno erunt, quia omnia tunc iudicantur, et[et] sicut iudicati erunt, sic permanent, et postea, quid creditur, aut quid speratur. Et tamen caritas descendit in infernum, sed nec ibi permansit, neque permanebit sed captiuos quos uoluit inde liberauit.

[*Iterum coniunguntur*] Coniunguntur ergo iterum fides, spes, caritas in resurrectione: fides enim, quae credidit, tunc uidit; et spes premia, quae sperauit, tunc recipit. Caritas ista omnia dilegit: tunc caritas ad fidem et ad spem dicit: “Tu fides, quae crededisti, uidisti; et tu spes, quae sperasti, recepisti. Recedite uos, ego sola regnabo”.

In response to “*ubi coniunguntur?*”, the *SFD* offer a text similar to the fourth excerpt from the *Liber de Numeris* (i.e. the [*iterum coniunguntur*] paragraph). One is led to think that it has perhaps mistakenly replaced the original text (i.e. the [*coniunguntur*] paragraph), due to a confusion caused by their similar beginnings. Nevertheless, this is only a guess, and it is not certain whether the text in the *Liber de Numeris* is at the basis of the *responsio* 39 or not.

(5) Questions from 40 to 42 offer a text on biblical history.

40 = Isidorus, *Differentiae* [II] 11.30, l. 11-13 + cf. the *Excarpsus* (see below)

41/42 = unknown; (quest. 41) cf. *Pauca problemsmata* (CCCM 173), as in n. 17, *textus longior* §64, *textus breuior* §14; and its interrogative version, Wendepunkte 1B/1C; cf. also the Commentary on Genesis in Munich clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2),⁴³ p. 213, l. 56-65; (quest. 42) cf. *Pauca problemsmata*, *textus longior* §59, *textus breuior* §9.

Remarks: The first lines of the *responsio* to question 40 (“*ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus duas creaturas ex nihilo condidit Deus*”), paralleled in the pseudo-Bede’s *Commentarii in Pentateuchum* (CPL 2026; PL 91.189-394, esp. 191AB), seems to derive partly from Isidore, *Diff.* [II] 11.30, l. 11-13. As for the remaining part which is unidentified, a similar text is copied in the *Excarpsus* (see n. 13) and in the *Interrogationes de littera* from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A (see n. 18). A close relation between the *SFD* and the *Excarpsus* cannot be determined: as the text simply summarises Gn 1.1-25, its contents may be mirrored elsewhere (cf. *Liber de Numeris* 4.1). However, the connection proposed here is supported by two facts: firstly, the wording of the biblical quotation “*cum fecissem caelum et terram laudauerunt me angeli mei*”, from Iob 38.7 (*Septuaginta*);⁴⁴ secondly, the glose to Gn 1.26.

⁴³ M. M. GORMAN, “A Critique of Bischoff’s Theory of Irish Exegesis. The Commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 7, 1997, p. 178-233, edition, p. 211-233. See also Ch. D. WRIGHT, “Bischoff’s Theory of Irish Exegesis and the Genesis Commentary in Munich clm 6302: A Critique of a Critique”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10, 2000, p. 115-175.

⁴⁴ The use of Iob 38.7 (*Septuaginta*) as an explanation for the Genesis is not new: it is used in the pseudo-Augustinian *Dialogus Quaestionum* (CPL 373a) and in the *Intexuimus* (M. GORMAN, “The Visigothic Commentary on Genesis in Autun 27 (S. 29)”, *Recherches*

<i>SFD</i>	<i>Excarspus</i> ⁴⁵
ut propheta dicit: <u>Cum fecissem caelum et terram laudauerunt me angeli mei.</u> [...] consilio Trinitatis condidit hominem primum Adam, ut dicitur: <u>Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, id est ad aeternitatem et immortalitatem.</u>	ut propheta dicit: <u>Cum fecissem caelum et terram laudauerunt me angeli mei.</u> [...] consilio Trinitatis fecit hominem ut dicitur: <u>Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, id est in aeternitate et immortalitate.</u>

(6) Questions from 43 to 46 offer a review over the books of the Bible dependent on Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (CPL 1207) 1.11, l. 20-48 + Isidorus, *Prooemia* (CPL 1192) praef. 14, 16 (PL 83, col. 160A).

4. Conclusion

The question-and-answer collection *Sententiae de floratibus diuersis* here discussed is a carefully-written compound work. It is drawn from diverse patristic sources (with a certain preference for Isidore of Seville), and it intends to be an explanation of physiological, pastoral, and dogmatic questions. All of the themes addressed in the collection grew very popular in exegetical and homiletical works written between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

The collection is extant in two main recensions, namely the standard and the non-standard ones, which outline a rather complicated textual tradition. The standard version is widespread; furthermore, it has also been copied together with the pseudo-Isidorian "Quaestiones tam de uetere quam de nouo testamento", the pseudo-Augustinian *Dialogus Quaestionum LXV*, Pirmin's *Scarapsus*; many other edited and unedited works which have many textual affinities with the collection have been pointed out.

These facts highlight the *Sententiae de floratibus diuersis* among other anonymous, less ambitious collections from the same period.

Augustiniennes et Patristiques 30, 1997, p. 167-277). However, this particular wording "cum fecissem caelum et terram..." is not found in any translation of the Bible known to me. Nevertheless, it is used by the Genesis commentaries from München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 6302 (M. M. GORMAN, "A Critique", as in n. 43), and from Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 908, fol. 1-27, which do not seem dependent on the entire excerpt shared by the *SFD* and the *Excarspus*. This wording may result from Martin of Bracara's *De correctione rusticorum* 1.3. On the relations between the *De correctione rusticorum* and the *Excarspus*, see n. 13.

⁴⁵ The text from the *Excarspus* here supplied for comparison is taken from an unpublished edition prepared for my doctoral thesis, still in process.

A close philological study of its textual neighbours, which I am presently working on, would provide us with useful information regarding its dating and importance, as well as the interests, methods, and purpose of early mediaeval didactic literature, and its links with the monastic written culture of the time.

5. The Edition

The edition of the *SFD* offered in the appendix is mostly that of the standard version. The *constitutio textus* depends on the following MSS: *EPWATVCSGFD*. The external structure of this standard text may be contested by the consensus of some of the non-standard MSS *KRNZ*: in these cases, their text appears in indented paragraphs. The remaining standard and non-standard MSS, namely *QML*, do not contribute to the establishment of the text, for they have been significantly reworked. Similarly, the large additions from *R* and *E*, as well as the refashioned excerpts from *Q* and *F* are not reproduced. The reader will find these texts in the article.

The critical apparatus includes the critical readings discussed in this study. Moreover, it also registers most of the consistent lexical variants, generally excluding those from the reworked versions *M* and *L*. On the other hand, it does not include orthographical or morphological variants, as the orthography of the text has been normalised. Finally, untenable readings have not entered the critical apparatus, unless they endorse critical links between MSS.

The source apparatus refers to patristic works where possible, and to the pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Numeris*, given its numerous parallels with the *SFD*. When both options appear to be impossible, the apparatus refers to an edited work through the means of “*cf.*”. For more precise information, the reader should refer to the source study.

The short forms “*INT*” and “*RP*” have been silently omitted.

Summary

The mediaeval question-and-answer collection *Sententiae de floratibus diversis* (*SFD*) is presented as an elementary school text. It consists of a sequence of 46 gradually arranged items which initiate the student into basic knowledge of the human body, the Christian faith, simple theological principles, and biblical history. In spite of its concision and modest pretensions, it is backed by an important manuscript tradition (of at least 23 witnesses). This tradition is divided in two slightly different versions, here presented under the name of standard and non-standard. However, some of these MSS

offer no more than a single excerpt of the entire work as printed here: in some cases, as an independent entry in a miscellaneous codex; in other cases, integrated into more significant works. Due to its compilation nature, the text basically draws from the most common patristic sources, with a clear preference for Isidore of Seville and his *Liber Differentiarum II*. Nevertheless, these excerpts are usually copied in reworked mediaeval forms, which knew a noteworthy success among compilation works and florilegia. The *SFD* also include some excerpts which are only paralleled (according to the examined references) in anonymous mediaeval works. This article addresses the MS tradition of the aforementioned versions (printed in the appendix) by means of a critical study of their texts. The study of the sources and parallel texts intends to identify the underlying patristic patterns and to create a provisional record of the anonymous mediaeval works and MSS in which the reworked forms are paralleled. The wide MS tradition of the *SFD* makes it an appropriate reference point to trace contemporary anonymous works. The detailed study, critical edition and philological contextualization of these works and their MSS constitute the aim of my PhD project, currently in process.

Javier SOAGE-OTERO
University of Salamanca
<soageot@gmail.com>

INDEX OPERVM ET AVCTORVM

AMBR <i>exp luc</i>	Ambrosius, <i>Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam</i> (CPL 1790), ed. M. Adriaen, P. A. Ballerini, Turnhout, 1957 (CCSL 14)
AVG <i>ench</i>	Augustinus, <i>Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate</i> (CPL 295), ed. E. Evans, Turnhout, 1969 (CCSL 46)
HIER <i>in math</i>	Hieronymus, <i>Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV</i> (CPL 590), ed. D. Hurst, M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1969 (CCSL 77)
ISID <i>diff II</i>	Isidorus, <i>Liber Differentiarum [II]</i> (CPL 1202), ed. M. A. Andrés Sanz, Turnhout, 2006 (CCSL 111A)
ISID <i>eccl off</i>	Isidorus, <i>De Ecclesiasticis officiis</i> (CPL 1207), ed. C. Lawson, Turnhout, 1989 (CCSL 113)
ISID <i>prooem</i>	Isidorus, <i>Liber prooemiorum</i> (CPL 1192) (PL 83, col. 155-180)
PS ISID <i>lib de num</i>	Ps. Isidorus, <i>Liber de Numeris</i> (CPL 1193 ^o) (PL 83, col. 1293-1302, partial); chapter and paragraph indications, from R. E. McNALLY, <i>Der irische Liber de Numeris: eine Quellenanalyse des Pseudo-Isidorischen Liber de Numeris</i> (unpublished dissertation), München, 1957
PS VEN FORT <i>exp fid cath</i>	Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Expositio fidei catholicae</i> (CPL 1052) (MGH Auct. Ant. IV.2, 1885, pp. 106-110)
PS VEN FORT <i>ymb athan</i>	Ps. Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Symbolum Athanasianum</i> (CPL 167) (MGH Auct. Ant. IV.2, 1885, pp. 105-106)
<i>pauca probl</i>	<i>Pauca problemsmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis</i> , ed. G. McGinty, Turnhout, 2000 (CCCM 173)

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- E* Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281, saec. VIII-IX, pp. 60-77
- P* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 1603, saec. VIII-IX, fol. 152v-159v
- W* Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1114, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 60v-65v
- A* Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40, saec. IX, fol. 13v-18v
- T* Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230, saec. VIII^{2/2}, pp. 316-325
- V* Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 846, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 104r-106r
- C* El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8, ca. 860/870, fol. 77r-78r
- S* Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 426, saec. IX^{med}, pp. 274-287
- G* Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 225, saec. VIII-IX, pp. 461-473
- F* Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat., 6018, saec. IX¹, fol. 100r-103v
- Q* Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS 29, saec. X, fol. 78v-81r
- M* München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410, saec. IX^{med}, pp. 1-6
- D* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 614A, saec. IX-X, fol. 2r
- K* Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 682, saec. IX^{1/2}, pp. 399-408
- R* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2718, saec. IX^{1/2}, fol. 137v-139v
- N* Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 324, saec. IX^{med}, fol. 34r-37r
- Z* Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. 104, saec. IXⁱⁿ, pp. 94-99
- L* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 129, saec. IXⁱⁿ, fol. 16rv

1. Homo pro quid dicitur? Homo dictus ab humo quia de limo terrae formatus est.

2. Quibus substantiis constat homo? Duabus: ex mortale et immortale.

3. Quomodo ex mortale et quomodo immortale? Anima tantum et corpore.

4. Quomodo anima et quomodo corpore? Anima uero a Deo solo esse data in qua uiuimus, mouemur et sumus.

4bis. Anima proprie pro quid dicitur?

Anima proprie dicta eo quod †agit corpore†. Corpus autem eius ex ossibus
5 et carnibus constat.

5. Quibus elementis diuiditur? Diuiditur in quattuor elementis, id est, ignis, aeris, aquae et terrae.

6. Quid continetur in hoc? Ratio terrae in carne est, humoris in sanguine, aeris in spiritu, ignis in calore uitale.

7. Homo cuius figuram tenet? Homo mundi istius figuram tenet.

8. Quomodo? Caeli et terrae, aeris et maris.

9. Quomodo caeli? Quomodo terrae? Quomodo aeris? Quomodo maris? Caput namque ad caelum refertur, in quo sunt duo oculi, quasi duo luminaria solis et lunae. Pectus aere coniungitur, quia sic inde emittitur inspiraminis flatus, sicut ex aere uentorum spiritus. Venter autem mare adsimilatur
5 propter collectionem omnium humorum, quasi congregationes aquarum. Vestigia postremo terrae comparantur, eo quod sint ultima membrorum arida siue sicca sicut et terra.

10. Mens hominum ubi consistit? Iam uero in capitis arce mens collocata est, tamquam in caelo Deus, ut ab alto speculetur omnia atque regat.

Trad. text. 3 *S* deest 5/12 *K* deest 5 *Q* deest 8 *E Z L* desunt 10/11 *M* deest

App. font. 1/2 cfr ISID., *Diff.*, II, 17, 47 (lin. 3-4) 3 cfr Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 2, 1 4, 1 anima² – data] cfr Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 2, 1 4, 4/5 corpus – constat] ISID., *Diff.*, II 17, 47 (lin. 4-5) 5/6 cfr ISID., *Diff.*, II 17, 47 (lin. 6-7) 7 cfr ISID., *Diff.*, II 17, 43 (lin. 21) 8/11 ISID., *Diff.*, II 17, 48-50 (lin. 9-19)

App. crit. 1, 1 homo¹ – dicitur] quare dictus est h. *Q* ab humo] *om. S* 1/2 formatus] factus *A Q* 2, 1 substantiis] modis *K* ex] *praem.* quomodo *Z* 3, 1 anima – corpore] anima immortali et corpore mortale *N* 4, 1 data] *add.* intellegitur *Q* 2 qua] quo *A* mouemur] nouimus *G* 4bis, 3 anima – dicitur] *ZN* pro] propter *N* 4, 4 proprie] pro it *A^{ac.}*, pro id *A^{b.c.} W* †agit corpore†] agitat c. *F*, cogitat c. *SG*, uegitat corpus *M*, animet corpus id est uiuificet *Q* 5, 1 id est] *praem.* quomodo *Z* 2 aquae] sanguis *G* 6, 1 humoris] humus *T* 2 spiritu] flatu *N* calore] co- *Z M* 9, 2 refertur] reuertitur *SG W* 4 flatus] factus *P^{ac.} WAV* 7 arida] calida *T* 10, 2 regat] regnat *SG*

11. Quomodo est homo factus? Factus est autem homo ad contemplationem caeli rigidus et erectus, et non sicut pecora in humum prona atque uergentia, in cuius sumitate caput est collocatum.

12. Caput pro quid dicitur? [Caput namque] datum[que] est illi hoc nomen eo quod hinc habeant initium sensus atque nerui.

13. Tu, qui homo es, sub qua lege uiuis? Sub lege Christi uiuo, quia Christianus sum.

14. Quid interpretatur Christianus? Vocantur autem Christiani deriuatio uocabulo ex nomine Christi, nam sicut ex Iudae nomine uocabulum traxerunt Iudaei, a quo in illa gente regiae stirpis dignitas claruit, ita a Christo Christianae gentis nomen inhesit, cuius est in gentibus et in Iudaeis
5 praerogatiua dignitas potestatis.

15. Es baptizatus? Sic sum.

16. Pro quid? Propter illa sex peccata quod commisit Adam, primus homo quem fecit Deus de limo terrae,

16bis. Qualia sunt illa sex peccata?

id est: superbiam, sacrilegium, homicidium, fornicationem, furtum et auaritiam.
5

17. Quid continetur in ista sex peccata? Superbia fuit quia plus uoluit in sua esse uoluntate potius quam in Dei. Sacrilegium, quia Deum non credit ubique esse. Homicidium, quia semet ipsum praecipitauit in mortem. Fornicatio, quia integritatem mentis serpentina suasionem corruptus est. Furtum,
5 quia fructus uetitos usurpatus est. Auaritia, quia plus quam ei sufficere poterat appetiuit. Propter ista sex peccata per quinque milia ducentos uiginti et octo annos genus humanum, omnes homines iustos et peccatores,

Trad. text. 11, 1 *D inc.* (quomodo) 12 *L deest* 13 *Q deest* 14 *M L desunt* 15, 1 *C inc.* (es) 17, 5 *D expl.* (est)

App. font. 12 *ISID., Diff.*, II 17, 50 (lin. 19-20) 14 *ISID., Eccl. off.*, 1, 1 (lin. 10-14) 16/17 cfr *AVG., Ench.*, 13, 45

App. crit. 11, 2 caeli] dei *T*, saeculi *N* 12, 1 caput namque] *codd.* 1/2 datumque – hinc] dictum quod ex eo *Q* 1 datumque] cumque *S*, tumque *G*, ei datum est quia *T*, dictum est que est *V* 2 habeant] capiant *Q* 13, 1 qua] quale *Z N* 14, 2 ex²] *om. S G* 4 Christianae gentis] christianis *N* 5 potestatis] *om. S G, add.* etsi baptizatus sum *A* 16, 1 commisit] admi- *T* 16bis, 3 Qualia – peccata] *K Z N* peccata] quod commisit adam primi (-mus *Z^{p.c.}*) homo quem fecit deus de limo terrae *Z^{a.c.}* 17, 1 superbia] -bus *T* fuit] fecit *E* 1/2 in sua esse uoluntate] in s. e. potestate *G*, in s. potestate e. *L*, in s. potestate e. uoluntarie *A*, e. in s. potestate *K Z N* 2 sacrilegium] *add.* habuit *A* 3 homicidium] *add.* perpetravit *A* semet] se *S G* 5 usurpatus est] usurpauit *G M L*, urumpauit *S* 6 appetiuit] *hic desinit responsio Q L* 7 uiginti et octo] XVIII. *S G M^{p.c.}*

diabulus in sua potestate habebat. Nisi Christus uenisset et formam serui accepisset et suo sanguine pretioso nos redemisset nullus poterat introire in
 10 regnum Dei. Vnde et ipse Dominus post resurrectionem suam in Gallilea discipulis suis praecepit dicens: *Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra. Ite ergo, docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos seruare omnia quaecumque mandaui uobis. Et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.*
 18. Credis resurrectionem? Credo.

19. Quomodo? Credo postquam moriar quod resurgam in die iudicii, in triginta annorum aetate, et uenturus sim ad iudicium ad montem Oliueti, ubi est medius mundus, unde ascendit Christus Filius Dei ad Patrem, ubi et ipse uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos et reddere unicuique secundum opera sua.
 5 dum opera sua.

20. Quatenus dicis homo es, Christianus es, baptizatus es, resurrectionem credis, expone mihi fidem tuam! Quomodo credis? Credimus in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, omnium uisibilium et inuisibilium factorem. Et in unum Dominum nostrum, Iesum Christum, Filium Dei,
 5 natum de Patre unigenitum, hoc est, de substantia Patris, Deum ex Deo, Lumen ex Lumine, Deum uerum ex Deo uero, natum, non factum, omoy-
 sion Patri, hoc est, eiusdem cum Patris substantia, per quem omnia facta sunt quae in caelo et quae in terra, qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit, et incarnatus est, homo factus est, passus est, et
 10 resurrexit tertia die, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum. Eos autem qui dicunt: "erat aliquando, quando non erat," et: "antequam nasceretur non erat," et quia ex nullis substantiis factus est, aut ex alia sub-

Trad. text. 14 *L expl.* (saeculi) 18/23 *N deest* 18/20 *Q deest*

App. bibl. 17, 11/14 Matth. 28, 18-20

App. crit. 8 nisi] *praem.* et *ZN* 9 sanguine pretioso] sanctum sanguinem *A G* nos] *om. TV*
 10 Dei] *hic desinit responsio K* 19, 1 credo] *om. PWATVC* 2 ad iudicium] *om. K Z*
 3 ascendit – Dei] *ch. f. d. asc. PWTV C, f. d. asc. A* ubi] *ibi S, unde F*
 4 est] *add. in gloriam Z* 20, 1 es²] *om. PWATSG K^{a.c.}* 2 credimus] credo *AC*
K M 3 omnipotentem] *hic desinit responsio his fere uerbis:* et reliqua quae secuntur de symbolo niceno *PWATVC* 3/4 omnium – factorem] factorem caeli et terrae uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium *K* 5 unigenitum] *hic desinit responsio his uerbis:* ante omnia saecula et cetera quae secuntur hoc symbolo *K* 8 propter – et] *om. SG* 9 descendit] dignatus est descendere *E* factus] natus *SF* 11 Sanctum] *add. patri et filio per omnia coeternum et coaequalem et cooperatorem et coesentialem E*

- stantia uel essentia dicunt esse aut conuertibilem aut mutabilem Filium
 15 Dei, anathematizat catholica et apostolica Ecclesia.
 21. Inter personam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, quid interest? Inter
 personam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ita secernitur, quod Pater nec
 natus, nec factus est; Filius natus, non factus est; Spiritus uero Sanctus nec
 natus, nec factus, sed ex Patre Filioque procedens est. Proinde Pater aeter-
 5 nitatem habet sine natiuitate, Filius natiuitatem cum aeternitate, Spiritus
 uero Sanctus processionem sine natiuitate. Pater ex nullo exordium ducit,
 Filius ex Patre originem sumpsit, Spiritus uero Sanctus ex Patre Filioque
 procedit. Haec tamen a nobis ita dicuntur de Trinitate ut possit intellegentia
 humana capere. Nam quis considerare sufficiat ipsius Trinitatis interna
 10 misteria? Si enim humanae natiuitatis Christi secreta non capimus, diuinae
 naturae misteria quomodo capiemus?
 22. Inter Trinitatem et Vnitatem quid interest? Inter Trinitatem et Vnitatem
 haec distinctio est, quod Vnitas propter inseparabilem deitatis substan-
 tiam, Trinitas uero propter personarum diuersitatem uocatur. In personis
 enim discretio, in diuinitate nulla distinctio. Est enim gignens, genitus et
 5 procedens: gignens Pater, genitus Filius, procedens Spiritus Sanctus.
 23. Inter id quod Filius nunc aequalis, nunc minor Patri praedicatur, quid
 interest? Inter id quod Filius nunc aequalis, nunc minor Patri dicitur, id
 est differentia, quod primum aeternae substantiae est, <alterum> humanae
 naturae. In forma enim serui in qua factus est ex muliere, Pater maior illo
 5 est. In forma enim Dei in qua erat ante carnis adumptionem Patri coae-

Trad. text. 20, 15 *Z expl.* (Ecclesia) 21/24 *K deest* 21, 1 *R inc.* (inter) 22/23 *Q deest*
 22, 5 *C expl.* (sanctus)

App. font. 21, 1/10 inter² – misteria] ISID., *Diff.*, II 3, 7-8 (lin. 1-11) 10/11 si – capiemus] ISID.,
Diff., II 3, 11 (lin. 24) 22 ISID., *Diff.*, II 2, 3 (lin. 1-5) 23 ISID., *Diff.*, II 5,13
 (lin. 1-7)

App. crit. 21, 7 originem sumpsit] origine sumpto *S*, origine sumito *G* 8 tamen] tantum *C* a
 nobis ita] i. a n. (nobi *S*) *S GFM* possit] *praem.* non *A* 9/10 nam – misteria] *om.*
S GFM 9 Trinitatis] natiuitatis *E* interna] eterna *A^{bc}* 10 misteria] *add. plurima*
uerba ex ISID. *Diff.* II (3, 8-11, l. 11-24) *R* si enim] se nisi *S*, si nos *G*, si autem *M*,
 si *F* 10/11 diuinae naturae] diuinitatis christi *W* 11 capiemus] *add. plurima uerba*
 (*uid. adnot.* 29) *R* 22, 1 Trinitatem¹] natiuitate *F* 4 discretio] distinctio *W S Q*,
 distinctio *A* diuinitate] deitate *V*, diuersitate *Q* genitus] creatus *P* 23, 2 id¹] *om.*
PWATV 3 alterum] *edidi*, alter enim *R^{dub.}*, alter uni *E^{dub.}*, alteri *PWATV SGF*
 4 in qua] *R*, qua *E, om. PWATV SGF* 5 enim] *om. PWATV*

qualis est. Pro illud dictum est: *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. Aequalis ergo Patri in quantum Deus est, subiectus uero in quantum homo est.

24. Quomodo Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus unus est Deus? Deus nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patri Pater, et proprium nomen est Filio Filius, et proprium nomen est Spiritui Sancto Spiritus Sanctus. In hac Trinitate unum Deum colimus, et adoramus, et
5 confitemur. Nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales, quia semper fuit Pater, semper habuit Filium, et semper fuit Spiritus Sanctus, in una diuinitate, aequale gloria, coaeterna maiestate.

25. Deus pro quid dicitur? Deus dicitur de potestate et de amore.

25bis. Dominus pro quid dicitur? Dominus dicitur de dominatione.

26. Pater pro quid dicitur? Pater dicitur eo quod habeat Filium.

26bis. Filius pro quid dicitur?

Filius dicitur eo quod habeat Patrem.

26ter. Spiritus uero Sanctus pro quid dicitur?

- 5 Spiritus uero Sanctus eo quod sit ex Patre Filioque procedens.

27. Trinitas pro quid dicitur? Trinitas propter personarum diuersitatem uocatur.

28. Vnitas pro quid dicitur? Vnitas propter inseparabilem deitatis substantiam.

29. Quibus modis dicitur Deus? Tribus modis dicitur Deus: essentialiter, nuncupatiue et false.

Trad. text. 28, 1/2 *M expl.* (substantiam) 29/33 *K deest*

App. bibl. 23, 6 *Ioh.* 10, 30

App. font. 24, 1/5 *Deus*² – confitemur] cfr Ps. VEN. FORT., *Exp. fid. cath.*, 14 5/7 nihil¹ – Sanctus] cfr Ps. VEN. FORT., *Symb. Athan.*, 24 25/30 cfr Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 3, 2-3 27/28 ISID., *Diff.*, II 2, 3 (lin. 1-3)

App. crit. 7 in quantum Deus] tantum *A^{p.c.}* 24, 2 est¹] *om. RN* 5 nihil¹] non enim *SGFQM* nihil²] non *SGFQM* 6/7 Pater – fuit] *om. TV* 6 semper²] *praem.* et *RN* 7 aequale] -lis *W*, -les *T*, equales *A* 8 maiestate] maiestas *WT*, magestas *A* 25, 1 de²] *om. SGFQR* 25bis, 2/3 Dominus – dominatione] *RN* 2/3 de dominatione] ad dominando *N* 26bis, 2 Filius – dicitur] *KRN* 26ter, 4 Spiritus – dicitur] *KR* 26, 5 Sanctus] *add. dicitur WK* 27, 1/2 Trinitas² – uocatur] t. dicitur pr. p. d. *RN* 28, 1 Vnitas²] *om. SGFQV*, *add. dicitur KR* 1/2 substantiam] *add. uocatur N* 29, 1 dicitur¹] diuiditur *N*

30. Quomodo? Essentialiter, ut Paulus dicit: *Qui est benedictus Deus in saecula*. Nuncupatiue, ut Dominus dicit ad Moysen: *Deum te constitui pharaonis*. False, ut dicitur: *Dii qui non fecerunt caelum et terram pereant de terra!*

31. Quibus modis adoratur Deus? Tribus: qui adoratur et non adoratur; creator est, et non creatura; sine peccato est, et peccata dimittit.

32. Quibus modis creditur? Quattuor, id est, Deum bonum, perfectum, omnipotentem, sempiternum debemus credere.

33. Quae substantiae constant in Filio Dei? Duae, id est, diuinitas et humanitas, ut sicut ante carnis adsumptionem uerum Deum, ita et postea uerum hominem natum esse credamus. Coepit esse quod non erat, sed non amisit quod erat; accepit enim humanitatem, sed non amisit diuinitatem.

34. Edissere mihi de caeleste generatione, hoc est, de Christo, Filio Dei. Quando erat? Quid erat? Quid egerat? Quid agebat? Vbi erat? Quo uenit? Quomodo uenit? Qua causa uenerit? Hoc est, quando erat? *In principio erat*. Quid erat? *Verbum erat*. Quid egerat? *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Quid agebat? *Erat lux uera quae inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum*. Vbi erat? *In hoc mundo erat*. Quo uenit? *In sua propria uenit*. Quomodo uenit? *Verbum caro factum est, et habitauit in nobis*. Qua causa uenerit? *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*.

35. Pro quid Christus Filius Dei non de simplice uirgine sed de dispensata natus est? Prima causa fuit ut per generationem Ioseph origo Mariae mons-

Trad. text. 31 *Q deest* 34 *Q deest* 35 *K deest*

App. bibl. 30, 1/2 Rom. 9, 5 2/3 Ex. 7, 1 3/4 Ier. 10, 11 34, 3/4 Ioh. 1, 1 4 Ioh. 1, 1
1 4/5 Ioh. 1, 3 5/6 Ioh. 1, 9 6/7 Ioh. 1, 10 7 Ioh. 1, 11 7/8 Ioh. 1, 14
8/9 Ioh. 1, 29

App. font. 31 cfr Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 4, 24 32 Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 4, 23 33 Ps. VEN. FORT., *Exp fid cath* 30-31 34 AMBROS., *Exp. Luc.*, 2, 40 35/36 HIER., *In Math.*, 1, 1, 18 (lin. 72-79) / 1, 3, 13 (lin. 276-283); cfr Ps. ISID. *Lib. de num.*, 4, 20 / 4, 22

App. crit. 30, 1 quomodo] *add.* essentialiter quomodo nuncupatiue quomodo et false *RN* 3 qui] *praem.* ut *SG* non – terram] c. et t. non f. *RN* 31, 2 dimittit] adm- *T*
32, 1 creditur] credere debemus *T* quattuor] quinque *PWAV SGQ R*, .V. *A F*,
cumque *T*, tribus *N* perfectum] *RN, om. E PWATV SGFQ* 33, 1 quae sub-
stantiae] quibus s. *E T S*, quibus –tiis (–ciis *A*) *P^{b.c.} A WV GF RN* 3 natum] *om. A*
4 humanitatem] humilitatem *V* diuinitatem] deitatem *G* 34, 1 edissere] *praem.*
ambrosius *E* 2 quando erat] quomodo e. *N, om. SG* 3 causa] condicione (–
tio– *G*) *SGF* 4 erat¹] *om. TV* 9 mundi] *praem.* huius *PWV K, add.* huius *T*
35, 1 pro] *praem.* hyeronimus dixit *E* 2 origo] uirgo *W*

traretur. Secunda causa fuit ut non lapidaretur a Iudaeis ut adultera. Tertia causa fuit ut fugiens in Aegyptum haberet solacium. Ignatius autem martyr
 5 etiam quartam addidit causam, ut partus –inquiens– eius celaret Diabulum, dum eum putat non de uirgine sed se uxore generatum.

36. Pro quid Christus Filius Dei in Iordane ab Iohanne baptizatus est? Prima causa fuit ut qui homo natus erat omnem iustitiam et humilitatem impleret. Secunda causa fuit ut baptismum suum baptismum Iohannis confirmaret. Tertia causa fuit ut per lauacrum suum aquas Iordanis sanc-
 5 tificaret, quia maledictae erant per praeuaricationem Adae primi hominis. Quarta causa fuit ut nullus dedignaretur a seruo suo baptizari dum ipse Dominus ab Iohanne in Iordane baptizatus est.

37. Per quales causas uenit homo ad regnum Dei? Per fidem, et spem, et caritatem.

38. Quid est fides? Fides est diuinitatis confessio et religionis solidum fundamentum.

38bis. Quid est spes?

Spes est bonorum expectatio futurorum.

5 **38ter.** Quid est caritas?

Caritas est perfecta dilectio in Deo et proximo.

39. Dic mihi: spes, fides, caritas, ubi coniunguntur? Vbi separantur? Vbi singillatim ponuntur? Descendit fides ad infernum, similiter et spes, quia fides credit tormenta impiorum et spes similiter sperat. Hic caritas non sociatur quia bonorum rerum dilectio est. Coniunguntur in resurrectione:
 5 fides quod credidit uidit, et spes praemia quod sperat recepit. Caritas ista omnia diligit. Modo caritas dicit ad fidem et ad spem: “Tu, fides, quod credidisti uidisti; et tu, spes, quod sperasti recepisti. Recedite uos, ego modo sola regnabo”.

Trad. text. 36 *E deest* 37 *Q deest*

App. font. 37/39 cfr Ps. ISID., *Lib. de num.*, 3, 8-15

App. crit. 3 ut adultera] *om. T* 4 causa] *condio S^{p.c.}, condicia S^{a.c.}, conditio G, condicio F* fuit ut] *om. S G* solacium] *add. uiri Q N* 4/5 Ignatius – addidit] quarta causa fuit *R* 4 martyr] *mariae AT, mater W* 5 etiam] *om. S G F Q N* 6 uirgine] *add. natum N* 36, 2/3 qui – impletet] in nobis iniciaret baptismum ut nos uerum baptismum crederemus *N* 2 natus] baptizatus *A* 4/5 per – hominis] tactu illius sanctificaret omnes aquas *N* 6 causa] *condicio (-tio- G) S G F* 38, 1 fides¹] *add. spes et caritas Q* 38bis, 3 Quid – spes] *K R N* 38ter, 5 Quid – caritas] *K R N* 39, 1 separantur] sperantur *A*, hic desinit quaestio *N* 2/3 quia fides] *om. T V* 3 spes] ipse *T V* 4 sociatur] notatur *K* quia – est] *om. R* 5 recepit] precepit *S^{a.c.} G* 7 quod] *praem. premia A*, praemia *F* recepisti] *hic desinit responsio T*

(40.) Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus quales creaturas ex nihilo condidit omnipotens Deus?

40. Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus duas creaturas ex nihilo condidit Deus, angelicam uidelicet creaturam et informem materiam, ut
 5 propheta dicit: *Cum fecissem caelum et terram laudauerunt me angeli mei*. Prima die condidit lucem. Secunda die, firmamentum caeli. Tertia die, speciem maris et terrae. Quarta die inluminavit caelum de sole, et luna, et stellis. Quinta die omnia uolatilia caeli et pisces maris de aqua fecit. Sexta die omnia quadrupedia de terra facta sunt. Nouissime, ad imaginem et similitudinem suam consilio Trinitatis condidit hominem primum Adam, ut
 10 dicitur: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, id est, ad aeternitatem et immortalitatem.

41. Quo tempore factus est mundus? Et in quo mense? Et in qua die mensis? Et in qua ebdomada? Id indicatur in historia Genesis, dum dicitur: *Germinet terra herbam uirentem*. Indicatur ex traditione ecclesiastica: mense martio, die dominico, VIII kalendas aprilis. In die dominico dixit
 5 Deus: *Fiat lux!* In die dominico resurrexit a mortuis. In die quo factus est mundus.

42. Quo tempore scripsit Moyses? In quo loco initiauit scribere? In quo ordine? Et pro qua causa? In cuius lingua? Et quomodo eum dicimus, prophetam an legislatorem? Quo tempore scripsit: id est, quando uerba decalogi accepit. Vbi initiauit scribere: id in Aegypto. In quo ordine: id in

Trad. text. 40 *K deest* 41 *A deest* 6 *G K expl.* (mundus)

App. bibl. 40, 5 cfr Iob 38, 7 (*LXX*)

App. font. 40 3/4 ante¹ – materiam] cfr ISID., *Diff.*, II 11, 30 4/12 ut – immortalitatem] *uide studium* 41/42 cfr *pauca probl.*, §64α uel §14β / §59α uel §9β

App. crit. (40.), 1/2 Ante – Deus] *RN* 40, 3/4 Ante – Deus] id est *N* 3 diem – nihilo] quid *A* duas] quas *Q* ex nihilo] *om. G* 4 Deus] omnipotens *R* informem materiam] lucem *Q* ut] quod per *P*, *add.* dominus per *N* 6 lucem] caelum *E RN* 7 et terrae] *om. G* inluminavit caelum] luminaria celi *N* 9 quadrupedia] reptilia *N* de terra] diuersa *R*, *hic desinit responsio A* 9/10 et similitudinem] *om. E W* 10 suam] nostram *G N* 12 immortalitatem] *add.* liberi arbitrii uoluntatem *RN* 41, 2 historia] *om. K* 3 ecclesiastica] euangelica *N* 4 die¹ – aprilis] .VIII. k. ap. die dom. *R*, octauis k. aprilis die dom. *N* 5 lux] *add.* et facta est lux *A* in die²] in *A*, *om. E* quo] qua *N*, dominico *SFQ K*, *om. G* 42, 1/3 in² – legislatorem] et pro quid et in qua lingua *Q* 2 causa] condicione *S*, condicione *F* 3 an legislatorem] an legis doctorem *W* uerba] *om. P W A T V S F Q* 4/6 ubi – id] scilicet *Q*

- 5 ordine legis, quia primus ordo lex, deinde prophetia, deinde agiographia. Pro qua causa: id ad fidem nostram roborandam, quia Moyses, eruditus arte geometrica uel Aegyptiaca, uidens multos errores de factura mundi apud philosophos, ideo scripsit ut erradicaret illorum errores antiquos. In cuius lingua: id in hebrea. Et quomodo eum dicimus, prophetam an legis-
- 10 latorem: qui ipse dixit: *Prophetam uobis suscitabit Dominus Deus uester de fratribus uestris.*
43. Quanti libri sunt canonici? LXXII.
44. Quanti sunt in Vetus Testamentum? XLV.
45. Quanti sunt in Nouum? XXVII.
46. Quomodo uel quales? Hii sunt libri ueteris ac noui testamenti, quos ob amore doctrinae et pietatis legendos recipiendosque Ecclesiarum principes tradiderunt. Primi namque legis Moysi libri quinque sunt, id est: Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri siue Deuteronomium. Iosuae scilicet et Iudicum
- 5 siue Ruth, Regum etiam libri quattuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Esdrae duo, Tobi quoque et Ester seu Iudith libri singuli et duo Machabeorum. Super eos prophetici libri XVI, id est: Esaïas, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Daniel libri singuli, duodecim quoque prophetarum libri singuli, id est: Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Abacuc, Sofonias, Aggeus, Micheas, Naum,
- 10 Zacharias et Malachias. Et haec quidem prophetica sunt. Post haec uersuum octo libri habentur qui diuerso apud hebreos metro scribuntur, id est: Iob liber et Liber Psalmorum, Prouerbiaque et Ecclesiasten, Cantica Cantorum et Sapientia seu Ecclesiasticum uel Lamentationes Hieremiae. Sicque complentur libri Veteris Testamenti XLV. Noui autem Testamenti
- 15 primum quattuor euangelia sunt, id est: Mathaei, Marci, Lucae et Iohan-

Trad. text. 42, 6 *A expl.* (roborandam) 11 *N expl.* (uestris) 43 *P deest*

App. bibl. 42, 10/11 Act. 3, 22

App. font. 46, 1/28 hii – aedificarentur] ISID., *Eccl. off.*, 1, 11 (lin. 20-48)

App. crit. 5 primus – lex] primo ordine (ordo *F*) legitur *SF* 6 causa] condicione *S*, condicione *F* nostram] sanctam *N*, hic desinit *ms. A* roborandam] -um *TV* eruditus] *add.* erat *RN* 7 factura] futura *WR*, facinore *N* 8 ideo scripsit] descripsit *Q* 9 hebrea] hebrea *TV*, hic desinit *ms. Q* dicimus] dicis *SF N* 45, 1 in Nouum] noui *WT*, *add.* testamentum *E* 46, 1 ob] ab *WTF* 2 legendos] expellendos *R* 3 primi namque] primaque (-quae *S*, -mam- *WF*) *PWF S*, primumque *T*, primum *V* 7 prophetici] -tarum *FR* 9 Abacuc] *praem.* micheas naum *WVF* 12 Prouerbiaque] *add.* salamon *T* 13 Sapientia] *add.* salomonis *R* seu] siue *TV* 14 libri – Testamenti] *om. SF*

- nis. Hos XIII Pauli apostoli epistulae secuntur, id est: ad Romanos I ad Corinthios II; ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses singulae; ad Thesalonicensis II, ad Colosenses I, ad Timotheum II, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebreos singulae. Quibus etiam subiunctae sunt septem catholicae
- 20 epistulae, id est: Iacobi I, Petri II, Iohannis III, Iudae I; actus quoque XII apostolorum; quorum omnium signaculum est Apocalypsis Iohannis, quod est reuelatio Iesu Christi, qui omnes libros et tempore concludit et ordine. Hii sunt libri canonici LXXII, et ob hoc Moyses LXXII elegit presbiteros qui prophetarent in populo, et Iesus Dominus noster LXXII discipulos
- 25 predicare mandauit. Et quum LXXII linguae in hoc mundo erant diffusae, congrue prouidit Spiritus Sanctus ut tot libri essent quot nationes et linguae, quibus populi et gentes ad percipiendam fideigratiam aedificarentur. Haec sunt noua et uetera quae de thesauro Dei proferuntur, ex quibus cuncta sacramentorum mysteria reuelantur: hii duo cherubin qui in
- 30 confessione Sanctae Trinitatis tres agios hymnum erumpunt. Hae litterae sacrae, hi libri integrum numerum cum auctoritate. Aliud cum istis nihil est comparandum. Quicquid extra hos fuerit inter haec sancta et diuina Ecclesia catholica nullatenus sunt recipienda.

App. font. 28/33 haec – recipienda] ISID., *Prooem.*, praef., 14, 16

App. crit. 19 etiam] et *SF* catholicae] canonicae *F*, canonice *R*, ecclesiae *E* 21 signaculum] significatione *R* Iohannis] *om. TV*, *add.* apostoli *F* 22 reuelatio] reueratio *E* ordine] ordinauit *R* 24 Iesus] *add.* christus *E TV* 25 mandauit] misit in mundum *F* 26 congrue – Sanctus] placuit *R* 28 proferuntur] def- *E*, profetentur *R*, profer *SF* 30 agios] *add.* iugiter decantantens *R*, *add.* sanctus *V^{s.l.}* erumpunt] *add.* dicunt *V^{s.l.}*

A Neglected Chapter in the Reception of Augustine's Pauline Exegesis: William of St.-Thierry's *Expositio super epistolam ad Romanos**

Gert PARTOENS

(Leuven)

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to restate and further develop a claim I made in the 2005 volume of *Sacris Erudiri* concerning the presence of literal and quasi-literal quotations from the works of saint Augustine in the Romans commentary of William of Saint-Thierry.¹ Just as in the previous contribution, my focus will be that of a philologist interested in the transmission of Augustine's works and not that of a theologian focusing on the position of William's commentary within the context of medieval theology and exegesis. This does not mean, however, that the results proposed below will be irrelevant for the latter kind of research. As I will demonstrate at the end of this article, the lack of a thorough knowledge of Augustine's literal and quasi-literal presence in William's commentary has caused quite some deficiencies and even downright mistakes in recent theologically oriented scholarship.

William of Saint-Thierry was born shortly before 1080 in Liège, but his monastic career was situated in the diocese of Reims. He entered the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Nicaise in the center of Reims around 1095 and became abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Thierry in the neighborhood of the same city in 1121. He ruled this abbey until 1135, when he retired and became an ordinary monk in the recently founded Cistercian monastery of Signy, situated at some 60 kilometers from Reims. His transition to the Cistercian order was preceded by a long standing friendship

* I thank Nicolas De Maeyer for his help in establishing the detailed list of quotations offered in the Appendix to this article.

¹ See G. PARTOENS, "La Présence d'Augustin dans l'*Expositio super epistolam ad Romanos* de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry", *Sacris Erudiri*, 44 (2005), p. 285-300.

with Bernard of Clairvaux, which seems to have begun around 1118.² William died at Signy in 1148.

The Benedictine/Cistercian scholar is known for some 18 works, including a commentary on the Song of Songs and one on Paul's Letter to the Romans.³ It is commonly assumed that he started writing the latter commentary when still ruling the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Thierry, but finished it after having entered the Cistercian foundation at Signy.⁴ Its impact was presumably rather limited, since the commentary has been preserved in only two manuscripts, a twelfth-century codex from Signy, which is commonly considered to be a partial autograph and contains the entire commentary (Charleville, BM 49, fol. 103r-216v),⁵ and a second one from the Abbey of Saint-Martin in Tournai, which contains only a part of the commentary and is sometimes thought to represent the part of the work that William had completed at Saint-Thierry (Paris, BN lat. 4286, fol. 102r-116v).⁶ Two other manuscripts may have been copied during Wil-

² For William's life, see *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1: *Expositio super epistolam ad Romanos*, ed. by P. VERDEYEN, Turnhout, 1989 (*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* [CCCM], 86), p. v-xxiii; *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. Premier auteur mystique des anciens Pays-Bas*, Turnhout, 2003 (Témoins de notre histoire, 9); A. RYDSTRÖM-POULSEN, *The Gracious God. Gratia in Augustine and the Twelfth Century*, Copenhagen, 2002, p. 252-253; Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains*, vol. 1: *Livres I-III*, ed. by P. VERDEYEN, transl. by Y.-A. BAUDELET, Paris, 2011 (*Sources Chrétiennes* [SC], 544), p. 10-13; E. HASTINGS, "William of St Thierry", in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. by K. POLLMANN, vol. 3, Oxford, 2013, p. 1910-1912 (esp. p. 1910-1911).

³ For William's works and their chronology, see P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. xxiii-xxx; "La chronologie des œuvres de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry", *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 72 (2010), p. 427-440.

⁴ For the assumption that the commentary was at least finished at Signy, see A. WILMART, "La série et la date des ouvrages de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry", *Revue Mabillon*, 14 (1924), p. 157-167 (esp. p. 166). For the assumption that it was started at Saint-Thierry, but finished at Signy, see P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. xxvii-xxviii (n° 8); "La chronologie" [n. 3], p. 431-432 (n° VIII).

⁵ These folia, which are at the basis of the commentary's critical edition in the CCCM, have been produced by five twelfth-century copyists, the last of whom is commonly considered to have been William himself. See Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, ed., intr. and notes by J.-M. DÉCHANET, transl. by M. DUMONTIER, Paris, 1962 (SC, 82), p. 53-55; P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lii-liv; P. VERDEYEN, Y.-A. BAUDELET in Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains* [n. 2], p. 69.

⁶ For this manuscript, which contains only the commentary on Rom. 1, 1 up to 5, 7-11 (without preface) and has been considered by some to represent the part of the commentary that was written at Saint-Thierry, see P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. xxviii + liv-lv; P. VERDEYEN, Y.-A. BAUDELET in Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains* [n. 2], p. 69-70. However, the fact that the end of the text preserved in Paris, BN lat. 4286 coincides with the very end of fol. 116v (the text's last words *pro nobis* [b. 3, l. 190; CCCM 86, p. 66] are written at the very end of the folio's last

liam's lifetime, but are lost today: one for the Carthusians of Mont-Dieu, the other for the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Lambert de Liessies.⁷ Both localities are situated in the same, restricted area as Signy and Tournai, *viz.* in the border region between present day France and Belgium.

Several scholars have stated that William's *Expositio* is the only preserved Romans commentary known to have been produced by a Cistercian author of the twelfth century.⁸ This fact – together with the commentary's limited circulation – does not mean, however, that the first letter of the Pauline corpus was not given due attention during the first generations of the new order's history. For it was especially Benedictine as well as Cistercian scriptoria that were responsible for the production of the many twelfth-century witnesses that have been preserved of the Pauline commentary produced by the Carolingian scholar Florus of Lyon.⁹ This line-by-line commentary on the entire *corpus Paulinum*, which consists of 2218 fragments from the works of Augustine,¹⁰ will play an important role further on in this article.

line), suggests that the two quires formed by fol. 102r-116v originally belonged to a version of the commentary that was larger than the part that has been preserved in the Parisian manuscript. I thank Dr Jérémy Delmulle for having checked this in the manuscript.

⁷ See P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lv-lvi; P. VERDEYEN, Y.-A. BAUDELET in Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains* [n. 2], p. 70.

⁸ See T. RENNA, "The Jewish Law according to William of Saint Thierry", *Studia monastica*, 31 (1989), p. 49-67 (esp. p. 50 and n. 9); A. RYDSTRÖM-POULSEN, *The Gracious God* [n. 2], p. 251; T. P. SCHECK, "William of St. Thierry's Reception of Origen's Exegesis of Romans", *Adamantius*, 10 (2004), p. 238-258 (esp. p. 240 and n. 24); *Origen and the History of Justification. The Legacy of Origen's Commentary on Romans*, Notre Dame (Ind.), 2008, p. 105; P. VERDEYEN, Y.-A. BAUDELET in Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains* [n. 2], p. 16.

⁹ For the importance of Cistercian scriptoria in the transmission of Florus' commentary, see C. CHARLIER, "La compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'apôtre. Sources et authenticité", *Revue bénédictine*, 57 (1947), p. 132-186 (esp. p. 165 + n. 8). Of the forty-four twelfth-century manuscripts listed by J. HEIL, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion? Die Juden in den Pauluskommentaren des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover, 1998 (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, Abteilung A: Abhandlungen, 6), p. 403-404, thirteen are associated with a Cistercian monastery. For the presence of Florus' commentary in twelfth-century Cistercian libraries, see also M. PEYRAFORT, "Un nouveau fragment du Commentaire augustinien de Florus de Lyon sur les Épîtres de saint Paul", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 33 (1987), p. 132-136 (*passim*). See also the list of Cistercian witnesses of Florus' commentary in T. FALMAGNE, "Les cisterciens et les nouvelles formes d'organisation des florilèges aux 12^e et 13^e siècles", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 55 (1997), p. 73-176 (en part. p. 144).

¹⁰ For a general presentation of Florus' commentary, see S. BOODTS, "Florus of Lyons' *Expositio epistolarum beati Pauli apostoli* and the Transmission of Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*", in *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by R. CEULEMANS, P. DE LEEMANS, Turnhout, 2015 (LECTIO. Studies in the Transmission of Texts and Ideas, 3), p. 141-155 (with further bibliography).

2. Augustine in the Preface to William's Commentary

In the preface to his commentary, William relates why he took upon himself the task of writing a commentary on Romans. "I was driven to this", he says, "by the joy one experiences in contemplating God's grace as well as by His glory that has to be preached to everyone".¹¹ God's grace – it is added – was defended against the Jews and the heretics in, respectively, the Apostle's Letter to the Romans and the writings of the Church Fathers.¹² William subsequently describes the nature of God's grace in a way that recalls both Paul's words in Rom. 8, 30 and the theology of Augustine. "Grace", the monk states, "has predestined us before we existed, when we were nothing; it called us, when we had turned away; it justified us, when we had converted; it will glorify us, who have been justified, if we will not be ungrateful".¹³ The next sentence of William's description of God's grace clearly echoes Augustinian phraseology: "Grace operates in us in such a way that we want the good; when we want it, it cooperates with us. Without grace we are unable either to will or to perform anything good". This sentence makes use of the word pairs *operari-cooperari* and *uelle-perficere*, which are based on Pauline verses (Phil. 1, 6 and 2, 13; Rom. 8, 28) and are frequently used in Augustine's writings on divine grace.

William (CCCM 86, p. 4, l. 34-36): Ipsa bonum **operatur** in nobis ut uelimus, **cooperatur** cum uolumus, sine qua nil boni uel uelle uel perficere ualemus.

Augustine (*De gratia et libero arbitrio* 17, 33; *PL* 44, col. 901): Vt ergo uelimus, sine nobis **operatur**; cum autem uolumus, et sic uolumus ut faciamus, nobiscum **cooperatur**; tamen sine illo uel operante ut uelimus, uel cooperante cum uolumus, ad bona pietatis opera nihil ualemus.

William subsequently stresses the gratuitous character of divine grace by drawing a comparison the bishop of Hippo uses with the same purposes in his own writings.¹⁴ In the same way as God has created us when we did

¹¹ CCCM 86, p. 3, l. 20-21: *Me autem ad hoc compulit contemplandae gratiae Dei iocunditas, et gloria eius omnibus praedicanda*. All English translations are mine.

¹² CCCM 86, p. 3, l. 21-24: *Quam in tota epistola hac constantissimus propugnator eius apostolus apostolica auctoritate et prudentia defendit contra Iudaeos; sancti patres ubique contra haereticos; [...]*.

¹³ CCCM 86, p. 3-4, l. 31-34: *Gratia enim priusquam essemus, cum nichil essemus, nos praedestinauit; auersos uocauit; conuersos iustificauit; iustificatos, si ingrati non fuerimus, glorificabit*.

¹⁴ For the comparison of the gratuitous and generous gift of existence with the equally gratuitous, but even more generous gift of salvation, see Aug., s. 26, 12 (CCSL 41, p. 356-357, l. 252-262): *Antequam conditi essemus, nihil boni merebamur, et ideo gratia, qua conditi sumus, cum boni nihil mereremur. Si ergo magna est gratia, quando nihil boni merebamur,*

not exist yet (and by consequence did not merit to exist) – William tells us – grace “creates” us in good works without preceding merit on our part.¹⁵ The conclusion drawn from this comparison again contains an expression that was dear to Augustine: “By consequence, if we have any merit [*si quid meremur*], it is grace [*gratia est*]; what we earn [*quod autem meremur*], is grace for grace [*gratia pro gratia est*]”. The latter formula – *gratia pro gratia* – stems from Ioh. 1, 16 and was interpreted from Augustine onwards as an expression of the total dependence of man’s salvation on God’s initiative, meaning that eternal life should be considered a gift [*gratia*] that is given in exchange for a merit that is itself a divine gift [*pro gratia*].¹⁶ William’s short description of God’s grace, which he explicitly presents as the main subject of the commentary he is prefacing, can thus be considered profoundly Augustinian in nature. It does not come as a surprise then that immediately before ending the preface with a eulogy on grace in the form of a prayer directed towards Christ, William synthesizes the late Augustine’s view on the relation between God’s grace and prayer: “Grace precedes in order that we may pray; it helps us when we pray; it hears what we pray”.¹⁷

Apart from these remarks on divine grace, which implicitly refer to Augustine’s thinking, William also admits the influence of the Church Father in an explicit way. The very beginning of the preface runs as follows:

“We have undertaken the study of Paul’s Letter to the Romans, which involves many questions of a diverse and often very difficult nature.

*quanta gratia est, quando tantum mali merebatur? Qui nondum erat, bene non merebatur; peccator et male merebatur. Nondum erat qui factus est. Nondum erat, sed nec offenderat. Nondum erat, et factus est; offendit, et saluus est. Qui nondum erat, nihil sperabat, factus est. Lapsus autem damnationem expectabat, et liberatus est. Haec est gratia per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum [Rom. 7, 25]. Ipse fecit nos, et ante quam essemus omnino ipse fecit nos, et factos et lapsos ipse iustos fecit nos, et non ipsi nos [Ps. 99, 2]. For the larger context of this passage, see G. PARTOENS, “Prédication, orthodoxie et liturgie. Les sermons d’Augustin prononcés à Carthage en septembre-octobre 417”, in *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. by N. BÉRIOU, F. MORENZONI, Turnhout, 2008 (Bibliothèque d’histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge, 5), p. 23-51 (esp. p. 40-41).*

¹⁵ CCCM 86, p. 4, l. 36-38: *Sicut enim ex nullis subsistentibus a Deo creati sumus, ut aliquid simus in eius creaturis, sic a gratia ex nullis meritis creati sumus in operibus bonis [Eph. 2, 10].*

¹⁶ For this interpretation, see M.-F. BERROUARD, “Grâce pour grâce”, in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, vol. 71, Paris, 1993, p. 859-860. The same idea is expressed in the immediately following phrase: *Acceptae quippe gratiae reddere fructus, gratiae augmentatio est; sicut accepisse primum gratiam, gratia est (CCCM 86, p. 4, l. 39-41).*

¹⁷ CCCM 86, p. 4, l. 41-42: *Gratia praeuenit nos ut oremus; adiuuat cum oramus; exaudit quod oramus.* For the Augustinian claim that the gift of grace precedes prayer, see *ep.* 194, 4, 16-18; *en. Ps.* 118, 14, 2; *perseu.* 23, 64.

We do not have the intention to explain this letter, which is beyond our capacities, but to assemble in this one little volume either some of the thoughts the Holy Fathers – and especially Saint Augustine – have developed regarding this letter, or some written fragments taken from their books and minor works. We will leave out the difficult questions the letter poses, and offer one continuous explanation, that is not ours, but theirs”.¹⁸

At the very beginning of his work William thus claims that his commentary is just a simplified presentation¹⁹ of what the Church Fathers – and especially Augustine – had to say about the Apostle’s Letter to the Romans. Somewhat further he specifies this claim and states that his commentary reposes on the authority of Ambrose,²⁰ Origen and some other doctors of the Church, but above all on Augustine.²¹

Earlier scholarship has recognized that there is quite some truth in William’s claim concerning his dependence on patristic exegesis and theology. Scholars such as Jean-Marie Déchanet and William’s most recent editor, Paul Verdeyen, have always stressed the importance for William’s commentary of Rufinus of Aquileia’s translation of Origen’s Romans commentary.²² Recent research recognizes this influence, but tends to stress – in accordance with William’s own claim – that Augustine’s exegesis and theology

¹⁸ CCCM 86, p. 3, l. 2-8: *Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos multis et uariis et difficillimis quaestionibus inuolutam suscepimus, non ut exponamus, quod supra nos est, sed ut aliqua sanctorum patrum, et maxime beati Augustini, sensa in eam uel scripta ex libris eorum et opusculis hinc inde collecta in unum hoc opusculum compingentes, suppressis quae in ea sunt quaestionum molestiis, unam continuam non nostram, sed ipsorum texamus explanationem.*

¹⁹ For the meaning of the words *suppressis quae in ea sunt quaestionum molestiis*, see T. P. SCHECK, *Origen and the History of Justification* [n. 8], p. 108-109.

²⁰ Strangely enough, no quotations from Ambrose have been identified until now. Compare P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lxiii; A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, *The Gracious God* [n. 2], p. 254; G. PARTOENS, “La Présence d’Augustin” [n. 1], p. 287; A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, “William of Saint-Thierry’s Use of Origen in His Commentary on Romans”, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 42 (2007), p. 1-10 (esp. p. 2).

²¹ CCCM 86, p. 3, l. 8-15: *Quae tanto debebit gratior esse lectoribus, quanto eam non nouitatis uel uanitatis praesumptio adinuenit, sed magnorum doctorum magna commendat auctoritas, praecipue, sicut dictum est, beati Augustini, deinde uero Ambrosii, Origenis et nonnullorum aliorum doctorum; aliquorum etiam magistrorum nostri temporis, de quibus certum habemus non praeterisse eos in aliquo terminos quos posuerunt patres nostri.*

²² See J.-M. DÉCHANET, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. L’homme et son œuvre*, Bruges-Paris, 1942 (Bibliothèque médiévale, Spirituels précolastiques, 1), p. 45-48; P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lxiii (“L’importance quantitative et qualitative des citations d’Origène saute aux yeux de tout lecteur attentif”); “La chronologie” [n. 3], p. 432.

have exerted a much stronger influence.²³ In what follows I will lend further support to the latter claim.

3. The Presence of Patristic Quotations in William's Commentary: State of the Art

At the very beginning of the commentary's preface, William seems to make a distinction between two ways in which the exegesis of the Church Fathers – and especially that of Augustine – will be present in his commentary: he suggests that he will follow their exegetical writings either to the spirit (*sanctorum patrum [...] sensa*) or to the letter (*scripta ex libris eorum et opusculis hinc inde collecta*). Otherwise put: he will offer a commentary that has not only been inspired by the thinking and exegesis of authors such as Augustine, but also contains quotations from their works. However, according to the commentary's most recent critical edition, which was published by Paul Verdeyen in 1989 (*CCCM* 86), the presence of patristic *scripta* in William's commentary should not be overestimated. Basing himself on previous research²⁴ Verdeyen identified only a rather limited amount of literal quotations from the works of other authors. For instance, with regard to Augustine and Origen, he claimed that the former was quoted only 63 times and the latter no more than 62 in the entire commentary.²⁵ What this means in amount of text is represented in the following table,

²³ See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources in his Exposition on Romans", *Cîteaux. Commentarii cistercienses*, 54 (2003), p. 27-54 (*passim* and esp. p. 52-53); T. P. SCHECK, "William of St. Thierry's Reception" [n. 8], *passim* (esp. p. 256-258); *Origen and the History of Justification* [n. 8], p. 108 and 126-128; A. RYDSTRÖM-POULSEN, "William of Saint-Thierry's Use of Origen" [n. 20], *passim* and esp. p. 9-10: "[...] it appears clearly that William is reading consciously and omits, adds, and changes the meaning from Origen. Therefore it seems right to say that, in the case of Origen, William's principle of merely following the Fathers is rather different from his practice. [...] But when one studies William's use of Augustine, one can note a significant difference from his use of Origen. In the case of Augustine William shows a radical dependence and faithfulness, even though he can also go further than Augustine on certain topics. In the case of Origen, William uses the patristic source for his own purposes". For the importance of Augustine, see also the *status quaestionis* in G. FERNÁNDEZ, "Guillaume de Saint-Thierry: le problème des sources", *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 45 (1983), p. 210-220.

²⁴ See J.-M. DÉCHANET, *Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* [n. 22], p. 200-209; William of St. Thierry, *Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans*, transl. by J. B. HASBROUCK, ed. and intr. by J. D. ANDERSON, Kalamazoo (Mich.), 1980 (Cistercian Fathers Series, 27), *passim* (synthesis: p. 286-290). For Verdeyen's dependence on these works, see P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lxi.

²⁵ I am following the numbers given in P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. lxiii.

which specifies the number of lines that, according to Verdeyen's *apparatus fontium*, contain quotations from different patristic authors.

Patristic author	Number of lines (on a total of 7024, preface included)	Percentage
Augustine	741 ²⁶	10.55 %
Origen	436	6.21 %
Gregory the Great	27	0.38 %
Bede	20	0.28 %
Cassian	4	0.06 %
Isidore	1	0.01%

This table indicates that Verdeyen considered only 17 to 18 percent of William's text to consist of quotations – *scripta* – from patristic sources. He therefore strongly rejected the claim of some earlier scholars, who “consider the work a double anthology from the works of Augustine and Origen”.²⁷ Verdeyen was probably referring to scholars such as Raymond M. Martin and Ceslas Spicq, who claimed, without further proof, that William's commentary was nothing but a series of quotations from patristic and other ecclesiastic writers.²⁸ Moreover, Verdeyen strongly insisted on the relative originality of William's commentary and was followed in this by later scholars such as John Doutre²⁹ and especially Aage Rydstrom-Poulsen. In his book *The Gracious God. Gratia in Augustine and the Twelfth Century*, published in 2002, the latter repeated the claims made by Verdeyen: “[...]”

²⁶ This number includes the only Augustinian quotation that, according to Verdeyen, was mediated through the Pauline commentary by Florus of Lyon (lib. 4, l. 744-755).

²⁷ See P. VERDEYEN, *Guillelmi a Sancto Theodorico Opera omnia*, vol. 1 [n. 2], p. xxvii: “[...] certains spécialistes considèrent cet ouvrage comme un double florilège des œuvres d'Augustin et d'Origène à la fois. Mais le traité de Guillaume est plus qu'un florilège. A plusieurs endroits, Guillaume développe des idées très personnelles à propos de la foi et de la vie spirituelle”.

²⁸ See R. M. MARTIN, *Œuvres de Robert de Melun*, vol. 2: *Questiones [theologice] de epistolis Pauli. Texte inédit*, Louvain, 1938 (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 18), p. xlii-xliii; C. SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1944 (Bibliothèque thomiste, 26), p. 122-123.

²⁹ See J. DOUTRE, “Romans as Read in the School and in the Cloister: the Commentaries of Peter Abelard and William of Saint Thierry” (www.vanderbilt.edu/AnS/religious_studies/SBL2003/Abelard.htm). This online publication is at the base of J. DOUTRE, “Romans as Read in School and Cloister in the Twelfth Century: The Commentaries of Peter Abelard and William of St. Thierry”, in *Medieval Readings of Romans*, ed. by W. S. CAMPBELL, P. S. HAWKINS, B. D. SCHILDGEN, New York-London, 2007 (Romans Through History and Cultures Series, 6), p. 33-57.

there are 63 quotations from Augustine and 62 from Origen. [...] William's commentary on Romans cannot, however, be regarded as a double florilegium based on Augustine [...] and on Origen-Rufinus. The independence of William's work is not diminished by his use of this well-known and through centuries current patristic material. William's commentary is an original work, in which William deals with divine *gratia* and its significance in his personal way".³⁰

Reading the judgments of Verdeyen and others one thus gets the impression that, even while not denying the impact of patristic ideas (*sensa*) on William's exegesis, these scholars seem to minimize the latter's claim concerning his use of patristic quotations (*scripta*). They seem to consider this claim a kind of rhetorical strategy by which the Cistercian scholar meant to enhance the authority of his text. This position was not essentially altered by a study of William's use of patristic sources published in 2003 by Steven R. Cartwright.³¹ According to Cartwright, the commentary contained 93 (and not 63) quotations from Augustine and 70 (instead of 62) from Origen. Although he did not offer a systematic overview of the passages in question, Cartwright did give the number of lines that in his view could be attributed to Augustine, Origen and other patristic authors:³²

Patristic author	Number of lines (on a total of 7024, preface included)	Percentage
Augustine	1032	14.69 %
Origen	465	6.62 %
Other patristic authors	max. 100	max. 1.42 %

However, one year after the publication of Cartwright's article, when studying the indirect transmission of Augustine's *Sermones ad populum* on Rom. 7 and 8 (ss. 151-156), I discovered – thanks to the electronic tools that Paul Verdeyen did not have at his disposal in the late 1980s – that at least for these two chapters of Romans William's claim about his use of Augustinian *scripta* was not a mere rhetorical strategy, but did reflect his exegetical practice. The commentary on Rom. 7 and 8 turned out to consist for not less than respectively 58.25 and 63.61 % of literal or quasi-literal quotations from Augustine. In these numbers were not included those

³⁰ See A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, *The Gracious God* [n. 2], p. 254.

³¹ See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources" [n. 23].

³² See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources" [n. 23], p. 32, n. 12.

lines that had an Augustinian ring to them (*sensa*), but could difficultly be considered a literal or quasi-literal quotation (*scripta*).

In addition, I was able to prove that the Augustinian quotations in William's commentary on Rom. 7 and 8 did not stem from direct witnesses of the works quoted, but simply from the Pauline commentary by Florus of Lyon. Suggestions as to William's dependence on Florus had been made in earlier literature, but it had never been proven in a systematic way.³³ My arguments for this dependence were (1) that *all* Augustinian sentences present in William's commentary on Rom. 7 and 8 can also be found in that of Florus; (2) that the omissions characterizing Florus' Augustinian fragments also characterize the quotations in William's text; and (3) that both authors often quote the same Augustinian texts in an identical order.³⁴ William's massive dependence on Florus is not at all surprising. For, as said earlier, the Carolingian's commentary circulated widely within Benedictine and Cistercian circles of the twelfth century.³⁵ Moreover, being a radical Augustinian in his views on grace and predestination,³⁶ Florus extensively quoted from the Church Father's later works against the (Semi-)Pelagians,³⁷ which made his compilation-commentary an ideal source for a Romans commentary that – as has been shown above – intended to promote a radically Augustinian view on these topics.

The results of my research were published in the 2005 volume of *Sacris Erudiri*. The impact of this article, however, was not impressive: only a few researchers took it into account (Aage Rydstrøm-Poulsen in a *Forschungsbericht* in *Analecta Cisterciensia* [2008]; Elizabeth Hastings in the *Oxford*

³³ For a *status quaestionis*, see G. PARTOENS, "La Présence d'Augustin" [n. 1], p. 290. A good example of the intuitive approach is T. RENNA, "The Jewish Law according to William of Saint Thierry" [n. 8], p. 51-52. Following Hasbrouck and Anderson, Renna states that "William most likely utilized Florus' quotations while writing his own commentary", to which he adds, however, that "[William also] cites texts – for example, from Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter* – which are not mentioned by Florus of Lyon". The overview in the Appendix to this article shows that the many quotations from Augustine's *De spiritu et littera* in William's commentary, are all present in Florus' commentary too.

³⁴ See G. PARTOENS, "La Présence d'Augustin" [n. 1], p. 290-292. These pages also refute the thesis proposed by S. E. Cartwright, according to which William borrowed several Augustinian quotations from the Romans commentary of Raban Maur (see S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources" [n. 23], p. 35, n. 25).

³⁵ See 9.

³⁶ For Florus' radical Augustinianism, see, e.g., C. HERBERS, "Florus of Lyon", in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. by K. POLLMANN, vol. 2, Oxford, 2013, p. 1000-1002 (esp. p. 1001-1002).

³⁷ For an overview of the Augustinian works quoted by Florus, see C. CHARLIER, "La compilation" [n. 9], p. 168-186.

Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine [2013]).³⁸ Moreover, the list of literal and quasi-literal Augustinian quotations for Rom. 7 and 8 was totally neglected in the recent German translation of William's commentary by Klaus Berger and Christiane Nord (2012),³⁹ as well as in the two *Sources Chrétiennes* volumes edited by Paul Verdeyen and Yves-Anselme Baudelet (2011/2014).⁴⁰ For these reasons, the present article intends not only to restate my earlier claim, but also to enlarge its scope. Instead of focusing exclusively on William's treatment of Rom. 7 and 8, I have investigated this time the presence of Augustinian quotations in the whole of his commentary.

4. Quotations from Augustine/Florus in the Whole of William's Commentary

The following table synthesizes the results of my systematic research. For each chapter of the Letter to the Romans is given the percentage of lines in William's commentary that literally or quasi-literally quote from the works of Augustine. In order to demonstrate the progress made by my research, I have also added for each chapter the percentage of lines attributed to Augustine in the *apparatus fontium* of Verdeyen's critical edition of 1989. The numbers given in the table are based on the detailed list of quotations offered in the Appendix to this article, which presents in detail the Augustinian quotations I have been able to identify until now. An additional col-

³⁸ See A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, "Research on William of Saint-Thierry from 1998 to 2008", *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 58 (2008), p. 158-169 (esp. p. 163-164); E. HASTINGS, "William of St Thierry" [n. 2], p. 1911. The article was mentioned neither in S. R. CARTWRIGHT's recent general presentation of William's use of Patristic sources ("Twelfth-Century Pauline Exegesis: William of St. Thierry's Monastic Rhetoric and Peter Abelard's Scholastic Logic", in *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. R. CARTWRIGHT, Leiden-Boston, 2013 [Brill's companions to the Christian tradition, 39], p. 205-234) nor in C. A. CVETKOVIĆ, *Seeking the Face of God. The Reception of Augustine in the Mystical Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St Thierry*, Turnhout, 2012 (Studia traditionis theologiae. Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology, 11).

³⁹ See Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry, *Kommentar zum Römerbrief*, intr., transl. and notes by K. BERGER, C. NORD, Mainz, 2012.

⁴⁰ See Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur l'Épître aux Romains*, vols 1-2: *Livres I-III/Livres IV-VI*, ed. P. VERDEYEN, intr., transl. and notes by Y.-A. BAUDELET, Paris, 2011/2014 (SC, 544/568). In his introduction to the first volume, Baudelet without referring to my arguments of 2005 suggests that some of the Augustinian quotations identified by Verdeyen in 1989 might have been borrowed from Florus (p. 21-22). The same suggestion (without further proof or bibliographical reference) is made in *The Bible in Medieval Tradition: The Letter to the Romans*, transl. and ed. by I. C. LEVY, P. D. W. KREY, T. RYAN, Grand Rapids (Mich.)-Cambridge (U.K.), 2013, p. 27.

umn in the Appendix shows that – with the exception of a few quotations – almost all of the Augustinian passages in question are present in Florus’ Pauline commentary too. There are only a few Augustinian quotations I have not been able to localize in Florus’ anthology.

Rom.	William	Verdeyen		Partoens	
		Lines	Percentage	Lines	Percentage
1	b. 1, l. 1-796	90 (on 756)	11.90 %	127 (on 756)	16.80 %
2	b. 1, l. 757-b. 2, l. 250	44 (on 426)	10.33 %	118 (on 426)	27.70 %
3	b. 2, l. 251-646	11 (on 396)	2.78 %	99 (on 396)	25.00 %
4	b. 2, l. 647-999	3 (on 353)	0.85 %	74 (on 353)	20.96 %
5	b. 3, l. 38-595	91 (on 558)	16.31 %	286 (on 558)	51.25 %
6	b. 3, l. 595-1069	37 (on 474)	7.81 %	220 (on 474)	46.41 %
7	b. 4, l. 24-593	20 (on 570)	3.51 %	332 (on 570)	58.25 %
8	b. 4, l. 594-b. 5, l. 783	187 ⁴¹ (on 959)	19.50 %	610 (on 959)	63.61 %
9	b. 5, l. 784-b. 6, l. 240	57 (on 423)	13.48 %	235 (on 423)	55.56 %
10	b. 6, l. 241-479	0 (on 239)	0 %	95 (on 239)	39.75 %
11	b. 6, l. 480-1031	125 (on 552)	22.64 %	296 (on 552)	53.62 %
12	b. 7, l. 1-258	30 (on 258)	11.63 %	79 (on 258)	30.62 %
13	b. 7, l. 259-475	26 (on 217)	11.98 %	102 (on 217)	47.00 %
14	b. 7, l. 476-777	15 (on 302)	4.97 %	82 (on 302)	27.15 %
15	b. 7, l. 778-1020	4 (on 243)	1.65 %	45 (on 243)	18.52 %
16	b. 7, l. 1021-1183	1 (on 163)	0.61 %	48 (on 163)	29.45 %

Together with the Appendix, the above table confirms the double claim I made in 2005 regarding William’s chapters on Rom. 7 and 8. **(1)** There are much more literal and quasi-literal quotations from the works of Augustine than suggested by Verdeyen. Some of these are rather short, but others cover substantial parts of William’s text. Moreover, in many cases the quotations are clustered into larger wholes. **(2)** Florus’ Pauline commentary clearly mediated between the direct transmission of Augustine’s works and their quotations in William’s commentary. This is proven by the fact that William more or less follows the order in which the Augustinian passages are presented in Florus’ commentary – including those quotations that have been borrowed from the Augustinian *Sententiae* collected by Prosper of Aquitaine. Moreover a detailed comparison of the quotations offered by Florus and William proves that the quotations in the Cistercian’s commentary never exceed the limits set by those in the commentary of his Carolingian predecessor. Moreover, whenever the latter omits one or more

⁴¹ See n. 26.

phrases within these limits, these phrases prove to be absent in William's commentary too.

The above table also shows that the presence of literal and quasi-literal quotations from Augustine is relatively low in William's commentary on the first four and last three chapters of Paul's letter. However, even while remaining below 30 %, the number of lines containing Augustinian quotations is even in each of these cases much higher than suggested by Verdeyen. From chapter 5 onwards, the percentages raise significantly; in the case of chapters 5, 7, 8, 9 and 11 they even exceed 50 % of William's text, with a maximum of 63.61 % for Rom. 8. Part of the explanation for this raise might be the fact that chapters 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the Letter to the Romans played an important role in the development of Augustine's views on grace and predestination.⁴² Moreover, the main source of William's Augustinian quotations, *viz.* the Pauline commentary of Florus, had also dealt more extensively with Rom. 7, 8, 9 and 11 than with other chapters of the letter:

Romans	Fragments in Florus' <i>Expositio</i>	Number of Fragments	Folia in Troyes, BM 96
1, 1-32	1-56	56	1v-9
2, 1-29	57-82	26	9-13v
3, 1-33	83-106	24	13v-16
4, 1-25	107-136	30	16-19
5, 1-21	137-175	39	19-25v
6, 1-23	176-210	35	25v-30v
7, 1-25	211-240	30	30v-42
8, 1-39	241-336	96	42-57
9, 1-33	337-398	62	57-67
10, 1-21	399-434	36	67-71v
11, 1-36	435-481	47	71v-79
12, 1-21	482-505	24	79-82
13, 1-14	506-539	34	82-86
14, 1-23	540-553	14	86-88
15, 1-33	554-565	12	88-89
16, 1-27	566-571	6	89-90v

⁴² For the importance of these chapters for Augustine's views on grace and predestination, see P. PLATZ, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins*, Würzburg, 1938 (Cassiciacum, 5), p. 87-249.

Being no specialist of patristic and medieval theology and exegesis, I do not pretend to be able to determine the consequences of my results for the largely accepted opinion that, while depending on the thought of the Church Fathers, William's commentary on Romans testifies to the originality of the latter's thinking. It should be clear, however, that this claim stands at least in need of a reassessment that takes into account my new findings. What I can do, on the other hand, is show that the defective information offered by Verdeyen has caused quite some deficiencies and even downright mistakes in recent studies on the Cistercian monk's commentary. I will limit myself here to two examples.

I start with a deficiency in what otherwise seems to me a thorough study of William's reception of the Augustinian doctrine of grace, *viz.* the already mentioned book that Aage Rydstrom-Poulsen published in 2002 on the reception of the Church Father's doctrine during the twelfth century. At the beginning of the chapter dedicated to William, Rydstrom-Poulsen agrees with Verdeyen and stresses the originality of the Cistercian's commentary on Romans. Subsequently he offers a detailed analysis of William's concept of grace,⁴³ which claims that William was a radical Augustinian with regard to themes such as man's sinful nature and complete dependence on God's grace, but presented the effects of grace in a way that testifies to an anthropological optimism Augustine would probably not have subscribed to. This analysis is based on passages taken either from William's commentary on Romans or from his other works. However, since most of the passages stemming from the commentary are unidentified quotations from Augustine,⁴⁴ Rydstrom-Poulsen's analysis, which aims at proving William's original position within the Augustinian tradition, does not really prove this with regard to the Romans commentary. I do not want to challenge his global analysis of William's concept of grace, but I do think his analysis would have benefitted from a critical edition of the commentary that was provided with a better *apparatus fontium* than that of Verdeyen.⁴⁵

⁴³ See A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, *The Gracious God* [n. 2], p. 255-307.

⁴⁴ Unrecognized Augustinian quotations are referred to in notes 14, 18, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32, 62, 96-98, 103, 116, 123, 124, 128, 129, 157, 168-170, 186-188, 193-195, 197, 205, 207, 209, 210, 213-215, 252, 253, 255, 270, 273-277, 302, 304, 307 and 308 on the pages 255-302.

⁴⁵ Compare also *The gracious God* [n. 2], p. 280, n. 157, where A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN offers some parallels from the works of Augustine in order to prove the Augustinian character of the sentence *Gratia enim non inuenit, sed effecit meritum* (CCCM 86, p. 150, l. 515-516), which in fact is a plain, but unrecognized quotation from one of the bishop's *Tractatus in euangelium Iohannis* (*viz.* 86, 2; frg. 439 in Florus' commentary on Romans). Another example is A. RYDSTRØM-POULSEN, "William of Saint-Thierry's Use of Origen" [n. 20], p. 3-4. These pages accept Verdeyen's suggestion that part of William's explanation of Rom. 7, 12 (CCCM 86, p. 96, l. 232-239) depends on Origen's use of the image of the sun in *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (2, 2, 18; PG 13, col. 113BC; SC 375, p. 308), but immediately add that

But the latter *apparatus* even caused downright mistakes. In my article of 2005, I already mentioned the claim formulated by John Doutre in 2003, according to whom William was especially independent from patristic sources in his commentary on Rom. 8, 5-26: "*He rarely quotes the Fathers in the exposition of Rom 8: 5-26 [my italics]* and elaborates a theology of healing and illuminating grace and of the Holy Spirit that, while depending on Augustine and Gregory the Great, is creative and innovative. Here, we can see how he develops his own ideas regardless of what he said in the first preface. Fidelity to the Fathers does not mean a simple repetition of what they said".⁴⁶ My list of identifications proved, however, exactly the opposite of the claim I have put above in italics: this part of William's commentary contains no less than 342 lines on a total of 496 that literally or quasi-literally reproduce sentences from Augustine. If one adds to these another 27 lines borrowed from Gregory the Great, one gets 369 lines containing patristic quotations, which is more than 74 % of William's text.

A comparable mistake to John Doutre's is found in a recent presentation by Steven R. Cartwright of William's commentary in Brill's *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages* (2013). This presentation states the following with regard to William's use of patristic sources: "Augustine is by far his favorite, followed by Origen, and he uses them to makes [*sic*] his points on topics such as original sin (Romans 5) and the Trinity (Romans 11), where he quotes Augustine extensively, and on baptism (Romans 6), where he uses Origen. But in other passages, *such as Romans 7 and 8*, where he is describing interior experience, *William largely gives his own thoughts* [my italics]".⁴⁷ One quick glance at the percentages given above suffices to recognize that this claim is simply untenable.⁴⁸

William "clearly uses [the image] in his own way". It would have been better to say that lines 232-239 are part of a larger quotation (l. 232-241) from Augustine's *Contra Faustum* (15, 8; fig. 217 in Florus' commentary on Romans).

⁴⁶ See J. DOUTRE, "Romans as Read in the School and in the Cloister" [n. 29]. Doutre restated his claim in 2007 in "Romans as Read in School and Cloister" [n. 29], p. 53.

⁴⁷ See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "Twelfth-Century Pauline Exegesis" [n. 38], p. 217. Compare already S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources" [n. 23], p. 32-33: "It is the earlier chapters that are more heavily patristic, and it is probably these which led some scholars to think of the commentary as a compilation. In fact, no more than one-fourth of this work is drawn from patristic sources. Most of it presents William's own thought". "From the beginning of Romans seven through the end of Romans eight, William speaks primarily on his own, citing Augustine briefly several times, and Origen only twice. Considering that this is the heart of William's teaching on the ascent toward God, this is quite important. His most important spiritual teaching comes mostly from his own pen, and it is influenced primarily by Augustine". These sentences were approved of by T. P. SCHECK, *Origen and the History of Justification* [n. 8], p. 107-108 and 123.

5. Conclusion

In the preface to his commentary on Romans, William announces that his work's main subject will be the workings of God's grace, which he succinctly describes with implicit references to Augustine. The Cistercian exegete also stresses that his work will contain quite some quotations from patristic sources and mainly from the works of Augustine. This claim probably explains why early scholars such as Raymond M. Martin and Ceslas Spicq stated, without further proof, that William's commentary was simply a compilation of quotations. An almost completely opposite position was taken by Paul Verdeyen, who identified only a limited amount of quotations in the *apparatus fontium* of his edition of 1989. Verdeyen's position, which has strongly influenced several theologically oriented studies, seemed to imply that William's preface somewhat contradicted his actual exegetic practice. This implication was rendered explicit in 2003 by Stephen R. Cartwright in his study of the Cistercian exegete's use of patristic sources:

"If William's commentary is primarily his own material, how did it come to be considered a compilation? The most important reason is that William himself says that it is in his Prologue. [...] Early scholars [...] took these words far too seriously, and did not thoroughly inquire into the nature and extent of William's sources".⁴⁹

I hope to have shown on the basis of William's use of Augustinian quotations that his exegetic practice does correspond with what he announces in the preface – especially in the parts on the central chapters of Paul's letter. Moreover, the many Augustinian quotations present in the commentary were borrowed from the Pauline commentary compiled by the Carolingian scholar Florus of Lyon. As such, they do not testify to a personal reading of Augustine's works themselves. Even while it is not necessary to return to the position of Martin and Spicq, the position of Verdeyen and Cartwright clearly stands in need of a thorough revision. Unfortunately, it has been consecrated recently through the publication of two *Sources Chrétiennes*

⁴⁸ Other claims made by Cartwright are equally contradicted by the findings presented here. See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "Twelfth-Century Pauline Exegesis" [n. 38], p. 216: "There are six clear questions in William's commentary, none of which come from patristic sources (33)" (three of the six passages listed in n. 33 belong to Augustinian quotations that were not identified by P. Verdeyen: 11, 28-29 [p. 157, l. 787-790: *praed. sanct.* 16, 33 = frg. 465 in Florus' Romans commentary]; 11, 33-36 [p. 160, l. 883-886: *trin.* 7, 1, 1]; 13, 9 [p. 174, l. 356-359: exp. Gal. 45 = frg. 520 in Florus' Romans commentary]); p. 217: "For the most part, William quotes directly from the works [i.e., the works of Augustine] themselves".

⁴⁹ See S. R. CARTWRIGHT, "William of St. Thierry's Use of Patristic Sources" [n. 23], p. 32-33.

volumes and might thus continue contaminating further studies of William's thought and exegesis. The present article will hopefully contribute to its eventual disappearance.

Summary

This article – which can be considered a sequel to an earlier article published in *Sacris Erudiri*, 44 (2005) – studies the presence of quotations from the works of Saint Augustine in the *Expositio super epistolam ad Romanos* of William of St.-Thierry. It is argued that William's commentary in general and its chapters on Rom. 5, 7-9, and 11 in particular abound with direct quotations from the African bishop's works and that almost all of these quotations were simply copied from the Pauline commentary of the Carolingian scholar Florus of Lyon. These observations question some recent claims regarding the dependence of William's Romans commentary on patristic sources (John Doutre, Steven R. Cartwright, Paul Verdeyen, Yves-Anselme Baudalet).

Gert PARTOENS

KU Leuven

⟨gert.partoens@kuleuven.be⟩

APPENDIX

	William of Saint-Thierry	Augustine	Florus of Lyon ⁵⁰	Percentage
b. 1	Rom. 1 (b. 1, l. 1-756)			
	l. 21-26	<i>conf.</i> 8, 4, 9	Rom. – frg. 4	127 / 756 lines = 16.80 %
	l. 31-32	<i>ep. Io. tr.</i> 3, 6	Rom. – frg. 6	
	l. 55-56 + 61-70 + 79-80	<i>praed. sanct.</i> 15, 30-31	Rom. – frg. 13	
	l. 150-151 + 153-154	<i>retr.</i> 1, 24, 2	Rom. – frg. 19	
	l. 205-206	<i>trin.</i> 11, 5	?	
	l. 361-363	<i>en. Ps.</i> 68, 2, 4	Rom. – frg. 23	
	l. 392-393	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 11, 18	Rom. – frg. 26	
	l. 394-397	<i>qu. eu.</i> 2, 39, 1-2	Rom. – frg. 24	
	l. 405-407	<i>ciu.</i> 19, 4, 1	Rom. – frg. 25	
	l. 411-414	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 12, 19	Rom. – frg. 26	
	l. 420-421	<i>en. Ps.</i> 89, 11	Rom. – frg. 28	
	l. 437-438	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 12, 19	Rom. – frg. 26	
	l. 442-450	<i>s.</i> 68 auct., 6-7	I Cor. – frg. 29	
	l. 450-452	<i>s.</i> 141, 2	Rom. – frg. 29	
	l. 495-499	<i>s.</i> 141, 1	Rom. – frg. 27	
	l. 501-539	<i>ciu.</i> 8, 6	Rom. – frg. 32	
	l. 551-552	<i>ciu.</i> 9, 17	?	
	l. 609-612	<i>sol.</i> 1, 1, 4	?	
	l. 636-640	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 21, 43	Rom. – frg. 49	
	l. 653-655	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 26, 2	?	
	l. 709-718	<i>en. Ps.</i> 55, 6	Rom. – frg. 56	
	Rom. 2 (b. 1, l. 757-b. 2, l. 250)			
	l. 776-777 + 779-783 + 785-792	<i>ep.</i> 194, 6, 24.27.25	Rom. – frg. 57	118 / 426 lines = 27.70 %
	l. 820-823	<i>ep.</i> 153, 2, 4	Rom. – frg. 59	
	l. 823-825	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 138 < <i>en. Ps.</i> 9, 23	Rom. – frg. 60	

⁵⁰ The numbers attributed to each fragment are borrowed from a provisional edition and description of Florus' commentary that is based on the manuscript Troyes, BM 96. I thank Dom Paul-Irénée Fransen (Maredsous) and Professor Luc De Coninck (KU Leuven) for having put this material at my disposal. For the importance of the manuscript of Troyes for the transmission of Florus' *Expositio*, see S. BOODTS, G. PARTOENS, "The Transmission of Florus of Lyons' *Expositio Epistolarum Beati Pauli Apostoli*. State of the Art and New Results", in *Commentaries, Catenaes and Biblical Tradition*, ed. by H. HOUGHTON, Piscataway (NJ), 2016 (Texts and Studies, 13), p. 253-276.

	l. 827-834	<i>en. Ps.</i> 6, 8	Rom. – frg. 51	
	l. 835-836	<i>en. Ps.</i> 100, 2	Rom. – frg. 61	
	l. 841-844	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 33, 8	Rom. – frg. 63	
	l. 856-858	<i>s.</i> 18, 5	Rom. – frg. 66	
	l. 861-865	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 28, 48	Rom. – frg. 73	
	l. 870-877	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 25, 3	Rom. – frg. 70	
	l. 877-880	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 3, 5	Rom. – frg. 71	
b. 2	l. 2-8	<i>s. dom. m.</i> 2, 9, 32	Rom. – frg. 74	
	l. 8-15	<i>en. Ps.</i> 57, 1	Rom. – frg. 75	
	l. 17-32	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 19	Rom. – frg. 81	
	l. 36-37 + 60-62	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 28, 48 + 26, 46	Rom. – frg. 73	
	l. 86-107	<i>ench.</i> 31, 118	Rom. – frg. 94	
	l. 144-146	<i>en. Ps.</i> 75, 1	Rom. – frg. 82	
	l. 190-193	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 8, 13	Rom. – frg. 80	
	Rom. 3 (b. 2, l. 251-646)			
	l. 426-429	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 25	Rom. – frg. 89	99 / 396 lines = 25.00 %
	l. 432-433	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 36, 66	Rom. – frg. 91	
	l. 436-438	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 25, 5	Rom. – frg. 97	
	l. 440-442	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 8, 14	Rom. – frg. 95	
	l. 447-449	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 10, 22	Rom. – frg. 93	
	l. 463-464	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 25, 5	Rom. – frg. 97	
	l. 470	<i>ench.</i> 31, 117	Rom. – frg. 94	
	l. 472-474	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 9, 15	Rom. – frg. 95	
	l. 523-528	<i>nat. et gr.</i> 5, 5	Rom. – frg. 98	
	l. 531-548 + 550-551 + 555-556	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 10, 17-11, 18	Rom. – frg. 99	
	l. 556-559	<i>ep.</i> 186, 3, 10	Rom. – frg. 137	
	l. 563-569	<i>ep.</i> 194, 3, 9-10	Rom. – frg. 492	
	l. 575-577	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 10, 5	Rom. – frg. 101	
	l. 577-587	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 13, 22	Rom. – frg. 100	
	l. 593-596	<i>c. Faust.</i> 19, 13	?	
	l. 605-609	<i>s.</i> 2, 9	Rom. – frg. 102	
	l. 610-617	<i>diu. qu.</i> 76, 1	Rom. – frg. 103	
	l. 618-621	<i>f. et op.</i> 14, 21	Rom. – frg. 104	
	l. 641-646	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 30, 52	Rom. – frg. 106	
	Rom. 4 (b. 2, l. 647-999)			
	l. 648-660	<i>en. Ps.</i> 31, 2, 2	Rom. – frg. 107	74 / 353 = 20.96 %
	l. 661-664	<i>en. Ps.</i> 31, 2, 7	Rom. – frg. 113	
	l. 666-671	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 72, 2	Rom. – frg. 111	

	l. 671-672	<i>f. et op.</i> 14, 21	Rom. – frg. 104	
	l. 690-691	<i>en. Ps.</i> 31, 2, 7	Rom. – frg. 113	
	l. 769-771	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 234 (cf. <i>en. Ps.</i> 68, 2, 21)	Rom. – frg. 119	
	l. 809-812	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 23	Rom. – frg. 120	
	l. 816-818	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 300 < <i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 2, 73	Rom. – frg. 117	
	l. 870-874	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 2, 158	Rom. – frg. 123	
	l. 875-888	<i>praed. sanct.</i> 10, 19-20	Rom. – frg. 127	
	l. 888-893	<i>praed. sanct.</i> 11, 22	Rom. – frg. 125	
	l. 894-897	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 24, 40	Rom. – frg. 124	
	l. 906-908	<i>s.</i> 26, 4	Rom. – frg. 130	
	l. 908-910	<i>en. Ps.</i> 104, 11	Rom. – frg. 128	
	l. 911-915	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 13, 1	Rom. – frg. 129	
b. 3	Rom. 5 (b. 3, l. 38-595)			
	l. 48-51	<i>ep.</i> 186, 3, 10	Rom. – frg. 137	286 / 558 = 51.25 %
	l. 104-107 + 110-119 + 128-130	<i>s.</i> 71, 12, 18	Rom. – frg. 143	
	l. 196-197 + 199-201	<i>trin.</i> 13, 16, 21	Rom. – frg. 159	
	l. 207-210	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 110, 6	Rom. – frg. 152	
	l. 211-212	<i>trin.</i> 4, 1, 2	Rom. – frg. 155	
	l. 212-216	<i>trin.</i> 13, 10, 14	Rom. – frg. 156	
	l. 217-228	<i>trin.</i> 13, 16, 21	Rom. – frg. 159	
	l. 269-272	<i>pecc. mer.</i> 1, 9, 10- 10, 11	Rom. – frg. 160	
	l. 275-278	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 2, 56	Rom. – frg. 196	
	l. 292-299	<i>en. Ps.</i> 50, 10	Rom. – frg. 162	
	l. 311-327	<i>pecc. mer.</i> 1, 39, 70	Rom. – frg. 179	
	l. 328-332	<i>ep.</i> 157, 3, 19	Rom. – frg. 195	
	l. 333-335	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 2, 63	Rom. – frg. 196	
	l. 348-352	<i>pecc. mer.</i> 1, 10, 12	Rom. – frg. 160	
	l. 355-357	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 2, 84	Rom. – frg. 196	
	l. 404-421	<i>pecc. mer.</i> 1, 11, 13	Rom. – frg. 160	
	l. 421-454	<i>ep.</i> 157, 3, 19-20	Rom. – frg. 195	
	l. 454-548	<i>pecc. mer.</i> 1, 11, 14- 15, 19	Rom. – frg. 160	
	l. 552-595	<i>ep.</i> 157, 3, 15-17	Rom. – frg. 201	

Rom. 6 (b. 3, l. 595-1069)			
l. 595-635	<i>spir. et litt.</i> 6, 9-7, 11	Rom. – frg. 173	220 / 474 lines = 46.41 %
l. 635-669	<i>ep.</i> 98, 9-10	Rom. – frg. 177	
l. 670-685	<i>ench.</i> 13, 41-43	Rom. – frg. 182	
l. 685-709	<i>ench.</i> 14, 52-53	Rom. – frg. 204	
l. 710-726	<i>trin.</i> 4, 3, 6	Rom. – frg. 205	
l. 821-822	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 51, 11	?	
l. 876-878	<i>en. Ps.</i> 50, 3	Rom. – frg. 184	
l. 880-881	<i>en. Ps.</i> 63, 9	Rom. – frg. 185	
l. 881-882	<i>s.</i> 30, 6	Rom. – frg. 187	
l. 883-884	<i>en. Ps.</i> 63, 9	Rom. – frg. 185	
l. 919-922	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 44 < <i>spir. et litt.</i> 19, 34	Rom. – frg. 175	
l. 923-927	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 12, 24	Rom. – frg. 188	
l. 993-997	<i>s.</i> 159, 6	Rom. – frg. 190	
l. 998-1008	<i>ep.</i> 145, 5-6	Rom. – frg. 189	
l. 1010-1016	<i>s.</i> 159, 7-8	Rom. – frg. 190	
l. 1018-1027	<i>ench.</i> 9, 30	Rom. – frg. 191	
l. 1027-1032	<i>c. ep. Pel.</i> 1, 2, 5	Rom. – frg. 208	
l. 1032-1035	<i>en. Ps.</i> 30, 2, 1, 5	Rom. – frg. 192	
l. 1040-1047	<i>c. ep. Pel.</i> 1, 2, 5 + 3, 7	Rom. – frg. 208	
l. 1047-1055	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 1, 86	Rom. – frg. 209	
l. 1055-1060	<i>ench.</i> 28, 107	Rom. – frg. 210	
l. 1062-1066	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 9, 21	Rom. – frg. 193	
l. 1066-1069	<i>ep.</i> 194, 5, 21	Rom. – frg. 194	
b. 4	Rom. 7 (b. 4, l. 24-593)		
l. 24-593	Cf. <i>Sacris Erudiri</i> , 44 (2005), p. 296-297	332 / 570 lines = 58.25 %	
Rom. 8 (b. 4, l. 594-b. 5, l. 783)			
l. 594-769	Cf. <i>Sacris Erudiri</i> , 44 (2005), p. 297	610 / 959 lines = 63.61 %	
b. 5	l. 1-783	Cf. <i>Sacris Erudiri</i> , 44 (2005), p. 297-298	235 / 423 lines = 55.56 %
Rom. 9 (b. 5, l. 784-b. 6, l. 240)			
l. 837-839	<i>c. Faust.</i> 12, 3	Rom. – frg. 337	
l. 893-934	<i>ep.</i> 194, 8, 34-37.39	Rom. – frg. 346	
l. 934-939	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 140 < <i>ciu.</i> 11, 18	Rom. – frg. 368	
l. 939-941	<i>qu.</i> 2, 32	Rom. – frg. 367	
l. 941-963	<i>ep.</i> 194, 8, 39-40 + 6, 23	Rom. – frg. 346	

	l. 963-966	<i>perseu.</i> 8, 17	Rom. – frg. 370	
b. 6	l. 7-16	<i>Simpl.</i> 1, 2, 18	Rom. – frg. 381	
	l. 16-38	<i>ep.</i> 186, 7, 24.26	Rom. – frg. 383	
	l. 39-95	<i>ep.</i> 190, 3, 9-12	Rom. – frg. 377	
	l. 95-98	<i>en. Ps.</i> 58, 1, 20	Rom. – frg. 378	
	l. 98-99	<i>ep.</i> 194, 2, 4	Rom. – frg. 380	
	l. 99-100	<i>en. Ps.</i> 58, 1, 20	Rom. – frg. 378	
	l. 103-111	<i>diu. qu.</i> 68, 2	Rom. – frg. 371	
	l. 112-115	<i>s.</i> 26, 15	Rom. – frg. 375	
	l. 116-118	<i>Simpl.</i> 1, 2, 19	Rom. – frg. 384	
	l. 121-127	<i>ciu.</i> 18, 28	Rom. – frg. 385	
	l. 159-161	<i>Simpl.</i> 1, 2, 19	Rom. – frg. 388	
	l. 173-174	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 1, 141	Rom. – frg. 389	
	l. 182-187	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 356 < <i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 53, 10	Rom. – frg. 393	
	l. 185-187	<i>ep.</i> 157, 2, 6	Rom. – frg. 394	
	l. 188-190	<i>c. Iul. imp.</i> 1, 141	Rom. – frg. 395	
	l. 193-194 + 196-199 + 201-208	<i>s.</i> 169, 9-10	Rom. – frg. 392	
	l. 227-229	<i>ep. Io. tr.</i> 3, 6	Rom. – frg. 396	
	l. 230-231	<i>s.</i> 143, 2	Rom. – frg. 397	
	l. 232-233 + 235-240	<i>s.</i> 169, 11	Rom. – frg. 392	
Rom. 10 (b. 6, l. 241-479)				
	l. 242-245	<i>ep.</i> 186, 11, 38	Rom. – frg. 400	95 / 239 lines = 39.75 %
	l. 248-251	<i>s.</i> 129, 2, 2	Rom. – frg. 401	
	l. 253-260	<i>gr. et lib. arb.</i> 12, 24	Rom. – frg. 405	
	l. 260-262	<i>en. Ps.</i> 70, 1, 1	Rom. – frg. 402	
	l. 264-272	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 25, 12	Rom. – frg. 410	
	l. 274-275	Prosp., <i>sent.</i> 191 (cf. <i>en. Ps.</i> 45, 1)	Rom. – frg. 416	
	l. 277-281	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 21	Rom. – frg. 417	
	l. 333-343	<i>c. mend.</i> 6, 13	Rom. – frg. 424	
	l. 347-353	<i>s.</i> 279, 7	Rom. – frg. 425	
	l. 371-379	<i>c. adu. leg.</i> 2, 3, 11	Rom. – frg. 429	
	l. 382-383	<i>en. Ps.</i> 118, 32, 4	Rom. – frg. 431	
	l. 433-446	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 53, 4	Rom. – frg. 430	
	l. 449-458	<i>en. Ps.</i> 58, 2, 11	I Cor. – frg. 147	
	l. 460-467	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 53, 8	Rom.- frg. 430	

Rom. 11 (b. 6, l. 480-1031)			
l. 480-492	perseu. 18, 47	Rom. – frg. 436	296 / 552 lines = 53.62 %
l. 499-502	en. Ps. 94, 7	Rom. – frg. 437	
l. 504-511	s. 100, 3-4	Rom. – frg. 438	
l. 514-516	Io. eu. tr. 86, 2	Rom. – frg. 439	
l. 549-555	en. Ps. 68, 2, 7	Rom. – frg. 446	
l. 564-565	ciu. 18, 46	Rom. – frg. 447	
l. 616-620	en. Ps. 134, 7	Rom. – frg. 450	
l. 632-641 + 645	en. Ps. 72, 2	Rom. – frg. 451	
l. 647-655	s. 342, 4	Rom. – frg. 453	
l. 656-659	adu. Iud. 10, 15	Rom. – frg. 454	
l. 666-669 + 671-676	ep. 140, 20, 50 + 21, 52-53	Rom. – frg. 455	
l. 676-682 + 685-688	s. 348, 2, 4	Rom. – frg. 456	
l. 694-696	c. adu. leg. 1, 16, 27	Rom. – frg. 459	
l. 696-699	adu. Iud. 1, 1	Rom. – frg. 457	
l. 757-768	ciu. 20, 29	Rom. – frg. 464	
l. 771-799 + 802-811	praed. sanct. 16, 33	Rom. – frg. 465	
l. 830-840	ciu. 21, 24, 6	Rom. – frg. 467	
l. 847-849	pecc. mer. 1, 21, 29	Rom. – frg. 470	
l. 854-857	corrept. 8, 17	Rom. – frg. 469	
l. 857-859	pecc. mer. 1, 21, 29	Rom. – frg. 470	
l. 859-871	ep. 194, 3, 6	Rom. – frg. 468	
l. 871-872	pecc. mer. 1, 21, 29	Rom. – frg. 470	
l. 884-904	trin. 7, 1, 1-2, 3	?	
l. 914-925	ep. 170, 5	?	
l. 940-956 + 958-968	trin. 6, 10, 11-12	Rom. – frg. 480	
l. 972-993	s. 158, 2-3	Rom. – frg. 475	
l. 995-1015	uera rel. 55, 113	Rom. – frg. 476	
l. 1015-1029	doctr. chr. 1, 5, 5	Rom. – frg. 477	
l. 1029-1031	trin. 6, 10, 12	Rom. – frg. 480	
b. 7	Rom. 12 (b. 7, l. 1-258)		
l. 5-34	ciu. 10, 6	Rom. – frg. 482	79 / 258 lines = 30.62 %
l. 55-59	retr. 1, 26, 2	Rom. – frg. 483	
l. 60-61	trin. 14, 16, 22	Rom. – frg. 484	
l. 63-71	perf. 5, 11	Rom. – frg. 485	
l. 72-83	conf. 13, 22, 32	Rom. – frg. 487	
l. 111-116	ep. 188, 3, 13	Rom. – frg. 489	
l. 117-128 + 143-145	Io. eu. tr. 74, 2-3	Rom. – frg. 491	

Rom. 13 (b. 7, l. 259-475)			
l. 271-272	<i>nat. boni</i> 32	Rom. – frg. 511	102 / 217 = 47.00 %
l. 328-330	<i>ep.</i> 110, 5	Rom. – frg. 515	
l. 330-331	<i>en. Ps.</i> 33, 2, 1	Rom. – frg. 516	
l. 334-348	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 28	Rom. – frg. 514	
l. 356-363	<i>exp. Gal.</i> 45	Rom. – frg. 520	
l. 363-384	<i>doctr. christ.</i> 1, 22, 21	Rom. – frg. 523	
l. 386-387	<i>en. Ps.</i> 11, 3	Rom. – frg. 526	
l. 387-393	<i>ep. Io. tr.</i> 10, 7	Rom. – frg. 528	
l. 394-398	<i>ep.</i> 167, 5, 16	Rom. – frg. 529	
l. 399-408	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 83, 3	Rom. – frg. 530	
l. 424-428	<i>en. Ps.</i> 87, 13	Rom. – frg. 532	
l. 431-433	<i>en. Ps.</i> 4, 10	?	
l. 437-438	<i>en. Ps.</i> 76, 4	Rom. – frg. 534	
l. 453-471	<i>conf.</i> 10, 31, 43-44	Rom. – f rg. 537	
Rom. 14 (b. 7, l. 476-777)			
l. 511-529	<i>qu. eu.</i> 2, 11	Rom. – frg. 550	82 / 302 lines = 27.15 %
l. 530-544	<i>Io. eu. tr.</i> 73, 1	Rom. – frg. 551	
l. 556-560	<i>corrept.</i> 12, 36	Rom. – frg. 543	
l. 585-590	<i>ep.</i> 140, 29, 70	Rom. – frg. 545	
l. 595-603	<i>en. Ps.</i> 144, 5	Rom. – frg. 546	
l. 604-605	<i>ench.</i> 31, 120	Rom. – frg. 547	
l. 608-627	<i>s. dom. m.</i> 2, 18, 59-60	Rom. – frg. 541	
l. 772-775	<i>ep.</i> 194, 3, 9	Rom. – frg. 492	
l. 776-777	<i>doctr. christ.</i> 3, 17, 25	I Cor. – frg. 234	
Rom. 15 (b. 7, l. 778-1020)			
l. 798-803	<i>c. Faust.</i> 13, 18	Rom. – frg. 555	45 / 243 lines = 18.52 %
l. 803-805	<i>en. Ps.</i> 58, 2, 11	I Cor. – frg. 147	
l. 845-851	<i>en. Ps.</i> 88, 1, 3	Rom. – frg. 560	
l. 852-856	<i>s.</i> 218A, 2 [3]	Rom. – frg. 561	
l. 866-867	<i>en. Ps.</i> 17, 50	Rom. – frg. 557	
l. 868-873	<i>ep.</i> 140, 17, 44	Rom. – frg. 558	
l. 981-997	<i>cat. rud.</i> 23, 42-43	Rom. – frg. 565	
Rom. 16 (b. 7, l. 1021-1183)			
l. 1089-1095	<i>en. Ps.</i> 103, 4, 6	Rom. – frg. 568	48 / 163 lines = 29.45 %
l. 1110-1145	<i>c. Max.</i> 2, 13, 2	Rom. – frg. 570	
l. 1158-1162	<i>ciu.</i> 11, 6	?	

Verse Epigrams Added to Peter Riga's *Aurora* from Olomouc*

Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN

(Toronto)

1. Introduction

Peter Riga's famous verse Bible, the *Aurora*, written between 1180-1200, was not only frequently read, cited, and excerpted in the later Middle Ages,¹ but it also provided inspiration to numerous poets, commentators, and translators.² Indeed, the impact of the poem on medieval education and scholarly endeavour cannot be overstated. Still preserved in over 450 manuscripts with provenance from all around Europe, the *Aurora* represents one of the major literary achievements of the medieval period.

This article explores yet another layer in the multifaceted reception history of Riga's *magnum opus*, namely, the independent poetic texts recorded in the margins or other blank spaces around the poem.³ This space filling impulse is not surprising or unusual, and in the case of the *Aurora*, which was widely read and studied, it is even expected. The phenomenon is observed also in other types of medieval manuscripts, and often it is verse epigrams or quotes from larger works that appear in this context, probably because they are short and memorable as well as easy to separate from their original textual environment.

* I would like to express my gratitude to the two anonymous readers for the journal for their extremely useful comments on a previous draft of this article.

¹ See *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata: A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Paul BEICHNER, 2 vols, Indiana 1965, vol. 1, p. xxxv-xxxvii.

² For a preliminary discussion on the largely unknown commentary tradition on the *Aurora*, see Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN, "Peter Riga's *Aurora* and its Gloss from Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, Ms. a.VII.6", in *Insignis sophiae arcator. Essays in Honour of Michael W. Herren on his 65th Birthday*, ed. Gernot R. WIELAND, Carin RUFF, and Ross G. ARTHUR (*Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin*, 6), Turnhout, 2006, p. 237-260.

³ One example among many that illustrates this point is presented in Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN, "Arca Noe diceris: A Previously Unknown Devotional Poem from Manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 2867", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 20 (2014), p. 473-491. See also the *Aurora* copy in Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40 (s. XIII), especially the originally blank page between the New and the Old Testament (fol. 47v), which was subsequently filled with 46 verses that are similar in character to those in *Olomouc*.

The codex discussed here, Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, MS M I 306 (hence *Olomouc*), is a typical example of this trend. The manuscript can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, and was among the holdings of the Carthusian Monastery of Dolany, near Olomouc, founded in 1389.⁴ It contains only the Old Testament of Riga's *Aurora* in its third and final medieval redaction before additional revision was effected by Aegidius of Paris and the other anonymous "correctors" of the work (fols 4r-124r).⁵ The two Old Testament books, which belong to Riga's third stage of textual expansion, namely *Liber Iob* and *Cantica Canticorum*, were appended in *Olomouc* after the books of the second version by a different scribe (fols 125r-157r), and between these two sections, which are clearly defined by dissimilar ink, script and general page esthetics, a short collection of verse epigrams was entered gradually by seven hands that are all different from the ones that wrote Riga's text (fol. 124r-v).⁶ In addition, further couplets were scribbled in a haphazard manner on the last folio of the manuscript together with some prose fragments (fol. 158v).⁷

The short compilation of verses on fol. 124r-v of *Olomouc* comprises 50 pieces,⁸ mostly couplets in hexameters or elegiacs, which makes it an example of the so-called "Hildebertian" type of poetic anthology.⁹ Of the 102 verses that constitute the *Olomouc* anthology, 38 are unrhymed and 64 are rhymed. Not surprisingly, the unrhymed verses are mostly, but not exclusively, derived from classical poetry: nos 24 (Persius), 25 and 41 (Ovid), 30 and 38 (Horace), 42 (Juvenal). The rhymed verses, on the other hand, demonstrate a variety of rhyming patterns: simple Leonines that are by far the most common (nos 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 27-29, 39, 40, 44-46, and 50), *unisoni* (or "single-sound") Leonines (nos 11, 14, 15, 19-20, and 35), *caudati* (or "tailed") Leonines (nos 21, 22, 36, 37, and 49), and even one exam-

⁴ As can be seen from the ownership note on fol. 4r, lower margin: "Iste liber est Carthusiensium de Dolano".

⁵ For the different stages in the textual afterlife of Riga's poem, see Beichner, *Aurora*, vol. 1, p. xvii-xx.

⁶ The manuscript is described in Miroslav BOHÁČEK and František ČÁDA, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz*, Köln, 1994, p. 246-248, no. 120. This description is found online at: <http://dig.vkol.cz/dig/mi306/popis.htm>. A digital copy of the entire manuscript can be consulted at: <http://dig.vkol.cz/dig/mi306/0001r.htm>.

⁷ For an edition and a brief discussion of these verses, see Appendix I to this article.

⁸ Each piece is marked by a paragraph sign in the manuscript, and the original divisions have been preserved in the present edition, even though on a few occasions the marked item comprises more than one poetic fragment (see below, nos 20 and 28).

⁹ The term was coined by A. G. RIGG in his *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 149-150.

ple of collateral Leonines (no. 32).¹⁰ Interestingly, some couplets contain incomplete rhyming schemes, in which one of the four rhymes in the *unisoni* Leonines is missing (nos 6, 33, and 43).

The involvement of the seven individual hands varies. For example, Hands 1, 3, and 5 copy 12, 19, and 14 pieces respectively,¹¹ whereas Hands 4, 6, and 7 enter a single item each (nos 34, 49, and 50). Finally, Hand 2 is responsible for writing 2 poems (nos 13 and 14).

It should be mentioned at this point that only 13 of the verses in the *Olomouc* anthology have not been attested in other sources, namely, nos 1, 4 (second line), 7 (*Baculus*), 11, 26, 31, and 40 (second line). Thus the number of unique lines amounts to a little less than 13% of the entire collection, which is a relatively small percentage to account for. Half of the unidentified verses are written by Hand 1, maybe the most interesting of all the hands because it also records two excerpts from the Book of Daniel of Riga's *Aurora* (nos 2 and 3), even though it is unclear whether the compiler was aware of the connection. Hands 3 and 5 are also noteworthy, for together they copy almost all verses that are attested in previous sources, both classical and medieval. However, despite this unifying feature, the two hands clearly had access to different corpora of verses, as there is virtually no overlap between the works they use for their contributions to the anthology (see Table below).

Despite the fact that many different scribes were engaged in the creation of the *Olomouc* compilation, the generally uniform character of the pieces suggests that they had a similar idea of what kind of verses should be selected and added to the already existing ones. This observation suggests a slightly more rational gathering of poetic pieces than a simple gradual filling of empty manuscript space.

2. *Prouerbia*

Generally, the verses in the *Olomouc* anthology bear no direct relationship to the text of the *Aurora* that precedes and follows them.¹² The poems are mostly proverbial sentences that in many cases can be identified as excerpts from works by major classical and medieval authors. The following table will bear this out:

¹⁰ For these terms and their definitions, see RIGG, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 319-320.

¹¹ Hand 1 writes nos 1-12, Hand 3 nos 15-33, and Hand 5 nos 35-48.

¹² The exception here is seen in nos 2 and 3 which represent direct quotations from the *Aurora* without an attribution to Riga.

Hand	Number in the Edition	Source	Number in Walther, <i>Prouerbia</i> ¹³
1	2	Peter Riga, <i>Aurora</i> , Lib. Danielis	1795
1	3	Peter Riga, <i>Aurora</i> , Lib. Danielis	19867
3	17	Ps. Ovid + Ovidian echo from the <i>Heroides</i>	16676 (v. 1) 24999a (v. 2)
3	19	Orfino da Lodi, <i>De regimine et sapientia potestatis</i>	18981
3	20.4	Serlo of Wilton, <i>Versus de differentiis</i>	648
3	21	Horace, <i>Ars poetica</i>	8055 (v. 2), 18409
3	22	“Hugh Metel”	none
3	23	Maximianus	6044
3	24	Persius, <i>Saturae</i>	32949
3	25	Ovid, <i>Remedia amoris</i>	31263
3	30	Horace, <i>Sermones</i>	7689
3	33	“Walter of England”	30158
5	35	Marbod, <i>Carmina</i>	33621 (v. 1)
5	36	possible echo from either Ovid, Tibullus or Virgil	16531
5	37	possible Propertian echo	16532
5	38	Horace, <i>Epistulae</i> I	16474 (v. 1) 16472a (v. 2)
5	39	Horace, <i>Epistulae</i> II	29681
5	41	Ovid, <i>Amores</i>	33079
5	42	Juvenal, <i>Saturae</i>	12678
5	44	Serlo of Wilton, <i>Proverbia</i>	22762
5	45	Marbod, <i>Carmina</i>	6873
5	46	Marbod, <i>Carmina</i>	33039
5	47	Drogo de Altouillari, <i>De clericis et regularibus</i>	<i>Initia</i> , no. 6370 ¹⁴
6	49	Hugh Primas (?)	2300, 2301, 7854

This is an impressive list of sources but the obvious question here is whether the scribes had any knowledge of the authorship of the pieces

¹³ See Hans WALTHER, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*, Göttingen, 1963-1969, vols 1-5.

¹⁴ See Hans WALTHER, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, Göttingen, 1959; 1969.

they were writing down. As is customary for many medieval anthologies, authorial attributions are completely lacking in *Olomouc*. Still, the compilers could have been aware of the names of the classical and medieval authors, if they were excerpting from poetic *florilegia* that often preserved this kind of information. However, it is more likely that by the time the verses were gathered in *Olomouc* they had already become independent adages separated from their original textual milieu and included in collections of proverbs as anonymous sayings of universal import. This suggestion is supported by the fact that with just one exception ("Hugh Metel", no. 22) the rest of the verses are found in other medieval compilations of popular sayings, as attested by Hans Walther's monumental *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*. In fact, this observation holds true for the entire anthology, in which as many as 45 pieces out of 50 are found in other sources either in the precise same form or in a close variation.¹⁵ In this context, it is worth mentioning that six of the *Olomouc* poems (nos 5, 6, 12, 15, 20 partially, and 49 partially) are attested also in another much larger poetic anthology, probably of English origin, which is now preserved in London, British Library, MS Arundel 507 (saec. XIVmed).¹⁶ However, no firm conclusion can be reached from this textual connection, since it can be either coincidental or due to a common exemplar(s) rather than implying a direct dependency.

The most prominent themes found in the proverbs in *Olomouc* are represented by sayings related to the meaning of human life and the worthlessness of worldly possessions (nos 1, 12, 15, 20); the complexity of human nature (nos 16, 21, 24, 26, 33, 34, 38); the fires and excesses of love (nos 17, 36, 37, 44); the benefits of hard work and perseverance (nos 27, 32, 40); and the corrupting power and fickleness of women (nos 41, 42, 47). Some additional noteworthy topics are illustrated in the proverbs on the healing power of laughter (no. 5), the benefits of eating cheese (no. 28), and the friar who changed his habit three times (no. 14). Finally, the compilation ends with two invectives against reprobate canons and the greed of Church officials (nos 49, 50).

¹⁵ See for instance nos 5, 9, 12, 21, 22, 27, 36, 46, 49, etc.

¹⁶ For an edition of the Arundel anthology, see Carl HORSTMAN, *Yorkshire Writers. Richard Rolle of Hampole: An English Father of the Church and His Followers*, 2 vols, London, 1895-1896, vol. 1, Appendix II. Additions from MS Arundel 507, part II: A Collection of Latin Epigrams, p. 420-435. Arundel 507 and its relationship to other verse collections is discussed in Greta DINKOVA-BRUUN, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (Ms. XVI Q 14)", *Mediaeval Studies*, 64 (2002), p. 61-109, esp. 72-76, and Greta DINKOVA-BRUUN, "Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools c. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from Ms. Harley 956: A Critical Edition", *Sacris Erudiri*, 43 (2004), p. 299-391, esp. 315-318.

3. *Aenigmata*

In addition to the proverbs, the *Olomouc* collection contains also a few *aenigmata*: *Baculus* (no. 7), *Musca* (no. 10), *Saturnus* (no. 13), and *Cornix* (no. 22). Three of these riddles are well known and copied frequently (nos 10, 13, 22), even though they are preserved in varying formulations. In the case of *Baculus*, the riddle seems to be unique, or at least not yet found in other medieval sources or codices. An example of the complexity of the riddling tradition is seen in the textual transmission of the popular riddle *Musca-Camus* (fly-bridle), which is attested in the following forms:

Manuscript / Source	Latin Text
A. <i>Olomouc</i> anthology, no. 10	Est animal paruum quod semper transuolat aruum; Si conuertatur, mulus meus inde ligatur.
B. London, BL, MS Sloane 513, fol. 57v ¹⁷	Est animal paruum quod raro pascitur agro; Si conuertatur, tunc quadrupes inde ligatur.
C. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 230/116, fol. 171v ¹⁸	Est animal paruum quod semper pascit in aruum; Si conuertatur, tunc quadrupes inde ligatur.
D. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.45, fol. 12v ¹⁹	Est animal paruum quod nunquam pascit in aruum; Si conuertatur, bene quadrupes inde ligatur.
E. <i>Secretum philosophorum</i> ²⁰	Est avis in nemore nigro vestita colore Que si convertatur, mox quadrupes inde <l>igatur.

With the exception of version E, which is clearly a conflation between the riddles on *Cornix* and *Musca*,²¹ the other four texts show a number

¹⁷ For this version of the riddle, see Andrew GALLOWAY, "Rhetoric and Riddling in Late-Medieval England: The 'Oxford' Riddles, the *Secretum philosophorum*, and the Riddles in *Piers Plowman*", *Speculum*, 70 (1995), p. 68-105, at 101, no. [7].

¹⁸ See GALLOWAY, "Rhetoric and Riddling", p. 104, no. [9]. Previously printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language*, ed. Thomas WRIGHT and James O. HALLIWELL, London, 1845, vol. 2, p. 110 (available online at Google Books).

¹⁹ Printed in *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas WRIGHT, London, 1846, vol. 1, p. 167 (available online at Google Books). In Trinity O.2.45 this riddle is followed by another one that also deals with the *Musca-camus* connection; it reads: "Musca ligabit equum, si sit conuersa retrorsum". A digital copy of the Trinity manuscript can be consulted at: <http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/>

²⁰ See GALLOWAY, "Rhetoric and Riddling", p. 75, no. [8].

²¹ See WRIGHT, *Essays on Subjects*, p. 167 (from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.45, fol. 12v):

Est avis in nemore nigro vestita colore;
Si caput abstuleris, res erit alba nimis.

of common elements. Thus they all mention a small animal and a field in the first verse, while stating in the second that the reversal of the syllables in this animal's name creates a word linked to tying up. After that the divergences begin. First, in most cases (B, C, and D) the animal eats in the field, but in *Olomouc* (A) it constantly flies above it; and second, there is a marked disagreement about the eating habits of the fly: in C it always (*semper*) eats in the field, in B it does so only rarely (*raro*), whereas in D this never (*nunquam*) happens. In the second verse again it is *Olomouc* (A) that goes in an unexpected direction by specifying the animal and even its ownership (*mulus meus* – my mule) that is tied up by the bridle; in the other four versions (B, C, D, and E) only a non-specific quadruped is mentioned, even though in D it is said that the bridle secures the animal well (*bene*) in contrast with the other three texts which give a temporal connection by using *tunc* (C and D) and *mox* (E).

These variations affect neither the meaning of the *aenigma* nor its solution; still it is fascinating to observe the textual permutations in the recorded versions of the riddle, which might be either conscious choices, desperate attempts at correcting faulty exemplars, or even conscious expressions of creativity (admittedly on a very small scale). Textual divergence is expected in all sources transmitted in medieval hand-written manuscripts, but it seems that the riddling tradition is even more prone to variation, probably because of the oral component inherent in it. Another confirmation of this statement is seen also in the riddle *Saturnus* which is edited below as no. 13 in the *Olomouc* anthology.

4. Conclusions

It is typical of anthologies, be they prose or verse, medieval or modern, planned or haphazard, to result in creating a textual reality in which the whole supersedes the sum of its parts. In that, the collection in *Olomouc* is no different. Even though it clearly had started as space filler, at the end the various compilers who worked on it seem to have found a common rationale for the selection of the items, both in the content of the pieces and in their brief epigrammatic expression. This coherence in thematics and poetic form is so prominent that if this anthology were copied later by a single scribe and the present codicological evidence of the different scripts were obfuscated in the process, it would have been impossible to separate the contributions of the individual hands. This observation engenders the realization that in many cases of anonymous anthologies, which are presumed to be authored by a single writing or composing agent, we might in fact be dealing with textual constructs created by many at an earlier stage of textual transmission. This is not an idle observation; keeping

in mind the scenario of gradual anthologizing found in *Olomouc* might help explain some features in collections that are studied and analyzed as uniform one-author constructs. In this, the example of the seemingly innocuous anthology in *Olomouc* achieves a much wider significance for understanding medieval literary culture.

5. Editorial Principles

Since the anthology edited here is found in a single manuscript, the typically medieval orthography of the codex has been preserved everywhere, even when there are inconsistencies (for example: “malignus” in 26.1 and “malingnus” in 43.2). Preserved are also the divisions between the individual poetic items signaled in the manuscript by paragraph signs. Abbreviations are of course expanded silently.

In addition, as already mentioned above, only 13 of the verses in *Olomouc* have not been identified in previous sources. This suggests that the anthology’s importance lies primarily in the variant verses of known poems that are gathered in it. For that reason, the edition below presents the “Olomouc”-version of the already attested verses, even when this version is both incorrect metrically²² and inferior in regard to sense.²³ It is true that such an approach produces a text that deviates from the accepted texts of the poems but it remains true to the spirit of this particular anthology in addition to adding another layer to the transmission history of the verses, some of which are relatively well known. A few examples will suffice here:

1) Poem 22: “Cuidam prebet aui iugum natura colorem” (Nature gives a certain bird its colour as a burden) is a bit enigmatic but still sort of acceptable. However, the more diffused variant for “iugum” is “fuscum” referring to the dark colour of the crow, which clearly is more sensible, especially with the next verse where the whiteness (“albedo”) of the snow is explicitly mentioned.

2) Poem no. 46: “Vera fides uix est, perfidia pessima pix est” (True faith hardly exists, perfidy is the worst pitch) is perfectly acceptable both in meter and sense until one realizes that Marbod’s original version has “nix” instead of “uix”. “Nix” (snow) is obviously the better reading since it preserves the juxtaposition with “pix” (pitch). The *Olomouc*-variant is quite likely the result of a simple scribal confusion between “n” and “u”.

²² For example, see below, no. 13.3 (“medicina” for “medici”) and no. 30.2 (“citra” for “citraque”).

²³ In addition to the examples discussed in more detail in this section, see also no. 34.3 (“dona” for “dono”).

3) Poem no. 44: "Proxima languoris manus est et ocellus amoris" (The hand is the closest neighbour of weariness, the eye of love). This proverb by Serlo of Wilton is generally attested with the usual dative following "proxima" (i.e. "languori ... amoris"). Even though the genitive is more rare, it is still passable and has, therefore, been preserved in the edition.

These peculiarities of *Olomouc* and many more are explained in the commentary to the edition which follows it. There, also bibliographical references to previous editions are provided as well as some critical notes recording corrections seen in the manuscript.

Edition of the Poetic Anthology in *Olomouc*, fol. 124r-v

Hand 1

1. Sit tibi uita brevis, tribulacio longa, potestas fol. 124r
Non durans, torpor, gloria nulla, fuga.
2. Auri nobilitas luteam non uestiat ollam,
Non ideo sequitur hanc minus esse lutum.
3. Omne quod est rubeum, nomen non impetrat auri;
Omne quod est niueum, non imitatur ebur.
4. Ventum sepe rapis, si crebro uescere rapis,
De quibus ergo tumet uenter. "Precor, effuge tumet!".
5. Risus ab ore tuo pius et rarus uideatur;
Per crebros risus leuitas in corde notatur.
6. Est homo descendens, uitulus moriens, leo surgens,
Est auis ascendens: quatuor ista Deus.
7. Sillaba terna datur et euntibus auxiliatur;
Si prior abscidat, habet unde nares tibi ledat;
Si mediam tollis, cibus est et feruet in ollis.
8. Si quadam uirtute nites, ne despice quemquam;
Ex alia quadam forsitan ille nitet.
9. Nemo sue forme nimium letetur honore,
Ne uilis factus post sua facta gemat.
10. Est animal paruum quod semper transuolat aruum;
Si conuertatur, mulus meus inde ligatur.
11. Parui patris es heres summi, fidei bone preses,
Mundanas hereses non sis pessumdare deses.

12. Temporibus nostris quicumque placere laborat,
Det, cupiat, capiat plurima, pauca, nichil.

Hand 2

13. Sillaba terna datur, quarum si prima necatur fol. 124v
Efficit inde uirum propter sua prelia dirum.
Si mediam tollis, medicina non indiget ollis
Et si compescis ternam, non indiget escis.
14. O Gharde pater, dis griseus et semel ater,
Es factus frater mutata ueste tua ter.

Hand 3

15. Dic, homo, quid speres, qui mundo totus inheres?
Tu nichil inde feres, si mundum solus haberes.
16. Grata Venus molli, pigro mora, uinea colli,
Nec minus unda siti, miti pax, iraque liti.
17. Nil bene cernit amor, uidet omnia lumine ceco;
Quid deceat, quid non, non uidet ullus amans.
18. Cui semel opposuit mors et conclusit eidem,
Copia dicendi non fuit: unde locus?
19. Nulli cauidico reor esse fidem neque dico;
Hosti pro modico fit amicus et hostis amico.
20. Cur, homo, qui cinis es, per auariciam sepelis es?
Eri cur heres, eris qui non eris heres,
Quando sepultus eris, quicumque sepultor es eris?
Eris seruus eris, si te species trahat eris.
21. Quisque tonans uerbis satis est in uerbere parcus;
Non semper feriet, quocumque minabitur, arcus.
22. Cuidam prebet aui iugum natura colorem;
Huic cor si demis, albedine uincit olorem.
23. Diuersos diuersa iuuant, non omnibus horis
Omnia conueniunt: res prius apta nocet.
24. Velle suum cuique est, non uoto uiuitur uno.
25. Temporibus medicina ualet: data tempore prosunt
Et data non apto tempore uina nocent.

26. Vix erit aut numquam faciat quod recte malignus;
Difficile bonus que mala sunt faciet.
27. Cattus dormitans, mola stans, et cantica uitans;
Clerus mercedem numquam portabit in edem.
28. Caseus ante cibum cibus est, et post medicina.
Caseus est gratus rediuiuo gramine natus.
29. "Si uis pnam, uir, na! Dabitur tis nantis in ir pna".
"Na! Dabo". "Da! Nabo". "Propera! Dabo". "Da! Properabo".
30. Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citra nequit consistere rectum.
31. Sunt bona grata magis, mala sunt leuiora uicissim,
A sociis equa si tolerentur ope.
32. Parca manus, labor assiduus designat habere;
Larga manus, labor insolitus designat egere.
33. Spernere quod prodest et amare quod obsit, ineptum est;
Prodest quod fugimus et quod amamus obest.

Hand 4

34. "Pone modum!" – "Ponam". – "Pete quod uis!" – "Plena sit archa".
"Plena sit!" – "Adde duas!" – "Addam". – "Si quatuor essent,
Sufficeret". – "Sic semper agis: sic plurima dona,
Plura petis; nec plenus eris, donec morieris".

Hand 5

35. Virginitas flos est, et uirginis aurea dos est:
Concubitus fex est, mulieris amor mala nex est.
36. Nescio quid sit amor et amoris torqueor a ui,
Sed scio quisquis amat uritur igne graui.
37. Nescio quid sit amor et amoris nescio nodum,
Sed scio siquis amat, nescit habere modum.
38. Nemo tam ferus est qui non mitescere possit,
Dummodo culture patientem commodet aurem.
39. Singula de nobis anni predantur euntes:
Eripuere iocos, uenerem, conuiuia, ludos.
40. Surge, labora ui, ueniet melior labor a ui,
Quo semel aut bis iter facis et non proficis, i ter.

41. Verba puellarum foliis leuiora caducis.
42. Intolerabilius nichil est quam femina diues.
43. Surgo sedens, exsurgo iacens, de morte resurgo,
Asurgo notis, insurgo malingnus in hostem.
44. Proxima langworis manus est et ocellus amoris.
45. Ebrietas fax est, limphe potacio pax est.
46. Vera fides uix est, perfidia pessima pix est.
47. Femina uas Sathane, fetens rosa, dulce uenenum,
Semper prona rei que prohibetur ei.
48. Nil magis est gratum quam non punire reatum.

Hand 6

49. Canonici, cur canonicum me canonicastis
Canonice, non canonice decanonicastis?
Est reprobum reprobare probum; me qui reprobastis,
Me reprobando probum, reprobos uos esse probastis.

Hand 7

50. Clericus ad synodum uadit dissoluere nodum;
A sancta synodo redeunt burse sine nodo.

Commentary on the Poetic Anthology in *Olomouc*, fol. 124r-v

1. This couplet has not been identified.
2. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 1795: (1) non] si. See also Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Danielis, v. 459-460.
3. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 19867: (2) niueum] nitidum. See also Peter Riga, *Aurora*, Lib. Danielis, v. 457-458.
4. A variation of the first verse is recorded in Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33023: "Ventum sepe rapis, si tu uis uiuere rapis". The second verse has not been identified.
5. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 26891: (1) ab] in. Printed in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 421, v. 13-14: (1) pius et rarus] grandis raro.
6. Printed in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 425, v. 222-223, with a variation in the pentameter: "Est auis ascendens, hic et ubique manens".

7. Added in the margin: *Baculus est*. The answer to the riddle is: “baculus-culus-balus” (staff-posterior [arse]-some kind of food, but unclear what precisely). The word “nares” (nostrils) in verse 2 implies that the nose is assaulted by the smell of the second hidden clue in the riddle, i.e. the arse. The third solution, “balus”, is mysterious. Even though we have difficulties establishing what kind of food it denotes, the word must have been relatively well known for it to be included in a riddle. Since this piece has not been found in other sources, we must wait for other witnesses in order to solve the problem.

8. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 28892: (2) ille] ipse.

9. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16458. For the couplet, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16455: (1) forme] carnis; (2) facta] damna. Printed many times as the final moral lesson of Fable XIX (*De abiete ac dumis*) of “Avianus”. See for example, *Poetae Latini veteres ad fidem optimarum editionum expressi: Pars secunda*, Florence, 1829, p. 1544 and Edélestand Du Ménil, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge*, Paris, 1854, p. 96.

10. Added in the margin: *Musca*. The answer to the riddle is: “Musca-camus”. The riddle is printed many times (for a detailed discussion, see above, section 3. *Aenigmata*).

11. This couplet has not been identified.

12. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 31268: (2) capiat] querat. Printed also in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 426, v. 282-283: (1) nostris] istis; (2) capiat] querat.

13. Walther, *Initia*, no. 18971: (1) quarum si prima necatur] parti si prima trahatur. Added in the margin: *Saturnus*. The answer to the riddle is: “Saturnus-Turnus-sanus-satur”. Printed multiple times. See for example, Ernst Voigt, “Proverbia Rustici”, *Romanische Forschungen*, 3 (1887), p. 633-641, at p. 640, v. 73-76: (1) terna] trina; necatur] secatur; (2) efficit] aspice; propter sua] Matris per; (3) medicina] medici; (4) ternam] finem. See also Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.45, fol. 13r. The reading “medicina” instead of “medici” makes verse 3 non-metrical. In verse 4: compescis] q add. *Olomouc*.

A different version of this well-known *aenigma* is found in Christopher J. McDonough, “Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus* of Peter Riga (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1694”, *Mediaeval Studies*, 67 (2005), p. 27-74, at p. 43-44, v. 7-10, Saturnus:

Alludit triplici sensu mihi sillaba trina;
Primam deme mihi, pro coniuge pugno Latina.

Si mediam caream, non indigeo medicina;
 Si finem rapias, non est in uentre ruina.

14. The addressee of this epigram is unknown. However, it seems that the poet is satirically referring to a friar who changed his habit three times, becoming twice a grey friar (i.e. Franciscan) and once a black friar (i.e. Dominican). This reference to the colour of the habits suggests a connection to England, where these distinctions were much more common than on the continent. A similar couplet is found in Avignon, Bibl. Municipale, MS 331 (saec. XV, written by Gautier Leblond, a Celestine from Rouen), fol. 171v:

O Galtere pater, mutata veste tua ter;
 Ter factus frater, bis candidus et semel ater.

Printed in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, vol. XXVII. Avignon. Tome I. Introduction*, Paris, 1894, p. 244. The Avignon catalogue can be consulted online at: <http://www.archive.org/stream/cataloguegnr271894fran#page/n7/mode/2up>

15. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 5559. For both verses, see Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 423, v. 119-120: (2) si mundum] licet omnia.

16. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 10397: (2) hec minus] uina uel.

17. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16676; for verse 2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 24999a: quid non] fieri or no. 25000: quid non] om. The first verse is found in the *Pseudo-Remedia Amoris* edited by Erich Joseph Thiel, "Mittellateinische Nachdichtungen von Ovids *Ars Amatoria* und *Remedia Amoris*", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 5 (1968), p. 115-180, at p. 179 (verse 49). The medieval pseudo-Ovidian poetry is discussed in Marek True Kretschmer, "The Love Elegy in Medieval Latin Literature (pseudo-Ovidiana and Ovidian imitations)", in *The Cambridge Companion to Latin Love Elegy*, ed. Thea S. Thorsen, Cambridge, 2013, p. 271-289. In the second verse there is an echo of Ovid, *Heroides*, IV.154: "Brachia! quid deceat, non videt ullus amans".

18. Printed in Barthélemy Hauréau, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 33.1, Paris, 1890, p. 105, where the *Olomouc* couplet appears as v. 3-4 of the epitaph of a certain Parisian Master Nicolas: (1) cui] huic; (2) copia dicendi] dicere fas illi. See also Jacob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Aarau, 1905, p. 110, no. 267: *Epitaphium super Adam*. Here only verse 1 of the *Olomouc* poem appears as line 3 of the epitaph. Werner records also Hauréau's text.

19. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 18981: (2) *hosti]* *hostis*; Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 17893: (1) *nulli]* *non in*; and Walther, *Initia*, no. 12373. In reality, the couplet is from the poem *De regimine et sapientia potestatis* by the thirteenth-century jurist Orfino da Lodi. The *editio princeps* of the work is found in Antonio Ceruti, *Orfini Laudensis poema De regimine et sapientia potestatis*, in *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana* 7, Torino, 1869, p. 27-94; our couplet is on p. 81: (1) *reor]* *reorum*. The most recent edition is Orfino da Lodi, "*De regimine et sapientia potestatis*" (*Comportamento e saggezza del podestà*), ed. and trans. Sara Pozzi (*Quaderni di studi lodigiani*, 7), Lodi, 1998, p. 194, v. 1253-1254. See also a brief discussion in Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht in Mittelalter*, Leiden, 1997, p. 165-166.

20. For verses 1-2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 4680a; for verses 2-3, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 644a; for verse 2 only, see Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 431, v. 500: *qui]* *quia*. All three verse are found in William de Montibus's *Versarius* under the rubric "Auaritia" where a forth verse is attached to them: "Non hodie quod heri nouus heres imperat eri" (see Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 186, fol. 26r). For verse 4, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 648: *trahat]* *trahit*. The verse is printed in Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 128, no. 51, as part of Serlo of Wilton's grammatical poem "Unam semper amo" (prologue's incipit: "Dactile, quid latitas?"; also known as "Versus magistri Serlonis de differentiis") where it is included under the letter "E". The verse is, however, not found in Öberg's critical edition of Serlo's text, so it is probably a later addition written in a perfect imitation of Serlo's style. For Öberg's edition, see *Serlon de Wilton. Poèmes Latines*, ed. Jan Öberg, Stockholm, 1965, Appendix II: A, p. 134-139. The line is also printed in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 431, v. 504.

21. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 8055: (1) *quisque]* *esto*; *satis est]* *manens*; (2) *quocumque]* *quicumque*. For verse 2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 18409. It is from Horace, *Ars poetica*, 350: "nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus".

22. Printed in McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*," p. 41, v. 5-6. The answer to the riddle is: "cornix-nix" (crow-snow). In the first verse *Olomouc* has "iugum" rather than the expected "fuscum", but since this variant could have been intentional, it has been preserved in the edition. The second verse in in this edition reads: "Illi subtrahe cor, albedine uinct olorem". A different formulation of the riddle is found in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 427, v. 299: "Cornix est alba, si cor tollatur ab illa". For the same line, see also Galloway, "Rhetoric and Riddling", p. 75, no. [7] and 98, no. [3].

23. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 6044: (1) horis] annis. The couplet is from the first elegy of the sixth-century poet Maximianus. See Christina Sandquist Öberg, *Versus Maximiani. Das Elegienzyklus textkritisch herausgegeben, übersetzt und neu interpretiert* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999), p. 98, I.103-104.

24. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 32949: non] nec. The verse is from Persius, *Sat.*, V.53.

25. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 31263. The couplet is from Ovid, *Rem. Am.*, 131-132, with a variation in the first verse: temporibus medicina ualeat] temporis ars medicina fere est.

26. This couplet has not been identified. The first verse can be construed as follows: "Quod malignus faciat uix aut numquam erit recte <factum>".

27. For a proverb with the same meaning but a slightly different wording, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2494:

Cattus dormitans et clerus cantica uitans
Et mola stans uacua tibi dant male lucra.

28. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2430, where the present verse is part of a couplet: et] sed. Printed in *L'École de Salerne*, tr. Ch. Meaux Saint-Marc, Paris, 1880, p. 106: et] *om.* For verse 2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2437. In *Olomouc* the two verses are presented as a couplet, and this arrangement has been preserved in the present edition; however, the fact that verse 1 is unrhymed and verse 2 is rhymed confirms that the two lines are separate entities.

29. For the first verse, the meaning of the words "ir" (the palm of the hand from the Greek *χεῖρ*), and its presence in the medieval Latin glossaries, see Ezio Franceschini, "Ir = Vola manus", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 22 (1952), p. 17-32. Both verses are printed in *Die Vokabulare von Fritsche Closener und Jakob Twinger von Königshofen*, ed. Klaus Kirchert and Dorothea Klein, Tübingen, 1995, vol. 2, p. 923, where the couplet is explained through manuscript glosses as a conversation between a man and the devil. The word "mna" is implied in the riddle: "Zo uertatur in m, succendo cupidine mentes" (see McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*", p. 42, v. 46). "Pnam" and "pna" in this verse stand for "mnam" and "mna", a rare word of Greek origin meaning a coin of the value of a hundred drachms. Thus, the line can be translated as: "Man, if you want a coin, swim! A coin will be given in your hand while you are swimming". The forms "pnam/pna" seen here probably occur by association with "pecunia/pecuniam".

30. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 7689: (2) quos ultra] ultra quos. The couplet is from Horace, *Serm.*, I.1.106-107, but with "citraque" in the second verse, which clearly is better metrically than *Olomouc's* "citra".

31. This couplet has not been identified.

32. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 20642.

33. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 30158: (1) prodest] prosit. See also, *The Fables of "Walter of England"*, ed. Aaron E. Wright, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 25; Toronto, 1997, p. 124, v. 9-10 (Fable 47: *De ceruo qui se speculabatur in fonte*): (2) ineptum est] ineptum.

34. For v. 1-3, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 21909, printed from Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, München, 1920, p. 122, n. 1:

"Pone modum!" – "Ponam". – "Pete quod uis!" – "Plena sit archa".

"Plena sit!" – "Adde duos!" – "Addam". – "Si quattuor essent, Sufficeret". – "Sic semper ais, nec plena uideris".

However, with the exception of verse 1 and the worse reading "dona" instead of "dono" in verse 3, the text in *Olomouc* seems to be closer to that found in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, Heidelberg, 1930, p. 3, no. 2:

"Responde, qui tanta cupis!", modo Copia dicat.

"Pone modum! que vis dono". – "Volo plena sit arca". –

"Plena sit!" – "Adde duas!" – "Addo". – "Si quattuor essent, Sufficerent". – "Sic semper agis: cum plurima dono, Plus queris, nec plenus eris, donec morieris".

In verse 3: "Plena sit!" "Adde duas!" "Addam"] *bis scripsit Olomouc*.

35. For verse 1, see Walther, *Initia*, no. 20475 and Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33621. The couplet is from Marbod, *Carmina Varia*, PL, 171, col. 1653D-1654A; Carmen XIII: Commendatio uirtutum per comparandum, v. 1-2: (2) mulieris amor mala] merces sua pessima. In verse 2: fex] fax *Olomouc a.c.*; mulieris] erit *add. Olomouc a.c.*; nex] vex *Olomouc*.

36. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16531: (1) et amoris torqueor a ui] nec amo nec amor nec amaui; (2) quiquis] si quis. See also, Walther, *Initia*, no. 11740. The phrase "Nescio quid sit amor" is a possible echo of Ovid, *Met.*, IV.330: "Nescit enim quid amor, sed et erubuisse decebat"; Tibullus, *Eleg.*, III.4.73: "Nescis quid sit amor"; or Virgil, *Ecl.*, 8.43: "Nunc scio quid sit amor".

37. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16532: (1) et] nec; nescio] sentio. See also, Walther, *Initia*, no. 11741. The second verse is a possible echo of Propertius, *Eleg.*, II.XV.30: "Verus amor nullum novit habere modum".

38. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16474(1); for verse 2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16472a(2): culture] doctrine; commodet] prebeat. The couplet is from Horace, *Ep.*, I.1.39-40: (1) tam] adeo; qui] ut; (2) dummodo] si modo.

39. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 29681: (2) ludos] ludum. The couplet is from Horace, *Ep.*, II.2.55-56.

40. For verse 1, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 30882: ueniet melior] bonus est ueniens. Verse 2 has not been identified.

41. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33079. The verse is from Ovid, *Am.*, II.16.45.

42. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 12678. The verse is from Juvenal, *Sat.*, VI.460.

43. For verse 1, see Walther, *Initia*, no. 18922: iacens] thoro. A version of the couplet is printed in the work of the fourteenth-century grammarian Folchino dei Borfoni; see *Folchini de Borfonibus, Cremonina*, ed. Carla DeSantis (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 201), Turnhout, 2003, p. 181, l. 1697-1698:

Surgo sedens, exurgo iacens, de morte resurgo.
Assurgo dominis, insurgo durus in hostes.

The model of Folchino seems to be Eberhard's *Graecismus*; see *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Graecismus. Ad fidem librorum manu scriptorum recensuit lectionum varietatem adiecit indice locupletissimos et imaginem codicis Melicensis photolithographicam addidit Iohann Wrobel*, *Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi*, 1; Vratislaviae, 1887, p. 175, 17.131-132:

Notis assurges, insurge malignus in hostes,
Consurges de sede tua, de morte resurges.

Olomouc preserves a conflation of these two versions.

44. Walther, *Initia*, no. 14867 and Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 22762, put showing the more traditional readings "languori ... amor". Printed with further bibliography in Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition", p. 364, no. 141. The author of the proverb is Serlo of Wilton.

45. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 6873. The verse is from Marbod, *Carmina Varia*, PL, 171, col. 1654A; Carmen XIII: *Commendatio virtutum per comparisonem*, v. 3.

46. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33039. The verse is from Marbod, *Carmina Varia*, PL, 171, col. 1654A; Carmen XIII, v. 6: vix] nix; perfidia pessima] fraus et deceptio. Clearly, "nix" (snow) is the better reading here since it preserves the juxtaposition with "pix" (pitch).

47. Walther, *Initia*, no. 6370. Printed with further bibliography in Dinkova-Bruun, "Notes on Poetic Composition", p. 370, no. 166: De luxuria: (1) uas] fax. The couplet is from Drogo de Altouillari's treatise *De clericis et regularibus, quod debent uitare consortia mulierum*.

48. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16751: non] nil.

49. Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2300: (1) canonici] canonic; canonicum] canonic; me] quem; (3) est] et; (4) Walther presents two different versions, one in the body of the text: "Vos reprobis [sic] non esse probus [sic] ratione probatis" and one in the notes: "Sic reprobis reprobando probum nos esse probatis". For, verses 1-2 only, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2301: me] quem. See also, Walther, *Initia*, no. 2365. The couplet's presumed association with Hugh Primas is discussed in Neil Adkin, "Analecta Hymnica 2 no. 97 st. 4, 1: Caeduntur gladiis more bidentium", *Helmántica*, 47 (1996), p. 443-451, at p. 444. For a variation on verse 3, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 7854: me qui reprobatis] probitate probatum. Generally, the four verses are printed together as a unit. See for example, *Die Vokabulare von Fritsche Closener*, vol. 1, p. 222, where we find the lines printed as many as four times, with some small variations from *Olomouc*. However, the two couplets can be found separated as well, as already seen in Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2301, for verses 1-2. A variation of verses 3-4 alone is found in Horstman, *Richard Rolle*, p. 426, v. 275-276, which read:

Est reprobis reprobrare bonum; vos qui reprobratis,
Sic reprobis reprobando bonos vos esse probatis.

50. For verse 2, see Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 5148: a] de; redeunt] ueniunt and *Histoire littéraire de France*, Paris, 1893, vol. 31, p. 16. A version of the couplet, printed in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 32.1, Paris, 1886, p. 68, reads:

Presbiter ad synodum vadit dissolvere nodum,
Nolens sive volens, et reddit inde dolens.

Summary

Manuscript Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, MS M I 306 is an early-thirteenth-century Carthusian manuscript containing the Old Testament of Peter Riga's *Aurora* in its third and final medieval version before additional revision was effected by Aegidius of Paris or any other anonymous corrector (fols 4r-124r). The two old-testament books that belong to the third version, i.e. *Liber Iob* and *Cantica Canticorum*, were appended after

the books of second version (fols 125r-157r), and between these two clearly defined sections a short collection of verse epigrams was entered gradually by seven hands that are all different from the one that wrote Riga's text (fol. 124rv). In addition, further poetry was scribbled in a haphazard manner on the last folio of the manuscript (fol. 158v), edited as an appendix. This article presents a critical edition of the poetic anthology from Olomouc (50 pieces, 102 verses) as well as a brief study of its contents, compositional aims and relationship with other collections of the same type. The compilation comprises mostly proverbial sentences that in many cases can be identified as excerpts from works by major classical and medieval authors. Added to the proverbs are also a few well-known riddles. The generally uniform character of the pieces in this anthology suggests that the various compilers had a similar idea of what kind of verses should be selected and added to the already existing ones. Thus, even though it had started as space filler, this literary construct raises some interesting questions about our understanding of the creative processes involved in the medieval anthologizing habit.

Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

⟨greti.dinkova.bruun@utoronto.ca⟩

APPENDIX I

Edition of the Verses in *Olomouc*, fol. 158v

Most of the poetic pieces written on this folio (nos 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7) have been printed in Christopher J. McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus* of Peter Riga (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz Phillipps 1694)", *Mediaeval Studies*, 67 (2005), p. 27-74, where also the thorny issue of authorship is discussed. All of the poems have been attested in previous sources, and the most frequently copied one seems to be the piece on the four animals that sustain their lives not by eating food but by each consuming one of the four elements; thus earth is the food of the mole, air nurtures the chameleon, water feeds the herring, and fire provides nourishment to the salamander (no. 8).

The items are entered in two uneven columns without the page being ruled for their inclusion. Item 1 in the edition below is copied in the first column, whereas the remaining poems form the second one. The online reproduction of *Olomouc*, fol. 158v folio shows a flap covering partially Column 2 of the text. Until the manuscript is examined *in situ* there is no way of knowing whether the flap is glued on the page or not. For the time being the obscured and illegible sections of the poems have been reconstructed on the basis of other editions, using the signs <...>.

The present edition does not include a detailed discussion on the prose extracts seen on the page, even though it can be mentioned that in the upper margin of the folio one reads "Actus actiuorum sunt in patiente et disp<osito>" which is a phrase from Aristotle's *De anima*, II, 2, 414a25-27 that is often copied in scholastic texts. Another short snippet is the popular definition of baptism: "Triplex est baptismus: fluminis, flaminis, sanguinis". Finally, there seems to be a quotation on penance from the Cistercian author Arnoldus Bonavallis (d. 1156) from chapter 6: *De cena Domini* of his *Liber de cardinalibus operibus Christi* (see *PL*, 189, col. 1648D-1649A).

1.

- Septem compluitur donis natura columbe
 In tot uirtutes crescere debet homo.
 Nobilitas huius uolucris sine fellis aceto est;
 Sic odii felle uiscera mundet homo.
 5 Cui uolucres alie uigilant, fugit illa rapinam;
 Ne uelit esse nocens, sic prohibetur homo.
 H<ec> pullis aliis maternum soluit amorem;
 Omnibus affectum soluere debet homo.
 Vt niteat granum paleas euiscerat illa;
 10 Vt uirtus niteat, praua relinquat homo.

Ingemit et nullo uocis iubilo citharizat;
 Quod male deliquit, sic bene plangat homo.
 Munit ab accipitre preuisa cura columbam;
 Ne quid agat demon, sic speculetur homo.
 15 In petra figit uolucris sollertia nidum;
 In Xristo penitus spem sibi figat homo.

2.

Virgo parens, uirgo saluator, uirgo Iohannes
 Mente dolet, pendet arbore, morte stu<pet>.

3.

Iudex, celum, Stix, decernet, nutriet, uret,
 Facta, bonos, reprobos, iure, quiete, foco.

4.

Sal, oleum, crisma, cereus, crisma<le, saliu>,
 Flatus uirtutem baptismatis ista fi<g>urant>.

5.

In latere exiles digiti pro cr<uribus haerent>,
 Fitque caput minimum; totoque c<orpore parua est>:
 Cetera uenter habet, de quo tamen ill<a> remittit>
 Stamen et antiquas exercet ar<anea telas>.

6.

Non confert puero baculi premis<sio uitam>;
 Vt uitam reddat post Helise<us adest>.
 Non hominem saluat premiss<e littera legis>;
 Post ueniente Iesu uiuere cep<it homo>.
 5 Quod non fit baculo presente, vfit hoc Heliseo>;
 Quod lex non potuit, gratia complet <opus>.
 Infans nos, baculus legem, <Xpistumque propheta>
 Denotat; illa tria forma fu<ere trium>.

7.

Elezar pugnans elef<antem perforat hostem>;
 Vincit et a uicto uincitur <hoste simul>.
 Hunc notat Eleazar, qui car<rnea uota refrenans>
 Peccati superat bella, sed <inde tumet>.
 5 Tunc ueluti uictor bened<icitur et quasi uictus>,

Cum carnem superans mente <superbit homo>.

8.

Talpe terra cibus, gamaleo <n in aere uiuit>,
Allec unda fouet, ignis <pascit salamandrum>.

Commentary on the verses in *Olomouc*, fol. 158v

1. This poem, entitled *De natura columbe*, is printed with some small variations in McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*", p. 68, no. 73: (8) decet] curet; (11) ingemit] hec gemit; (13) preuisa] preuiso. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 17527.

App. criticus: 5 uelit] ue *Olomouc sup.l.*; 13 preuisa] preuiso *Olomouc a.c.*

2. For this poem, entitled *Versus super picturam*, see McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*", p. 71, no. 79: (2) dolet ... stupet] stupet ... dolet. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 20533.

3. For this poem, entitled *De iudicio Xpisti*, see McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*", p. 67, no. 68. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 9893: (1) decernet] discernet.

4. The poem is printed in *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek. Die Helmstedter Handschriften*, ed. Otto von Heinemann, 3 vols (1884-1888; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1965), vol. 3, p. 73-75, no. 1138. This fifteenth-century miscellany preserves the following poem on fol. 21v:

Sal, oleum, crisma, cereum, crismale, salia
Flatus uirtutem baptismatis ista figurant.
Haec cum paternis non imitant esse, sed ornant.

The first verse is found also in *Die lateinischen Handschriften bis 1600. Bibliographien und Kataloge der Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek zu Weimar*, ed. Michael Knoche, Wiesbaden, 2004, vol. 1, p. 327-332: MS Oct. 58; see esp. p. 332, fol. 57v.

5. These four verses are from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bk. 6, v. 142-145: *De aranea*. However, *Olomouc* transposes verses 1 and 2. Also in the second verse *Olomouc* reads "totoque" instead on the accepted "toto quoque" which clearly is a better reading.

6. For this poem, entitled *De Heliseo et puero*, see McDonough, "Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*", p. 69, no. 75. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 11993.

7. For this poem, entitled *De Eleazaro*, see McDonough, “Hugh Metel and the *Floridus Aspectus*”, p. 69-70, no. 76. See also Walther, *Initia*, no. 5330: (1) Elezar] Eleasar.

8. This poem has been printed a number of times in different variations. The earliest is W. H. D. Suringar, “Middelnederlandsche Rijmspreuken. Uit een oud Brusselsch Handschrift van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek als Vertaalde Verzen van Freidanks Bescheidenheit”, in *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden over het jaar 1885-1886*, Leiden, 1886, p. 185-281, at p. 219, n. 18 (available online at Google Books). The poem in this publication reads as follows:

Quatuor ex puris uitam ducunt elementis:
Chameleon, talpa, maris halec et salamandra.
Halec unda fouet, ignis pascit salamandrum,
Talpa terra nutrit, aer quoque chameleontem.

In F. W. Hall, “Ad Ovid. Met. XV 411”, *Hermes*, 49.3 (July 1914), p. 478, the poem is printed twice. The first rendition reads:

Quatuor ex ipsis uitam ducunt elementis:
Talpa terra ubi, gamaleon in aere uiuit,
Allec unda foret, flammaque sibi salamandra.

Verses 3 in the second version in Hall (“ex codice Oxoniensi collegii [*sic*] Divi Iohannis Baptistae 124”, i.e. St. John’s College) seems to be closest to *Olomouc*:

“Sunt enim quattuor animalia a quattuor elementis singulatim create que sine illis durare non possunt: talpa, camaleon, allec, salamandra, unde quidam dicit:
Quattuor ex puris uitam ducunt elementis:
Chameleon, talpa, maris allec et salamandra.
Talpe terra cibus, camaleon in aere uiuit,
Allec unda fouet, flammae pascunt salamandrum.

See also, Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 804, where the couplet is rendered as follows:

Allec unda maris, gamaleon in aere uiuit,
Talpa nutrit humus, ignis pascit salamandrum.

APPENDIX II

Incipits of the Poems in Alphabetical Order

- Auri nobilitas luteam non uestiat ollam (2)
 Canonici cur canonicum me canonicastis (49)
 Caseus ante cibum cibus est, et post medicina (28)
 Caseus est gratus rediuiuo gramine natus (28)
 Cattus dormitans, mola stans, et cantica uitans (27)
 Clericus ad synodum uadit dissouere nodum (50)
 Cui semel opposuit mors et conclusit eidem (18)
 Cuidam prebet aui fuscum natura colorem (22)
 Cur, homo, qui cinis es, per auariciam sepelis es (20.1-2)
 Dic, homo, quid speres, qui mundo totus inheres (15)
 Diuersos diuersa iuuant, non omnibus horis (23)
 Ebrietas fax est, limphe potacio pax est (45)
 Elezar pugnans elef<antem perforat hostem> (App. I, 7)
 Eri cur heres, eris qui non eris heres (20.2)
 Eris seruus eris, si te species trahat eris (20.4)
 Est animal paruum quod semper transuolat aruum (10)
 Est homo descendens, uitulus moriens, leo surgens (6)
 Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines (30)
 Femina uas Sathane, fetens rosa, dulce uenenum (47)
 Grata Venus molli, pigro mora, uinea colli (16)
 In latere exiles digiti pro cr<uribus haerent> (App. I, 5)
 Intolerabilius nichil est quam femina diues (42)
 Iudex, celum, Stix, decernet, nutriet, uret (App. I, 3)
 Nemo sue forme nimium letetur honore (9)
 Nemo tam ferus est qui non mitescere possit (38)
 Nescio quid sit amor et amoris nescio nodum (37)
 Nescio quid sit amor et amoris torqueor a ui (36)
 Nil bene cernit amor, uidet omnia lumine ceco (17)
 Nil magis est gratum quam non punire reatum (48)
 Non confert puero baculi premis<sio uitam> (App. I, 6)

- Nulli causidico reor esse fidem neque dico (19)
O Gharde pater, bis griscuus et semel ater (14)
Omne quod est rubeum, nomen non impetrat auri (3)
Parca manus, labor assiduus designat habere (32)
Parui patris es heres, summi fidei bone preses (11)
“Pone modum!” – “Ponam”. – “Pete quod uis!” – “Plena sit archa”. (34)
Proxima languori manus est et ocellus amori (44)
Quisque tonans uerbis satis est in uerbere parcus (21)
Risus ab ore tuo pius et rarus uideatur (5)
Sal, oleum, crisma, cereus, crisma⟨le, saliva⟩ (App. I, 4)
Septem compluitur donis natura columbe (App. I, 1)
Si quadam uirtute nites, ne despice quemquam (8)
“Si uis pnam, uir, na! Dabitur tis nantis in ir pna” (29)
Sillaba terna datur et cuntibus auxiliatur (7)
Sillaba terna datur, quarum si prima necatur (13)
Singula de nobis anni predantur euntes (39)
Sit tibi uita brevis, tribulacio longa, potestas (1)
Spernere quod prodest et amare quod obsit, ineptum est (33)
Sunt bona grata magis, mala sunt leuiores uicissim (31)
Surge, labora ui, ueniet melior labor a ui (40)
Surgo sedens, exsurgo iacens, de morte resurgo (43)
Talpe terra cibus, gamaleo⟨n in aere uiuit⟩ (App. I, 8)
Temporibus medicina ualet: data tempore prosunt (25)
Temporibus nostris, quicumque placere laborat (12)
Velle suum cuique est, non uoto uiuitur uno (24)
Ventum sepe rapis, si crebro uescere rapis (4)
Vera fides nix est, perfidia pessima pix est (46)
Verba puellarum foliis leuiores caducis (41)
Virginitas flos est, et uirginis aurea dos est (35)
Virgo parens, virgo salvator, virgo Iohannes (App. I, 2)
Vix erit aut numquam faciat quod recte malignus (26)

APPENDIX III

References to Walther, *Initia* and Walther, *Proverbia*

- Walther, *Initia*, no. 2365 (49)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 5330 (App. I, 7)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 6370 (47)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 9893 (App. I, 3)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 11740 (36)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 11741 (37)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 11993 (App. I, 6)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 12373 (19)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 14867 (44)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 17527 (App. I, 1)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 18922 (43.1)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 18971 (var.) (13)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 20475 (35.1)
Walther, *Initia*, no. 20533 (App. I, 2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 644a (20.2-3)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 648 (20.4)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 804 (App. I, no. 8)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 1795 (2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2300 (var.) (49)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2301 (49.1-2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2430(1) (28)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2437 (28)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 2494 (var.) (27)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 4680a (20.1-2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 5148 (50.2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 5559 (15.1)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 6044 (23)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 6873 (45)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 7689 (30)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 7854 (49.3)

- Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 8055 (21)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 10397 (16)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 12678 (42)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16455 (9)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16458 (9.1)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16472a(2) (38.2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16474(1) (38.1)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16531 (var.) (36)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16532 (37)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16676 (17.1)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 16751 (48)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 17893 (19)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 18409 (21.2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 18981 (19)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 19867 (3)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 20642 (32)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 21909 (34.1-3)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 22762 (44)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 24999a (17.2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 25000 (17.2)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 26891 (5)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 28892 (8)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 29681 (39)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 30158 (33)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 30882(1) (40.1)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 31263 (25)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 31268 (12)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 32949 (24)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33023 (var.) (4)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33039 (46)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33079 (41)
Walther, *Prouerbia*, no. 33621 (35.1)

